

Louisiana State University

## LSU Scholarly Repository

---

LSU Doctoral Dissertations

Graduate School

---

2013

# The Rhetorical Strategies of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza

David T. Tarvin

*Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College*

Follow this and additional works at: [https://repository.lsu.edu/gradschool\\_dissertations](https://repository.lsu.edu/gradschool_dissertations)



Part of the [Communication Commons](#)

---

### Recommended Citation

Tarvin, David T., "The Rhetorical Strategies of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza" (2013). *LSU Doctoral Dissertations*. 1366.

[https://repository.lsu.edu/gradschool\\_dissertations/1366](https://repository.lsu.edu/gradschool_dissertations/1366)

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at LSU Scholarly Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in LSU Doctoral Dissertations by an authorized graduate school editor of LSU Scholarly Repository. For more information, please contact [gradetd@lsu.edu](mailto:gradetd@lsu.edu).

THE RHETORIC OF DON QUIXOTE AND THE SOPHISTICATION OF SANCHE PANZA

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the  
Louisiana State University and  
Agricultural and Mechanical College  
In partial fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of Communication Studies

by

David Tarvin

B.A. Morehead State University, 2005

M.A. Morehead State University, 2008

December 2013

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Ideal reader: Without my swearing to it, you can believe that I would like this dissertation, the child of my research, to be the most beautiful, the most brilliant, and the most discreet that anyone could imagine.<sup>1</sup> I wanted only to offer it to you plain and bare, unadorned by acknowledgements or endless dedications and laudatory praises that are usually placed at the beginning of such dissertations. For, how do I thank everyone that has helped me through this process? Not knowing how to thank, for instance, my roommate Ben McCoy, who without I would have never been able to persevere through the difficult journey. Bribing me to write at times, acting as a wall to bounce off ideas at other times, his encouragement and assistance surely should not go unnoticed! Nor should the love and support my other roommate provided; for, Kelsey Lato's beauty served as a prose, much like Dulcinea for Don Quixote. But believing the acknowledgments would drag on for days, I decided I would not include any dedications, well, besides the two already mentioned.

Seeing my despair at deliberating over the acknowledgement section, a colleague approached and asked, "Why the troubled face, my friend?" Unfortunately, I do not recall if it was Bryan Moe, Ryan McGeough, Ari Gratch, or Benjamin Haas. All of them have been known to give me such great advice. Regardless of who it was, I told him of my deliberation and final decision not to include any acknowledgments in this here dissertation. On hearing this, my colleague clapped his hand to his forehead, burst into laughter, and said:

"By God, brother, now I am disabused of an illusion I have lived with for the past four years I have known you, for I always considered you perceptive and prudent in everything you

---

<sup>1</sup> The Acknowledgments are imitative of Cervantes' Prologue in *Don Quixote*

do. Tell me, do you not recall Dewey: *No rules, then no game; different rules, then a different game?*<sup>2</sup> Are you not writing a dissertation? Should you not follow the rules or else it is a different game? As for praising everyone that was the source of your inspiration and perseverance, do not fear, for if you forget to name someone, you can turn right to the Andy King scripture, which you can do with a minimum effort, and say the words of Burke himself:

The progress of human enlightenment can go no further than in picturing people not as *vicious*, but as *mistaken*.<sup>3</sup>

And with this little quotation and others like it, people will think you are a doctoral candidate; being one is no small honor and advantage these days. Furthermore, what about Rya Butterfield, Danielle McGeough, Raquel Polanco, Sarah Jackson, and Laura Croswell? Was Rya not the inspiration for you coming to Louisiana State University in the first place? Did she not threaten to pee in your fedora if you refused to attend? Did Danielle's research on toilets not provide you endless hours of comedic conversations? And, Raquel, whose compassion and laughter provides the essence of friendship, will you not mention her? Or the best neighbor, Sarah, whose pranks kept you constantly on your toes? And what about Laura's spastic paranoia that made you feel better about your own work? Of course you must at least acknowledge and praise their support!"

"Tell me," I replied, listening to what he was saying. "How do you intend I acknowledge and praise my mentors and my family?"

To which he replied:

---

<sup>2</sup> Dewey, John (1938). *Experience & Education*. New York: Touchstone. (71)

<sup>3</sup> Burke, Kenneth. (1984). *Attitudes Towards History*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. (42)

“First, the question of family is easy. You should thank your mother, LuAnn, and father, Ted, for simply everything. They have always been, and will continue to be, your number one fan. Your brother Adam, who has been your role model for both working hard and living easy, deserves an entire chapter dedicated to him. And as for your brother, Drew? Who could have asked for a better best friend? His humor has not only helped in difficult times, but has also inspired your own research interest in comedy. You must not only acknowledge the role your family has in your success, but also dedicate your dissertation to them.

Second, to solve the question of your mentors, you should acknowledge all of the support the LSU Department of Communication Studies has provided you: from Donna Sparks, the compassionate animal lover, and Lisa Landry, the Harley-riding hipster, to Andy King, the noble sage of communication himself. There’s also of course, Stephanie Grey to thank, for we learned quite a bit about trauma and public cultures in her classes. And didn’t you take a class with Anna Nardo in the English Department? Acknowledge Dr. Nardo for her role in introducing you to the classics like *Orlando Furioso* and the *Faerie Queene* which had influenced Cervantes’ own work. Furthermore, you could never forget to acknowledge your Masters’ adviser, what is his name?”

“Robert Frank,” I replied, “He is the reason I am where I am today. He not only inspired me to do my best, but also is the person I want to be when I grow up.”

“Great, then make sure not to forget to thank him in your acknowledgements too. Now, with regards to your doctoral adviser, Nathan Crick, you must praise and thank him excessively. After all, he is the Don Quixote to your Sancho Panza. While, I realize you could never truly thank him for everything he does, both for you and the rest of us graduate students, you must

try. Remember to thank him for his summer book clubs, his door always being open, his ruthless, yet appropriate remarks, and his stubborn, yet idealistic dream that you could finish. Perhaps, you could use the *Don Quixote* quotation, 'We have come to the Church, brother Sancho,' to express your gratitude in completing your dissertation. In short, keep your eye on the goal of acknowledging your support, and you will do fine."

In deep silence I listened to what my colleague told me, and his words made so great an impression on me that I did not dispute them but acknowledged their merit and wanted to use them to write the acknowledgements to my dissertation in which you will see, gentle reader, the cleverness of my colleague, my good fortune in finding the adviser I needed, and your own relief at finding so sincere and uncomplicated a research as that of this dissertation. And having said this, may you enjoy reading in good health and with a constant smile. *Vale*.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	ii
ABSTRACT .....	vii
INTRODUCTION .....	1
RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	16
JUSTIFICATION .....	18
CHAPTER OUTLINES .....	21
CHAPTER ONE: THE RHETORICAL BACKGROUND FOR <i>DON QUIXOTE</i> .....	24
CERVANTES' BIOGRAPHY .....	27
A BRIEF HISTORY OF SPAIN .....	36
CHAPTER TWO: THE RHETORICAL EXIGENCES OF CERVANTES' SPAIN .....	51
GENDER INEQUALITIES .....	57
CLASS ISSUES.....	70
ACCESS TO EDUCATION .....	82
RELIGIOUS CONFLICTS .....	92
EMERGING NATIONALISM .....	103
CHAPTER THREE: THE RHETORIC OF DON QUIXOTE .....	110
HEROISM .....	112
NOSTALGIA.....	122
UPWARDS TRANSCENDENCE .....	131
TRAGEDY .....	140
CHAPTER FOUR: THE RHETORIC OF SANCHE PANZA .....	154
IMITATION.....	156
PRUDENCE.....	163
TRANSCENDENCE DOWNWARDS .....	173
COMEDY .....	180
CONCLUSION.....	192
THE RHETORICAL MOVEMENT.....	196
EL FIN.....	213
REFERENCES .....	215
VITA.....	221

## ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores the rhetorical components of the famous novel *Don Quixote* by Miguel de Cervantes. Cervantes' novel continues to be celebrated around the world four hundred years later. His two main protagonists epitomize opposite virtues, but their love for one another, and the promise of an *ínsula*, creates a bond that overcomes their differences. Don Quixote, the mad knight, values lofty ideas idealized in chivalric romance. Conversely, Sancho, the simple squire, values tangible materials he can see and touch in his own life. While the two characters first appear to be contrary in nature, by the journey's end, as displayed in their speeches, have grown and learned from one another. Analyzing how these two rhetors develop throughout the course of the novel is the aim of this dissertation. By developing their models, I show the essence of their rhetorical strategies as example for real life practice. Literature provides what Kenneth Burke calls "an equipment for living." On the one hand, the essence of Don Quixote's rhetoric romantically transcends tragic situations inspiring heroic action to provide catharsis and experiences for learning. Readers can use his failures and successes as *equipment for living*, as he stubbornly challenges opposition and never backs down. On the other hand, Sancho's rhetoric prudently imitates those around him, transcending lofty ideas into grotesque realism. He is the perfect sidekick: loyal, compassionate, critical, and funny. Both Don Quixote's and Sancho's rhetorical strategies act as resources for approaching changes in society. Coupled together, the persuasive skills of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza provide great insight for students of rhetoric.



## INTRODUCTION

As dawn breaks, you and your fellow adventurer realize the trees are decorated with the corpses of outlaws who have been punished for breaking the law by a policing fraternity of men. However, the fear of these hanging bodies is nothing compared to the fear caused when you realize you are surrounded by forty-plus living bandits telling you to stand still and be quiet. When the leader of these bandits finally arrives, your fears start to subside as he claims, “You have not fallen into the hands of some cruel Osiris, but into those of Roque Guinart, and his are more compassionate than severe” (II, 60, 852). Although he mistakes Osiris for Busiris, the Egyptian King known for sacrificing foreigners to the gods, his charismatic greeting calms your nerves and you can start to understand why he might be in charge. Nevertheless, you understand this is a moment in which your life may hang by a thread, and you must choose your words carefully if you are to survive. Here is a rhetorical situation that only the most experienced of orators can face with courage, wisdom, and virtue, lest they meet tragic suffering or, at best, suffer the embarrassment of comic laughter.

Here is just one of the many rhetorical situations faced by the famous Spanish knight, Don Quixote, and his loyal squire, Sancho Panza within the pages of Miguel de Cervantes’ celebrated novel, *Don Quixote*. This novel has been heralded as one of the greatest pieces of literature ever written because of the liveliness of his characters, the complexity of the dialogue, the mastery of the new novelistic genre, and raucous laughter it causes four hundred years after publication. But I believe it also deserves acclaim for being a masterful exhibition of rhetoric, both in the rhetorical sophistication of its characters and in its ability as a work of art to respond rhetorically to the historical situation in which it was written. By a “rhetorical

situation,” I mean “a complex of persons, events, objects, and relations presenting an actual or potential exigence which can be completely or partially removed if discourse, introduced into the situation, can so constrain human decision or action as to bring about the significant modification of the exigence” (Bitzer, 1968, 6). And I mean by rhetoric “a mode of altering reality, not by the direct application of energy to objects, but by the creation of discourse which changes reality through the mediation of thought and action” (4). From the definition, we see that *Don Quixote* operates rhetorically on two levels, one as a mode of altering reality itself in response to the changing persons, events, objects, and relations of Spain, and second as a literary exhibition of rhetorical mastery by its main characters, Don Quixote and Sancho Panza (as well as a host of other minor characters such as Roque) who constantly encounter different rhetorical situations on their journeys. It is the thesis of this dissertation that we can gain a greater understanding of rhetoric by analyzing this work of literature both as a work of rhetoric and as an literary exploration of rhetorical strategies and genres.

This dissertation is thus oriented towards cultivating a rhetorical model based on the interplay between knight and squire in Cervantes’ *Don Quixote*. *Don Quixote* is in many ways a rhetorical text constituted by the many examples and strategies the two characters use in achieving their persuasive goals, and hence it is a text that can be interpreted through the conventions of rhetorical criticism. Two such approaches stand out. On the one hand, Leff (1992) argues for the integrity of the text, claiming rhetorical scholarship should be grounded in historical and concrete particulars, not theoretical abstractions. Leff is “committed to understanding discourses in their full complexity, comprehending them both as linguistic constructions and as efforts to exercise influence, and it operates through paradigm cases

rather than abstract principles” (228). Consequently, rhetorical criticism from Leff’s perspective must be grounded in a thorough understanding of the text in its historical context. McGee, on the other hand, calls into question the integrity of an autonomous “text” and argues instead that “text construction is now something done more by the consumers than by the producers of discourse” (288). As summarized by Celeste Condit (1990), “McGee focused on the broad flow of the meaning-making process, while Leff attended to its construction at specific sites” (342). A rhetorical criticism following Leff thus looks at how specific texts were received and interpreted by specific audiences in historical time, whereas a criticism following McGee focuses on how audiences piece together their own “texts” out of fragmentary materials based on their own perspectives, desires, and interest.

Taken together, these two approaches offer useful tools for interpreting a complex text like *Don Quixote*, a text that can be examined not only as a specific artifact which functioned rhetorically in a particular historical context, but which also can be seen as a constantly changing product of multiple interpretations by audiences with varied interests and perspectives over time. The junction between Leff and McGee, as Stephanie Houston Grey (2009) points out, creates a framework that “informs our reception of a text—allowing for future rhetorical action” (344). Grey states:

The conceptual orientation recognizes that each text can generate new and creative meanings that challenge the generalized assumptions of model builders, while also examining the way that these texts shape the larger historical consciousness and can have a profound influence on social dynamics of an entire culture far beyond the time and place of its own environment. (344)

Therefore, rhetorical criticism must strive to maintain the integrity of rhetorical texts while simultaneously recognizing the flexible interpretive process which occurs throughout history.

This approach is what Kathleen Turner calls “rhetorical history.” In the introduction to her book, *Doing Rhetorical History*, Turner claims two essential points regarding history as a social construct. For her, to do rhetorical history means to examine “the ways in which rhetorical processes have constructed social reality at particular times and in particular contexts and ... the nature of the study of history as an essential rhetorical process” (2). First, meaning is made by communicating shared symbols, and second, remembering history is a rhetorical process. Therefore, both as a method and as a perspective, rhetorical history provide “insights that are central to the study of communication and unavailable through other approaches” (2).

Following Leff, then, we can understand one facet of the novel’s rhetorical characteristics of the novel by understanding the complexities of Spanish politics at the time. In Cervantes' day, Spain's revolution in identity created several social crises that needed to be addressed. In *Permanence and Change*, Kenneth Burke establishes a rhetorical framework in three stages which addresses such impiety: stability, change, and reorganization. For Burke, piety and impiety are not strictly religious terms; instead, these two terms serve as “schemas for orientation” (76). People orient their lives around the piety of stability by having a sense of “what properly goes with what” (74). Consequently, piety creates permanence and lessens the ability for change as people become hypnotized with an orientation that conforms to what society has deemed proper. In times of great change, however, the hypnosis is shattered and people are forced to confront the impiety of the new. It is during these times of change where charismatic leaders like Roque emerge to help others somehow remake society by reorganizing the impious images, ideals, and goals of change into their own pious ideals.

For instance, starting with the reign of Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand, the Spanish Crown began trying to create a national identity, and as such, old identities were forcibly forgotten. As an emerging sense of nationalism began to form, namely through the unification of the Catholic religion, the role of women and the role of the old class hierarchies came under question. First, gender inequalities came under fire as women in various cities and of diverse religious backgrounds had different opportunities. Second, a new and rising middle-class appeared that not only threatened traditional class hierarchies, but also traditional ideas of identity and purpose. Third, the unification of the Catholic religion created tensions as old Muslim and Jewish neighbors became enemies of the state. Finally, an emerging national identity created strict dichotomies between *us* versus *them* that often defied logic and friendship. These changes created a highly rhetorically charged environment.

The story of Don Quixote and Sancho has its roots in early Modern Spain where cultural permanence was disrupted by the impact of a quickly changing society. As mentioned, four major changes were impiously disrupting the Spanish people throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as the Crown tried to create a unified national state within its growing empire. Cervantes responds to his changing environment with the creation of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza. With this duo, Cervantes creates two symbols in relationship that stand for two forms of rhetoric for approaching situations that he saw within his own environment, and through these two, we are provided an interpretive model for how to navigate through times of permanence and change within our own lives.

One of the assumptions of this dissertation is that whenever there are times of impious change confronting a people, there will be leaders like Don Quixote that emerge within social

movements that will be largely comprised of Sancho Panza-like followers. Or, more specifically, there will emerge rhetorical styles that can be effectively characterized as Quixotic and Sanchian, which can be productively interpreted through the symbols created by Cervantes. For this is the rhetorical legacy of the novel, the creation of two symbols, “Quixote” and “Sancho,” each of which offers a way of adapting to impious times with different perspectives that shape and mold one another and become nothing without the other. By “symbol” we mean what Burke says represents a “pattern of experience,” or a formula for behavior (a set of habits, attitudes, beliefs) which arises as a way of adapting to a specific problem or stimuli. For Burke, symbols are “the verbal parallel to a pattern of experience” as they provide context to situations by acting as definitions to help frame cultural understanding (1968, 152). He claims, “The Symbol might be called a word invented by the artist to specify a particular grouping of patterns or emphasizing of experiences” (153). In this way, Quixote represents a pattern of experience that responds to times of change by heroically sallying forth with idealistic moral vision in order to restore virtue, while Sancho represents a pattern of experience that responds to the same conditions by following the Quixotes of the world in order to achieve prosperity for oneself and one's family, but doing so with a sense of ironic distance from the leader's professed ideals.

By looking at Quixote as a symbol, however, invites a method of rhetorical criticism closer to that of McGee, who asked us to see how text are constructed by specific audiences for specific purposes. For instance, the “text” that is Don Quixote is varied widely, depending on who is interpreting it. Quixote's symbolic importance usually falls into one of two categories: either he is seen as an idealistic fool or he is seen as a tragic hero. Oscar Mandel (1958) calls

this distinction the “soft” and “hard” school of interpretation. The “hard” and “soft” schools can be better understood by examining William James’ distinction between “tough-minded” and “tender-minded” perspectives of philosophy. On the one hand, the tender-minded perspective is rational, intellectual, idealistic, and optimistic (1992, 24). Don Quixote embodies the tender-minded philosophy as he optimistically searches for adventures with idealistic goals based on reading chivalric romances coupled with his rational intellect. For Mandel, the “soft” school regards Don Quixote as a symbol for idealistic hope; he is a hero that fights for justice and virtue. On the other hand, the tough-minded perspective is “more empirical, sensationalist, materialistic, and pessimistic” (24). Therefore with regards to Don Quixote, the tough-minded perspective, or “hard” school of interpretation, pessimistically examines the knight as a symbol for an idealistic fool.

John Jay Allen (2008) uses Oscar Mandel’s “soft” and “hard” distinction to describe how critics have often regarded Don Quixote’s madness. He states, “You are either with Don Quixote (he’s a hero) or against him (a fool)” (24). Generally, contemporary critics have placed Don Quixote within the soft school of interpretation and see him as a hero who sallies forth unafraid of failure. However, immediately after publication, and for the rest of the seventeenth century, critical reception of *Don Quixote* focused on the “hard” perspective. Peter E. Russell (1969) states, “For more than one and one-half centuries after the book was first published, readers, not only in Spain but in all Europe, apparently accepted without cavil that *Don Quixote* was simply a brilliantly successful funny book” (n4). Carroll B. Johnson (2000) claims the reason he was seen as a fool was that “the early readers identified with society rather than with Don

Quixote” (25). The descriptions and depictions of society and culture were apparent to the original readers; Don Quixote was just a symbol for fools that misunderstood reality.

Eighteenth century readers, however, began to see the Knight in a different light. On the one hand, critics of the early 1700s continued the “hard” perspective of the Knight as fool. Johnson states, “The rationalists of the eighteenth century read the *Quixote* as a commentary on the relation between madness and society” (25). He was a madman testing conventions, norms, society and reality. Readers saw the book as a tale about adapting to societal norms. On the other hand, critics from the latter half of the century began to see Don Quixote as a man searching for human identity. This new perspective created a revolution in interpretation of the Knight.

The revolution in interpretation of *Don Quixote* began in the nineteenth century. This new “soft” perspective on the Knight was a stark contrast from the older views on him. He is now seen as a hero. Johnson states, “Don Quixote the character is seen to incarnate certain values. He stands for something, and the sane and straight society in which he struggles to exist stands for something else” (26). That is, Don Quixote, not society, is the focus. Geoffrey Ribbans (2000) states, “Every generation reinterprets Don Quixote according to the exigencies of its own age, and it is significant that the ‘hard’ version prevailed until the early nineteenth century and the ‘soft’ version has, by a small margin, predominated since then” (186). The “soft” perspective started by the interpretive revolution at the start of the nineteenth century continues to be a dominant view among modern critics.

Two prominent scholars of the twentieth century that have impacted modern interpretations of the novel are Spanish philosophers José Ortega y Gasset and Miguel



Unamuno. In *Meditations on Quixote*, Ortega claims, "People may be able to take good fortune away from this neighbor of ours, but they will not be able to take away his effort and courage" (1957, 32). Ortega's "soft" perspective on the novel sees the knight as a hero "because to be a hero means to be one out of many, to be oneself" (33). For Ortega, Don Quixote perpetually resists the conventions of his time, seeming delusional to others, but in reality, merely trying something new to make the world better. Since Don Quixote suffers throughout the novel for his resistance to conventional realities, Unamuno argues that this selflessness is parallel to a Christ-like figure. In *Our Lord Don Quixote: The Life of Don Quixote and Sancho*, Unamuno (1967) claims the novel is like a Spanish bible. He argues *Don Quixote* should be read like a "marvelous history" and "as a text for sermons or a basis for patriotic meditations in the manner that versicles from the Gospel" (11). Unamuno takes the "soft" perspective to the extreme, making the hero a messiah. The Knight stands alone for justice, searches for glory and ends with a "sublime death." These elements make Don Quixote appear Christ-like. Both Unamuno's and Ortega's interpretation highlight the extremes of the soft perspective. Their work has greatly impacted subsequent scholarship, as most contemporary critics agree that Don Quixote is a hero.

Although there is much less writing about Sancho, he, too, can be said to have his own hard and soft interpretations, one as an illiterate buffoon whose role is to play the realist counterpart to Don Quixote's idealistic vision, the other as a dynamic pragmatist that goes through a "Quixotification" by the novel's end. For centuries following publication, Sancho was regarded as the comic antithesis to Don Quixote; a "the despicable buffoon and greedy villager;" seen as "a symbol of everything the Romantics considered ignoble, base, or earthy"

(Flores, 74). For these critics, Sancho remained the sidekick whose simple reality provided the exigence for Don Quixote to espouse much of his idealistic views. Yet, these critics reduce the complexities of Sancho to a simple absolute. Beginning in the twentieth century, however, critics started to see Sancho in a new light, specifically after Miguel de Unamuno's *Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho*, first published in 1905. Borrowing from Salvador de Madariaga, Unamuno describes Sancho's development as a "Quixotification," arguing he transforms from feeble peasant to wise leader thanks to his interactions with his master.

While the "hard" approach to Sancho's role has evolved from the centuries of criticism prior to the twentieth century, some critics still regard him as simply a fool. For instance, Raymond Willis (1969) argues that although he represents the "plight of the plain man," he is "still in essence the buffoon" (227). Anthony Close (1973) argues Sancho "as being the inspired perspicacity of the madman or the fool" (345). For Willis and Close, much like earlier scholarship, Sancho is reduced to the role of simpleton. These "hard" critics see Sancho as a stagnant character whose identity is fixed and fail to see how he grows and learns through his interactions with Don Quixote.

Conversely, most contemporary critics have a "softer" view of the squire, seeing him as a more complex character than had been previously acknowledged. William Worden (2002) argues Sancho is a very dynamic character whose role is essential and "occupies a vital space at the core of *Don Quixote*" (8). Victor Oelschlager (1952) takes Madariaga's concept of "Quixotification" from Unamuno to show Sancho's "precocious cultural progress" (19). For Oelschlager, Sancho's journey is an educational process as he learns to speak and act like Don Quixote by the novel's end. The "Quixotification" of Sancho, however, focuses too heavily on

his final outcome as a learned fool as opposed to the rhetorical process such an education has created through the many dialogues between knight and squire. Contrary to the hard and soft interpretations of Sancho as a finalized character pigeonholed into a static perspective—be it buffoon or evolved learner—he is, in reality, *unfinalizable*. As Flores suggests, the main emphasis of the scholars focused on Sancho "is on showing the overall, final amelioration he has attained by the end of the story rather than the intermediate stages of the process" (89). Mikhail Bakhtin (1984) writes on the concept of the "unfinalizable self" in which people cannot be labeled permanently or "finalized," as that would stop them from the possibility of change. Similar to Bakhtin's discussion of the unfinalizable self, Barbagallo (1995) takes issue with critics trying to define Sancho by "declaring what he is and what he is not" (46). After all, if Sancho were merely a finalized character, his role would be one dimensional and minor. But he is not merely a symbol for a stereotypical buffoon nor is he a symbol for the sum of some chivalric education; rather, Sancho continually develops and learns as he becomes more experienced throughout his discussions and adventures with Don Quixote.

We can see how these symbols exhibit their characteristics rhetorically by returning to the opening scene of this chapter. Quixote and Sancho's encounter with Roque shows Cervantes' rhetorical sensibilities at work. In the first case, Roque, himself a masterful rhetorician, presents the characters with a unique rhetorical situation. Roque's display of rhetorical ability, although full of irony and malapropism, coupled with his charismatic nature, empowers him to exploit the changing environment in Spain.

But Roque is more than just a fictional charismatic leader. He also represents a type of person Cervantes would have known in real life. As Spain transitioned into the Early Modern

era, individuals like Roque would have been out and about in Cervantes' lifetime trying to exploit the situation of change, sometimes working for the state and other times against it. In fact, in 1611, after giving up his former life of crime, the real-life bandit, Roca Guinarda, was granted a pardon and became a captain in the Spanish army (Grossman, 852, n7). When *Don Quixote* was published only four years later, Cervantes' Roque is at the height of his criminal career, balancing the ruthlessness of banditry with a charismatic chivalry in order to maintain a certain level of compassion among his fellow countrymen. After all, he and his men are just trying to survive in an impious world.

When his group of bandits captures some more travelers, Roque demonstrates his charismatic appeal by proposing a plan that appeases both the new hostages and his men:

Señores, would your graces please be so kind as to lend me sixty *escudos*, and the lady eighty, to keep this squadron of mine happy, for the abbot eats if the tithes are paid, and then you can go on your way free and unimpeded, and with a safe conduct that I'll give you, and if you happen to meet other squadrons of mine in the vicinity, no harm will be done to you, for it is not my intention to injure soldiers or women, especially those who are highborn. (II, 60, 859)

In negotiating a settlement for the travelers' freedom, Roque plays the role of a charismatic leader. In this role, he gives meaning for his group's banditry, calms the travelers' fears, and even manages to have them thank him for his "courtesy and liberality" when they happily pay their ransom (859). When one bandit makes a snide remark about allowing the travelers to keep some of their money, Roque responds to the insubordination by splitting the bandit's head nearly in half with his sword. His compassion displayed with the travelers juxtaposed with his ruthlessness towards his own man, combine to display how he manages the demands of leadership through words and deeds.

When Quixote expresses his desire for them to give up their lifestyles in the pursuit of professions more virtuous (like knight-errantry for example), Roque responds by trying to maintain a virtuous ethos that defends his career choice as the product of a troubled life marked by bad decisions:

Our manner of life must seem unprecedented to Señor Don Quixote: singular adventures, singular events, and all of them dangerous; I don't wonder that it seems this way to you, because really, I confess there is no mode of life more unsettling and surprising than ours. Certain desires for revenge brought me to it, and they have the power to trouble the most serene heart; by nature I am compassionate and well-intentioned, but, as I have said, my wish to take revenge for an injury that was done to me threw all my good inclinations to the ground, and I continue in this state in spite of and despite my understanding; as one abyss calls to another abyss, and one sin to another sin, vengeance has linked with vengeance so that I bear responsibility not only for mine but for those of others, but it is God's will that although I find myself in the midst of a labyrinth of my own confusions, I do not lose the hope of coming out of it and into a safe harbor. (II, 60, 857-58)

Roque's defense addresses the rhetorical situation by beginning with his purpose in trying to persuade his audience of his virtuous character despite possible feelings towards his "manner of life." He acknowledges the constraints in redeeming his character rhetorically, but still manages to conclude with hope. He suffers against society, but his suffering will not stop his heroic effort in reorganizing the impieties of change with some nostalgic ideal. Roque is a tragic character with seductive appeal that despite his failures, despair, and persecution, maintains a virtuous life based on his own ideals. He is willing to suffer for the sake of his ideals, and heroically challenges the impieties in a changing state, while his followers are pragmatic and follow him insofar as he is able to maintain a moderate lifestyle for them.

Consistent with his symbolic character, Don Quixote responds to Roque by providing plans that would overcome his current situation. Afraid that a life of banditry is “dangerous for both the soul and the body,” Don Quixote argues:

Señor Roque, the beginning of health lies in knowing the disease, and in the patient’s willingness to take the medicines the doctor prescribes; your grace is ill, you know your ailment, and heaven, or I should say God, who is our physician, will treat you with the medicines that will cure you, and which tend to cure gradually, not suddenly and miraculously; furthermore, intelligent sinners are closer to reforming than simpleminded ones, and since your grace has demonstrated prudence in your speech, you need only be brave and wait for the illness of your conscience to be healed; if your grace wishes to save time and put yourself without difficulty on the road to salvation, come with me, and I shall teach you how to be a knight errant, a profession in which one undergoes so many trials and misfortunes that, if deemed to be penance, they would bring you to heaven in the wink of an eye. (II, 60, 858)

The rhetorical significance of Don Quixote as a symbolic character is displayed in his response to Roque as it tragically pushes forward to overcome his corrupt profession as a bandit. He begins with an appeal to pathos to convince Roque that his current role as a bandit is not virtuous. By comparing his decision to be a bandit to an illness, Don Quixote ignores the reality which brought Roque to his current position. Don Quixote is more concerned about present action for an ideal future than he is about past reasoning. Therefore, he transforms Roque’s difficult past into a present and fixable illness. Accordingly, Don Quixote claims if Roque acknowledges his illness—that banditry is immoral—he will be on the road to recovery. Don Quixote next draws Roque’s attention away from his problematic past to an ideal course of action, suggesting one should overcome one’s limitations, instead of lamenting past tragedy, by continually pushing forward.

But Sancho, too, responds as well in a way that is just as important to the development of the plot. When Roque distributes the spoils of a recent robbery “with so much equity and

prudence" among his band of bandits, Sancho provides a comic anecdote of his observation, stating, "According to what I've seen here, justice is so great a good that it's necessary to use it even among thieves" (857). Sancho deflates Roque's virtuous display of justice by expanding the reality of the situation to comically reveal the incongruity in a thieves' justice. When one of the bandits hears himself being called a thief, he rises to attack Sancho, but is commanded to stop by Roque. The bandit's reaction, however, is enough to terrify Sancho and he pragmatically decides not to open his mouth again for as long as they are with them. Whereas Don Quixote provides idealistic possibilities for the future by transforming the bandit's current occupation into an illness to overcome, Sancho reminds us of their crude and unruly reality. Regardless, in the end, little that either Don Quixote or Sancho says alters Roque's behavior.

I start with the example of Roque simply because it shows the layers of rhetorical sophistication of Cervantes's novel. For here are two dominant symbols, Quixote and Sancho, encountering a character that with his band of bandits, more realistically embodies the same rhetorical relationship between leader and follower as he is based on an actual person. Cervantes thus basically makes more realistic the relationship that has already been established within the two books between the characters of Don Quixote and Sancho. On the one hand, there is the tragic figure that heroically suffers for an ideal with some charismatic appeal that makes him desirable to follow. On the other hand, there is the follower that adheres to a practical sensibility of going along and taking what he can from any situation. Accordingly, in the final chapters of his novel, using the parallel, but more true-to-life story of Roque and his fellow bandits, Cervantes creates a rhetorical model for confronting times of impious change through his two protagonists Don Quixote and Sancho.

I believe this model continues to be of value today, but I also believe that its value is considerably diminished when one only looks at Quixote in isolation. Unfortunately, the term “Quixotic” is almost always associated with Quixote as an individual, not as a pair, and looks at an individual that sallies forth by himself against impossible odds and suffers. To take just one example, the quixotic symbol is used to emphasize the experiences of 1988 Mexican presidential hopeful, Cuauhtémoc Cardenas, after suspicion arose that the incumbent party used fraudulent means to defeat him. Cardenas was a "man with no chance of victory, who tilted at political windmills and lost" (Oster, 2002, 109). Now known as the "Mexican Don Quixote," Cardenas' defeat is seen as a pattern of experience in which he heroically challenged the status quo with virtuous intentions only to fail tragically. With this interpretation, Cardenas is not remembered as a loser, but, similar to other instances when the quixotic symbol is employed, as a hero fighting impossible odds. But if this is true, who is his Sancho? Who is the one who follows him and is his loyal servant throughout? Without Sancho, there is no Quixote. So too with rhetoric. The true rhetorical importance of the Quixote symbol must be paired with Sancho. The symbols are best understood in relationship with one another as they not only orient us to social movements with a particular type of leader and follower, but they also dramatize how rhetoric actually functions and how it can be experienced and understood.

### **RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

In this dissertation, I argue Don Quixote and Sancho's rhetorical exchanges demonstrate two models of rhetoric for managing and making sense out of times of great change. On the one hand, quixotic rhetoric motivates us based on some heroic ideal or notion of character, for some goal to which we can aspire despite our own failures. On the other hand, Sanchian



rhetoric aims to make the best out of a situation; he is always willing to compromise and laugh at himself and others, and to follow grand ideals so long he can constantly debunk and make fun of them. I seek to expand scholarship on the functions of rhetoric in literature by examining the persuasive elements in the exchanges between these two protagonists. Accordingly, I will address the following research questions that will frame chapters two through five of the dissertation:

1. What are the major elements which compose the rhetorical background for understanding *Don Quixote* as an interpretive model for transitioning between permanence and change? How do these elements shed light on Don Quixote's and Sancho's rhetoric?
2. What was the rhetorical situation in which Cervantes wrote? What were the major exigences of early modern Spain that he responds to in *Don Quixote*? How does he overcome various constraints to his own invention for his audience?
3. What are the rhetorical strategies of Don Quixote? How does he justify his actions and persuade others to follow him?
4. What are the rhetorical strategies of Sancho? What speech patterns does he develop to express his own perspective? How does he justify his own action and the actions of other?
5. How do Don Quixote and Sancho talk to each other, and how are their dialogues distinct from their conversations with other characters? How does their constant bickering serve to promote their own agendas? What does the one do for the other in regards to confronting times of great change?

## JUSTIFICATION

For purposes of this study, I will be using Edith Grossman's (2003) *Don Quixote* translation. Grossman's translation has received much acclaim for revitalizing *Don Quixote* for the twenty-first century reader.<sup>4</sup> Harold Bloom (2003) states, "The Knight and Sancho are so eloquently rendered by Grossman that the vitality of their characterization is more clearly conveyed than ever before" (xxii). Mexican novelist, Carlos Fuentes claims that Grossman's translation is "truly masterly: the contemporaneous and the original co-exist." Grossman's *Don Quixote* is masterly because she is able to translate seventeenth-century Spanish into twenty-first-century English in a way that retains the essence of Cervantes' prose. I chose to use Grossman's version of the text exactly because her translation is written in contemporary terms. Although I have read the novel in Spanish several times, I was never captivated by the tale quite as much as I have been since reading Grossman's translation. In the prologue to her translation, she states: "I believe that my primary obligation as a literary translator is to recreate for the reader in English the experience of the reader in Spanish" (xix). However more than simply translating languages, Grossman recreates for the twenty-first century reader in English, what the seventeenth century reader experienced in Spanish.

Grossman translates Martín de Riquer's 1955 edition of *Don Quixote* (Parts 1 and 2) because it is "based on the first printing of the book (with all its historic slips and errors)" (p. xviii). According to Grossman, translations open minds and allow for a better understanding between two cultures. In her book, *Why Translation Matters*, Grossman (2011) states,

---

<sup>4</sup> See for example: Tania Barrientos (*The Philadelphia Inquirer*); Terry Castle (*The Atlantic Monthly*); Roberto Carlos Echevarría (*The New York Times*); Julian Evans (*The Daily Telegraph*); Carlos Fuentes (*The New York Times*); Max Gross (*Forward*); Craig McDonald (*This Week*); Jay Tolson (*U.S. News*); and James Wood (*The New Yorker*). These reviews are archived at <http://www.h-net.org/~cervantes/>

“Translation expands and deepens our world, our consciousness, in countless indescribable ways” (135). In fact, Cervantes places a lot of importance on translation throughout the novel. The entire account is told by a narrator reading a translation by a Morisco (Muslim that converted to Christianity) of an account by the fictional Arabic historian, Cide Hamete Benengeli. This “translation” brought the famous knight to the Spanish people. It opened readers’ eyes to stereotypes and questioned racism.

Cervantes’ narrative layering creates an organizational structure that is easily manipulated and allows blame for any problems to be scapegoated: if the story seems too absurd, the narrator can blame the translator or blame Benengeli. The translator’s presence seems to suggest Cervantes wants the reader to be removed from the true story three times (once by Benengeli, then by the translator, and finally by the narrator). Grossman’s translation serves as one more layering. Her translation brings the famous knight from Arabic (fictionally speaking) to Spanish to finally, the English-speaking world.

An often cited example of Grossman’s skills is her translation of the very first lines in of the first chapter. Echevarría (1999) claims the first line of the book is one of the most recognizable sentences in the Spanish language. He compares it to English-speakers knowing Hamlet’s “to be or not to be” or Moby Dick’s “Call me Ishmael.” Spanish speakers know: “En un lugar de la Mancha, de cuyo nombre no quiero acordarme.” In Walter Starkie’s (1954) *Don Quixote*, the opening sentence begins: “At a village of La Mancha, whose name I do not wish to remember. . .” While Peter Anthony Motteux’s (1712) translation starts: “At a certain village of La Mancha, which I shall not name. . .” However, Grossman translate it as: “Somewhere in La Mancha, in a place whose name I do not care to remember. . .” Grossman’s translation of “I do

not care to remember” encompasses Cervantes’ sarcastic tone more accurately than both Starkie’s and Motteux’s versions.

Although the majority of reviews for Grossman’s translation glorify her abilities to bring the old text to contemporary readers, Tom Lathrop argues it still contains many mistakes and mistranslations. In his review for the journal *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America*, Lathrop (2008) provides examples throughout Grossman’s version of such errors. However, these “errors” do not take away from the essential qualities and persuasive elements of the novel. For example, Lathrop finds Grossman’s dropping of the article “el” in “Dulcinea of [el] Toboso” an example of an English speaker missing the sedulities of the Spanish language. He also argues there are instances where Grossman mistranslates; as when she says Don Quixote found “some armor that belonged to his great-grandfathers” (I, 1, 22). According to Lathrop, “bisabuelos” means “forefathers” and not “great-grandfathers” (241). However, according to Eduardo de Echegaray’s (1887) *Diccionario General Etimologico de la Lengua Española* (*Dictionary for the General Epistemology of the Spanish Language*) “bisabeulo” means “el padre ó madre del abuelo ó abuela” (the father or mother of grandfather or grandmother)(686). Finally, Lathrop also maintains that Grossman misunderstood some of Cervantes’ satiric game. In a footnote on page 57, Grossman says Sancho’s wife’s name was an oversight on Cervantes’ part because her name changes a few times. However, Lathrop argues Cervantes intentionally mixed up the names for comedic effect and to question Benengeli’s truthfulness in remembering all the details. Lathrop maintains a better version with more footnotes would be beneficial to the readers of the twenty-first century. I would argue the footnotes would bog the reader down and detract from the story. Regardless of such criticism

of details, I believe that the essence of *Don Quixote* is captured better in Grossman's translation than any of the others before it.

For purposes of this dissertation, I am not looking at the actual literary and poetic skills of Cervantes, but rather at the spirit in which the two characters persuade one another. Much more than being a funny book, *Don Quixote* is a rhetorical manual from start to finish. The persuasive techniques of the two characters are not lost in Grossman's translation. Although the exact words are not always translated literally, the knight and squire's rhetorical techniques remain constant: Don Quixote persuades from a print mindset of ideals and possibilities, while Sancho persuades from an oral culture mindset of realities and experience.

## CHAPTER OUTLINES

The first chapter reveals the historical and social environment for Cervantes' Spain and examines the rhetorical background in which he wrote *Don Quixote*. The rhetorical background influences all persuasive acts as it provides the context for understanding meaning and action. Divided into two parts, the first chapter examines two important histories for understanding *Don Quixote's* context: (1) a brief biography of Cervantes; and, (2) an overview of the major changes in Spain during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. First, Cervantes' biography reveals the inspiration for many of the knight's adventures. Cervantes's time in captivity, for example, is poetically reimagined in the Captive's Tale. Second, a brief history of Spain provides the important and relevant information for understanding the rhetorical situation in which Cervantes' wrote *Don Quixote*.

Chapter two defines the context for Cervantes' *Don Quixote* and identifies the cultural tensions in Spanish society that created its rhetorical situation. The rhetorical situation is

divided into exigence, which creates the need for rhetoric; constraints, which become obstacles to rhetorically overcome; and the audience, which acts as the source for achieving rhetorical ends. Identifying the exigences which demanded Cervantes' rhetorical response is perhaps the most important considerations any reader of *Don Quixote* can make, for it provides the genius behind his humor. For purposes of this dissertation, I examine four major rhetorical exigences in Spain—marginalizing women, restructuring of the social classes, unifying of the Catholic religion, and emerging nationalism—that weakened cultural stability and caused a time of impious change. Together these exigences provide the need and purpose of Cervantes' masterpiece. The goal of the second chapter is to provide a general overview of the rhetorical situation in which Cervantes wrote *Don Quixote*, to build a foundation for understanding the rhetorical strategies of his two protagonists.

Chapter three examines the rhetorical strategies of Don Quixote with regards to his discussions with characters other than Sancho, to reveal a type of discourse that relies on identification in order to justify his idealistic vision. Don Quixote persuades based on a heroic attitude and nostalgic style that uses “upward transcendence” (discussed in Chapter 3) in order to motivate others into action or belief by creating utopic visions for an ideal world. If Don Quixote persuades his audience with notions of nostalgic ideals that transcends contradictions in order to reconcile their differences, his heroic courage motivates them to actually pursue his course of action. However, if he fails to persuade his audience it is because his nostalgic purpose fails to meet their present needs, relying too heavily on past virtue to transcend situations. As a result, the goal of the fourth chapter is to examine the heroic, nostalgic, transcendent, and tragic, elements of Don Quixote's rhetoric in isolation from Sancho.

The fourth chapter explores the comic sensibility in Sancho's rhetoric that appeals to others and determines the benefits and drawbacks to his rhetorical strategies. Whereas Don Quixote persuades based on a heroic and nostalgic rhetoric that offers glorious transcendence, Sancho persuades based on an imitative and prudent rhetoric that comically interprets situations. The two styles of persuasion are counterparts to one another, and in the end, each serves to help the other grow stronger rhetorically. Sancho's rhetorical style imitates the speech-patterns of others around him. He draws from his surroundings and organizes his persuasion in a way that seems prudent to his realistic and common sense mentality. Overcoming constraints within his own rhetorical situation is through "transcendence downwards" (discussed in Chapter 4) that interprets apparent contradictions according to the simplest interpretation possible. His humorous banter back-and-forth with Don Quixote provides the comic-corrective to the knight's own tragic rhetoric. The goal of this chapter is to demonstrate how Sancho's rhetorical strategies are both successful and unsuccessful in his attempts to persuade others.

The fifth and final chapter examines the rhetorical strategies employed by both Don Quixote and Sancho when they are talking to one another. Their relationship creates a distinct form of discourse that demonstrates how true social movements combatting impious change work. When Don Quixote mentions some high, virtuous purpose, Sancho deflates it. When Sancho debases or muddles others' perspective, Don Quixote restores them with eloquence. Whereas the one comically pulls back to expand possibilities, the other tragically pushes forward with virtuous determination. It is this interchange between them that serves as the true interpretative model for confronting times of great change.

## CHAPTER ONE: THE RHETORICAL BACKGROUND FOR *DON QUIXOTE*

Somewhere in a village in La Mancha, a billowing cloud of smoke rises and the smell of burnt paper fills the air as members of an impromptu Inquisition condemns a sick man's library to the flames outside his home. The Priest and Barber, two of the characters from Don Quixote's village who have identified the books in his library as the primary cause of this madness, have taken it upon themselves to interrogate each of the books and condemn those deemed worthless or heretical to the flames. In the novel, this scene, no less than the others, is full of laughter and parody as Cervantes mocks the reasoning of these self-proclaimed extensions of the Inquisition. But the scene is also representative of actual *auto de fé* confessionals for which the *Reconquista* became notoriously known for having. While contemporary readers may need assistance in understanding Cervantes' parody, his original readers understood the humor immediately. As Yovel (2000) explains:

The biblio-inquisitors are Don Quijote's friends, the local barber and priest, who, encouraged by his solicitous housekeeper, check his library to decide which books ought to be "released to the housekeeper's secular arm." The phrase *releasing to the secular arm* was the euphemism used by the Inquisition to signify a sentence of death by burning. The Holy Office, based on love, never shed blood—that task was left to the secular authorities, to whom the culprit was "released." The pious self-deception involved in this approach was an inviting target for Cervantes's poignant but prudently phrased irony. The allusion to the "housekeeper's secular arm" clearly presents the library scene as a mock *auto de fe*. (278)

Moreover, as Yovel points out, Don Quixote's lack of reformation after the burning establishes him as a kind of outlaw/heretic by the same logic. By failing to alter his behavior and conform to the dictates of the church, "henceforth Don Quijote is a *relapso* (a heretic [or Judaizer] who resumes his illicit activities after an *auto de fe*). Don Quijote is just as hooked on his chivalric (hidalgo) heresy against reality as other *relapsos*, who deserved and not the flames, were



hooked on the religious heresies against the church” (278). When understood against this historical backdrop, then, we can see how the novel *Don Quixote* can be understood as not only a poetic but also a rhetorical response to his time as Cervantes holds elements of Spanish society to praise or blame through the genre of the comedic novel.

And what gave the language of *Don Quixote* both its poetic and rhetorical power came from the same source—Cervantes’s extraordinary biography that exposed him to all the currents of change in Spanish society during his time. Understanding *Don Quixote* thus requires understanding the world Cervantes experienced. As Manuel Duran (2005) suggests:

We can think of many great writers whose lives have left only a few traces upon their work. This is not so with Cervantes: his biography sheds light upon his masterpieces. He was seldom a cold and distant observer of his world: His presence as a witness and occasionally as a judge of what he saw is discreet yet undeniable. He made good use of his experience: he went so far as to include himself, as a minor character, in several of his works---much in the same way as one of our contemporary film directors, Alfred Hitchcock, appears fleetingly in his own movies. His presence is discreet yet insistent: he will not deny or betray his own personality: he begs us to take it into account when reading his texts. Pride and humility go hand in hand in him, helping him to become a good witness of his time—and of the human condition of all time. (23)

Cervantes' biography is important, therefore, because it directly shaped the plethora of characters he created; each with their own personality, speech-pattern, and beliefs. Mikhail Bakhtin uses the term *heteroglossia*, the condition of many different discourses struggling to be heard in any rhetorical situation, to discuss the importance of *Don Quixote* with regard to human communication and understanding. For Bakhtin (1981), heteroglot elements of a novel "must represent all the social and ideological voices of its era, that is, all the era's languages that have any claim to being significant" (411). Since “Quixote asks history to serve as example, as prophesy,” understanding the historical context in which Cervantes wrote

becomes important (1984, 138). With regards to any novel, the heteroglossia between the author and hero, and most importantly, the reader, serves a vital role in the stories. Although they may have competing views, Bakhtin (1981) suggests, “such oppositions of individual wills and minds are submerged in *social* heteroglossia,” and through it, “they are reconceptualized” (326). The characters, the author, and the reader have become more united through a fusion of their wills and minds. However, such fusion can only occur when the reader *knows* both the author and the historical context.

This chapter will explore elements of the rhetorical background of *Don Quixote* in order to provide the context for my later exploration of the rhetorical strategies of the characters and the novel. By the “rhetorical background” of *Don Quixote*, then, I mean what Crick (2012) defines as “a larger environment that defines the historical and social context of any particular rhetorical event,” and which ultimately “provides a speaker with a broader perspective to more efficiently identify resources from which to draw...and to better anticipate the possible long-term consequences after speaking” (74). This rhetorical background operates on two levels for the novel. First, it functions to explain how the novel had an impact in his own time as it addressed, through a work of art, actual political controversies and exigencies. Second, it functions to explain, for readers today, the actions of the characters, their hopes and anxieties, and why certain warrants and claims had authority while others seemed crazy or heretical. This chapter will explore the rhetorical background regarding Cervantes’s biography, a brief history of Spain, and attention to the changes in communication technology, namely the printing press.

## **CERVANTES' BIOGRAPHY**

On October 7, 1571, the Battle of Lepanto between Turks and Catholics ended and, although wounded, Spanish soldier Miguel de Cervantes survived having fought valiantly for the Catholic victors. As the Ottoman Empire's imperialistic agenda interfered with the Holy Roman Empire's sovereignty over Italian coastal cities, volunteer soldiers from Spain came to defend the Catholic faith against the Turks. After spending four years of his early twenties fighting to defend his culture, Cervantes decides to return to Spain hoping to be received by his countrymen as a war hero. Like one of the knights in the chivalric romance tales proliferating throughout Spain at the time, Cervantes fought for the nation and would surely be held up with pomp and circumstance for his patriotic accomplishments. Before the journey's end across the Mediterranean Sea and much sooner than he expects, he is held up—but not with the support he had expected. Instead, he was held up with shackles. The ship he was aboard was attacked by Barbary pirates off the Catalonia coast line and he and fellow passengers were taken prisoner. It was the beginning of five painful years in imprisonment for young Cervantes. However, his story neither ends nor begins with his captivity; instead, Cervantes' story begins nearly thirty years earlier in a small university town, just south of Madrid.

### ***Section 1: Which recounts Cervantes' Biography in regards to his Youth and Education***

While traveling in search of work, a young barber surgeon and his wife settled in Alcalá de Henares to prepare for their expected child. The barber surgeon, Rodrigo de Cervantes, and his wife, Leonor de Cortinas, perhaps chose to seek work in Alcalá de Henares as it was an important and bustling town with many of opportunities for work. Located on the Henares River in South-Central Spain, Alcalá de Henares was an important city at the time for two

significant reasons. First, it was the first place Queen Isabella and Christopher Columbus met to discuss his possible voyage around the world to India; second, it was the first university city in the world. In the 1480s when Queen Isabella and Columbus first met, Alcalá de Henares was a prosperous and multicultural town that housed a Christian quarter in the south, a Jewish quarter in the east, and an Arabic quarter in the north. However, a few years after Columbus' discovery of the New World, a royal edict in 1496 expelled all Jews from Spain. The town's commercial activity significantly dropped as the Jewish business owners left, leaving empty shops behind. Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros took the empty city as an opportunity to create a city designed around the needs of a local university. By the time Rodrigo and Leonor arrived to the city, the university was nearly finished and the city was being used as a model for building other new university cities in the New World and across Europe. In late September, 1547, Leonor gave birth to a boy, naming him Miguel and giving Alcalá de Henares a third significant reason of importance. Four hundred years later, the city still gains most of its tourism industry on being the birthplace of Miguel de Cervantes.

Miguel de Cervantes inherited both his father's name and his status as *hidalgo*, which is the lowest status in noble hierarchy. *Hidalgos*, or "hijos de algo," are individuals that come from important families, but their ties to the family or the social importance of the family has died. Cervantes' grandfather, Juan de Cervantes, a graduate in law from Salamanca, and a judge during the Inquisition, was of the upper nobility. However, Juan left his wife and children, leaving them in poverty and reducing their status to the "sons of someone" - *hidalgo* status. While this status meant Rodrigo would be forced to search for work his entire life, it also meant he was able to both communicate with and seek work from nobles and peasants. Alcalá de

Henares seemed like the perfect city to find work as both nobility and wealthy peasants sent their children to the university, all of whom could need the services of a barber surgeon. Mancing (2005) suggests, “A surgeon occupied one of the lowest rungs of the medical profession, and Rodrigo seems to have had more vanity than professional skill” (2). The cost of raising a family in the new university city outweighed the money Rodrigo could make, and so falling into more debt, the family left Alcalá de Henares.

The family moved to Cordoba in 1553, where they would settle for a few years and where young Cervantes would receive his elementary-level education. Cervantes grew up in a time when the New World had only been discovered six decades earlier, starting the Spanish Renaissance. The riches brought back from the New World created wealth that the monarchs gave to a new aristocratic class to threaten the authority of the nobility disloyal to the Crown. This new aristocratic class placed their focus and wealth on appreciating the arts, literature, and sciences. Furthermore, the introduction of the printing press in Spain in 1473, allowed for the proliferation of literature throughout the region. Prior to the printing press, education was reserved mostly for the elites and members of clergy, as the rarity and value of texts made it difficult for mass education. However, after Gutenberg’s invention, texts were more readily available allowing for more people to enter schooling. No longer was education reserved for members of clergy and the elites, as children from families of lower statuses could now receive an education. Although Rodrigo and Leonor had little money, they made certain their children received some education while they settled in Cordoba for a few years.

In Cordoba, as in most of the larger towns in Spain at the time, the Church had taken over control of primary education. As a young student, Cervantes would have learned how to

read and write in the vernacular, perform arithmetic, and be able to recite parts of the Catechism and prayers by memory. Richard Kagan (1974) claims the latter of these three agendas “were the first responsibilities which many new six- and seven-year-olds had to face” (20). The pedagogical techniques to aid in students’ learning were constant practice through copying and memorization and endless repetition and review, which was “always aided by the free use of the cane upon the bored, inattentive, lazy, and mischievous” (21). Indoctrination of the Catholic religion at a young age was suspected of helping children stay out of trouble and helping create a moral citizenry.

In 1566, Cervantes moved to the growing city of Madrid, the new capital of Spain, and began work at the Estudio de Villa Academy, where his first two publications were printed. Only five years earlier, King Phillip II named the small town of Madrid the new capital of Spain, and overnight the town grew into a large city. By the time Cervantes arrived to the new capital, it had already exploded in size and population and was becoming a large commercial center. The Estudio de Villa Academy was a publicly-funded school founded by the Catholic Monarchs and at the time of Cervantes’ tenure, was run by Juan López de Hoyos. De Hoyos was a distinguished Erasmus and humanist scholar that most likely introduced Cervantes to Virgil, Horace, Seneca and Catullus, and, of course, Erasmus. Upon the death of Phillip II’s third wife, Isabella de Valois, Hoyos composed an anthology of poems in her honor. Cervantes contributed a sonnet, an elegy and two poems to the anthology. There is some debate by Cervantine scholars as to whether Cervantes attended the academy as a student or worked as a teacher. He was twenty at the time, rather old compared to other students. In the anthology, Hoyos describes him as “our dear and beloved pupil,” but some scholars argue this phrase is more a

customary phrase for a colleague than for a student. While his position may never be known at the Estudio de Villa, his time there is important as this where his first writings became published. Two years after arriving, Cervantes wrote a pastoral romance titled, *Filena*, which Hoyos published and was well received in literary circles. No copies of *Filena* exist today, but its publication demonstrates a young Cervantes' aspirations to become an author.

In addition to the disputes about Cervantes' position at the Estudio de Villa, the history following his publication of *Filena* is also subject to much debate. Some scholars argue that after reading *Filena*, soon-to-be Cardinal Guilio Acquaviva enlisted the help of Cervantes while on his trip to Madrid. In 1568, Monsignor Acquaviva arrived in Spain to offer condolences from the Pope to Phillip II on the death of his son and heir-apparent, Don Carlos. A young man with a strong appetite for literature, Acquaviva may have found companionship in Cervantes and trusted him to be his confidential secretary. Other scholars suggest Cervantes felt the need to travel abroad to gain credibility and inspiration as an author, and found a job as a chamberlain for Acquaviva's household. In either case, Acquaviva became a Cardinal upon his return to Rome and Cervantes remained in his service for at least three years.

At the end of his time with Cardinal Acquaviva, Cervantes joined the aforementioned military battle against the Turks in 1571. Although Cervantes was badly wounded and lost the use of his left hand, the Catholics won the battle at Lepanto. The victory at Lepanto rejuvenated the troops, and after spending six months in the hospital, Cervantes returned to battle. He remained in Italy, loyal to the cause, for three and half more years before deciding to return home to Spain with letters of commendation for Phillip II of his services to the Crown. Don Juan of Austria and Don Carlos of Aragon, the Viceroy of Sicily, each wrote letters to the king

testifying to Cervantes's bravery and heroism in war. These testimonies would solidify a job, perhaps even a royal appointment, for Cervantes upon his return. With several other soldiers eager to return home, including his brother Rodrigo, Cervantes boarded the ship *El Sol* and began the journey across the Mediterranean. However, just shy of his twenty-eighth birthday, on September 26, 1575, *El Sol* was attacked and the passengers were taken prisoner by Barbary pirates.

### ***Section 2: Regarding the Algerian Barbary Pirates, Cervantes' Five Years in Captivity, and Its Impact on His Writing***

Each of the prisoners went to a different pirate, with Cervantes going to the captain, to be ransomed or sold as slaves in Algiers. While Cervantes was no doubt upset about the disabling injury to his left hand in battle, this injury meant he would be useless as a galley slave. Conversely, while Cervantes was no doubt proud to receive the testimonies from Don Juan and Don Carlos for his bravery in war, these letters meant, at least to the pirates, that he was important and worth a lot of money. Therefore, Cervantes became Captain Mami's prisoner to be ransomed once back in Algiers. However, Cervantes's father had already passed away and his mother and sisters could not gather enough money for him and his brother Rodrigo. Mami grew restless and eventually sold Cervantes to an Algerian named Dey Azan for five hundred escudos.

Cervantes' time in captivity was a period of torment for the young soldier, and, specifically with regards to the Captive's Tale in *Don Quixote*, it haunts his writing. In Chapter 40, the Captive tells the story of his imprisonment and rescue from Moorish lands. Similar to Cervantes, the Captive left Spain to assist a great Duke, but was inspired to join the fight against the Turks at the Battle of Lepanto. In fact, much of the Captive's tale involves actual people



Cervantes may have met while abroad. After the victory at Lepanto, like Cervantes, the Captive is captured and taken prisoner. He explains:

I was one of those waiting for ransom, for when they learned that I was a captain, though I told them of my limited possibilities and lack of wealth, they put me with the gentlemen and the people awaiting ransom. They put a chain on me, more as a sign that I was to be ransomed than to hold me, and I spent my days in that bagnio, with many other gentlemen and people of note who had been selected to be held for ransom. Although hunger and scant clothing troubled us at times, even most of the time, nothing troubled us as much as constantly hearing and seeing my master's remarkably and exceptionally cruel treatment of Christians. Each day he hanged someone, impaled someone, cut off someone's ears, and with so little provocation, or without any provocation at all, that the Turks knew he did it merely for the sake of doing it and because it was in his nature to murder the entire human race. The only one who held his own with him was a Spanish soldier named something de Saavedra, who did things that will be remembered by those people for many years, and all to gain his liberty, yet his master never beat him, or ordered anyone else to beat him, or said an unkind word to him; for the most minor of all the things he did we were afraid he would be impaled, and more than once he feared the same thing; if I had the time, I would tell you something of what that soldier did, which would entertain and amaze you much more than this recounting of my history. (I, 40, 344)

The Captive's difficulty finding ransom to pay his debt reflects Cervantes' own difficulties becoming free. In fact, he even alludes to himself, claiming the *only one who held his own* was someone *named something de Saavedra*. (Cervantes' full name is Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra.)

Cervantes was held captive in Algiers for five years, in which time he tried to escape four times, but only to be re-captured, tortured, and imprisoned again. At the time, Algiers was one of the richest trading centers on the Mediterranean and people from all over came searching for wealth. The wealth also attracted criminals, corruption, and a black market with human trafficking. Not being able to trust anyone, Cervantes would almost get away until someone he had confided in would turn him in for some reward. Each of Cervantes's escape attempts

would have normally been punishable by death, but because of the letters of commendation, the captives believed he was worth quite a bit and each time spared his life. After five years in captivity, friars from the Council of the Crusades on behalf of his mother, Leonor, negotiated Cervantes's release and he set sail for Spain on October 24, 1580.

### ***Section 3: Which relates Cervantes' Life Post-Captivity and the Publication of Don Quixote***

Arriving in Spain five days later, the reality set in that he would not be celebrated as a returning war hero. Instead, he returned to a family in poverty, indebted to the Council of the Crusades. However, Cervantes' situation was not uncharacteristic of what other families were facing across the empire. Specifically after the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 by the English, which was extremely expensive for the Spanish, there was a general economic crisis across the country. The discovery of the New World had originally made Spain the world superpower giving it extreme wealth and resources. However, the cost of managing an empire drove inflation up and eventually the system started to crumble in the late sixteenth-century. Eager to find wealth in the New World, Cervantes applied for several posts in America. Ultimately, however, he was denied each time.

Cervantes would try several jobs throughout the 1580s, but throughout this time he continued to try his hand at becoming a successful author. In 1584, he tried to pay off debt by publishing his first book, *Galatea*. The same year, Cervantes met a young lady named Catalina de Salazar y Palacios, the daughter of a wealthy farmer from Esquivias, Spain, and on December 12, 1584, the two were married. For the next four years Cervantes lived in Esquivias and cared for his wife's family's vineyards. Cervantes grew tired of life on the farm or, perhaps, life with his wife. In either case, he divorced Catalina and moved to Seville in the late 1580s. In Seville,

he became a tax collector, but was later arrested a few times throughout the late 1590s and early 1600s for having embezzled money. It was during this time in prison that he began writing the first part of *Don Quixote*.

In 1605, *Don Quixote* was first published and swiftly grew acclaim throughout the region. The book was quickly translated into several languages and was even used as instructional and bedtime stories for children learning Spanish in the New World. With the success of *Don Quixote*, Cervantes finally solidified his reputation as an author. In 1613, he published a series of long, short stories he termed “novels” in *Novelas ejemplares*. In 1614, modeled after Caporali’s 1582 poem, *Viaggio di Parnassus*, Cervantes published the *Viaje del Parnaso*, which follows Cervantes as he and other poets journey to Mount Parnassus to battle evil allegorical poets. In 1615, he published the *Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses*, which were written to be performed between the main acts of a play. Most importantly, that same year, he published the second part of *Don Quixote*.

Scholars have debated the impetus for Cervantes to complete the second part for centuries, but most agree that the publication of a book the previous year had provided him with much of the motivation. There is reason to question his inspiration as at the end of *Galatea*, he promised to write a second part, but never did. Twenty years later, he pokes fun at himself for never writing it by having the Priest and Barber in *Don Quixote* make fun of Cervantes and *Galatea* in the book burning chapter. The book that was published in 1614 that may have inspired him to complete the second part was the *Segundo tomo del ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha* (*Second Book of the Mad Hidalgo Don Quixote of La Mancha*) by Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda. Avellaneda’s sequel picks up where the first book

ends and continues the story of the knight and squire. However, Avellaneda completely changes the characters and their personalities, and most critics agree it was poorly written. Nevertheless, Cervantes discovers that his invention has been stolen and publishes the *correct* sequel a year later. Tom Lathrop states:

When Cervantes learned of Avellaneda's continuation, he was furious—not only because Avellaneda's work had appeared first, but also because Avellaneda neither possessed Cervantes' inventiveness nor remotely understood the psychological subtleties of the original *Don Quixote* and the original Sancho. Cervantes was angry also because of several insults that Avellaneda had hurled at him in the Prologue, dealing with his age and maimed hand. (132).

Although Cervantes' anger is justified to contemporary audiences in a world checked with copyright regulations, Lathrop is quick to defend Avellaneda's decision to write a sequel in the early days of print. First, Cervantes had promised to write a second part to *Galatea* and never did. Second, the end of the 1605 *Don Quixote* does not suggest there will be a sequel. In fact, the last line of the 1605 *Don Quixote* reads, "Forse altro cantera con miglior plectio," which Grossman points out is a line referencing Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, meaning "perhaps another will sing in a better style" (449, n.5). Lathrop claims, "Avellaneda, in all innocence accepted the challenge and wrote his own continuation" (132). Perhaps Cervantes's anger was not so much that Avellaneda wrote a sequel, it was that he did so without "singing in a better style." Finally, Lathrop, as others agree, suggests Cervantes may have never written the 1615 *Don Quixote* without Avellaneda's insult of a publication.

### **A BRIEF HISTORY OF SPAIN**

Similar to Cervantes' tumultuous experience as a prisoner in Algiers, the Catholic Monarchs felt Spain had experienced being prisoner to Muslim forces and influences for too long. It began in 711, when an Islamic conquest entered from the south and quickly conquered

the entire Iberian Peninsula. For the next six centuries, the Muslim forces maintained power that extended as far north as the Pyrenees Mountains. However, by the early thirteenth century, Christian territories had begun to fight back. Known as the *Reconquista*, the Catholic nobility waged wars against groups and regions, slowly driving the Muslims farther south for the next two centuries. During the same time, Spain was in a social era known as the *convivencia*, where there existed a relative peaceful social existence between the Christians, Jews, and Muslims. Believing this peaceful co-existence kept Spain prisoner to the Muslims, Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand, known as the “Catholic Monarchs,” set out to restore Christianity by war and by banishing the non-Christian others.

***Section 1: Which Details a Brief History of the Catholic Monarchs and Their Every-Lasting Influence on Spanish Culture***

The marriage of Isabella and Ferdinand united two large territories on the Iberian Peninsula, and with this unity, came a desire to unify the entire peninsula. Isabella was Queen of Castile (“land of castles”), an economically and militarily powerful kingdom, while Ferdinand was King of Aragon, a less powerful, but still strong area. In the *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Catholic* William Prescott (1854) describes Queen Isabella as being nearly a goddess:

If there be any being on earth, that may be permitted to remind us of the Deity himself, it is the ruler of a mighty empire, who employs the high powers entrusted to him exclusively for the benefit of his people; who, endowed with intellectual gifts corresponding with his station, in an age of comparative barbarism, endeavors to impart to his land the light of civilization which illumines his own bosom, and to create from the elements of discord the beautiful fabric of social order. Such was Isabella; and such the age in which she lived. (178)

The monarchs knew medieval barbarism was ending, and it was their task to civilize and unify a Catholic nation, which would later gain them the nicknames, “the Catholic Monarchs” (a title bestowed upon them by Pope Alexander VI in 1494). To unify the rest of the peninsula, the two set out to restore Christianity by finishing the *Reconquista* once and for all. However, when the Catholic Monarchs’ reign had first begun, they had yet to legitimize their authority over Castile and Aragon, let alone the rest of the peninsula.

The military and the political power of the noble class were considerably strong in Spain, which threatened the Catholic Monarchs’ authority and objective for unifying the Iberian Peninsula. B. W. Ife (2002) claims, “The image of the medieval baron living in a fortified castle on a huge estate, running a private army and living off tributes and taxes extorted from terrified peasants may be a caricature, but it is one which came close to reality in parts of late fifteenth-century Spain” (15). Isabella and Ferdinand reified their authority over these “barons” in their “fortified castles” in three key ways. First, they began to diminish the power of the aristocracy by rewarding services for the crown, not with money, “but by various kinds of patronage, including grants of land” (Ife, 16). Second, the monarchs created a new policing force for the protection of people against the violence from nobles. Third, Isabella and Ferdinand were able to lessen any threat from the nobility by keeping them busy with a war against the infidels. Combined, these three initiatives slowly changed social hierarchies within Spanish society, as a new aristocratic class emerged: nobility not based on birth, but based on loyalty to the Catholic Monarchs.

One method the Catholic Monarchs employed to gain stronger loyalty among the nobility was to issue land grants based on merit, as opposed to birthright. The old noble class

had little allegiance to the new monarchs, as their social status and wealth had been their birthright. However, the Monarchs granting land as payment based on merit allowed for a new wealthy class in Spain to emerge. In some cases, the Monarchs would reverse grants made to nobles by previous monarchs, destroy their castle, and grant the land to someone else. The nobles, finding their rank was no longer their sole “avenue to promotion,” secured success by demonstrating unwavering support (Prescott, 200). This new class was loyal to the crown as their wealth was at the mercy of these grants. Their wealth rivaled that of the old aristocracy, and in some cases, even surpassed it.

Another way the Catholic Monarchs asserted royal authority over the nobility was by establishing the *Santa Hermandad* (Holy Brotherhood) to maintain law on the roads across the Peninsula. The Brotherhood was a type of military force made up of municipal councils and paid for by local communities for the protection against violence from the nobles. Spain was divided by different regions that had their own cultures, languages, and laws. These regional differences made it difficult for the Monarchs to assert their authority and were one reason they wanted to unify the entire peninsula into one nation. Because roads were under the purview of the crown, one way Isabella and Ferdinand asserted authority over the different regions was by putting the Holy Brotherhood in charge of all the roads throughout Spain.

Describing who the Holy Brotherhood prosecuted, Prescott states:

Although ostensibly directed against offenders of a more humble description, [the Brotherhood] was made to bear indirectly upon the nobility, whom it kept in awe by the number and discipline of its forces, and the promptness with which it could assemble them on the most remote points of the kingdom. (200)

By traveling the roads, the Brotherhood was able to transcend regional boundaries and apprehend fugitives that thought by fleeing to other regions with different aristocratic laws

they would be safe from punishment. Crooked nobles that fled to friends' homes in different regions thinking they were safe from prosecution, would later be picked up by the Holy Brotherhood, and either sentenced or taken into custody.

Keeping the nobles busy was one final way the Catholic Monarchs lessened their authority, and they did this by keeping them in constant war. Similar to the chivalric romances flourishing throughout the region at the time, knights defended the nation and tried to restore Catholicism back to Spain by driving out all the infidels. Elliot (1963) states:

The idea of the crusade, with its popular religious and emotional overtones, was therefore ready at hand for Ferdinand and Isabella. A vigorous renewal of the war against Granada would do more than anything else to rally the country behind its new rulers, and associate Crown and people in a heroic enterprise which would make the name of Spain ring through Christendom. (34)

The final battle in the *cruzada* was in Granada, southern Spain, and was the Muslims' last strong hold. With the troops and supplies of the nobles, and the funds to pay for it with the tax, victory fell to the Catholics Crusaders, and the *Reconquista* was finally over. The victory at Granada brought an end to the long period of conquest and reconquest that had begun in the early eighth century. The victory also brought an end to the wars that had kept the nobles busy and away from the Catholic Monarchs' royal authority.

Columbus' discovery of the New World later that year solved the monarchs' dilemma of keeping the nobility busy with no wars to fight by allowing them to send the nobles across the Atlantic to become conquistadors and governors of new territories. The conquistadors were to scout out new territories for new governors to come in to maintain peace and order, but also to try and refashion the area to be similar to Spain in every way: culturally, economically, and religiously. As it would turn out, colonizing the areas was a difficult task, and imperializing a



Spanish culture was near impossible. For example, Nancy Farriss (1984) shows how the “colonial backwater” region’s geography and population created conditions not favored by the Spanish colonist, and therefore, the Maya were able to maintain their ethnic identity. In addition to lacking resources, the climate on the Yucatán was “uncongenial” to the Europeans, possessing humid heat and poisonous insects, and so most areas in the peninsula “gained a deserved reputation as deathtraps” (31). With little resources and unfavorable climate, the majority of the colonist skipped the Yucatán altogether, conquering the rest of Mesoamerica instead. However, as Gibson and Griffiths point out, conquering only refers to the oppressive political power the Spaniards held over the natives. Far from the passive recipients of an imposed European religion, Griffiths finds the ingenious peoples in Peru were able to fuse their earlier beliefs with those of Christianity into a solitary system with two distinct realms, with a great deal of interplay between the two, in defiance to the Spanish efforts to curtail its practice. While Gibson describes in great detail the deterioration of the Aztec civilization and the subsequent loss of the Aztec empire, he ultimately argues that the native population still managed to retain some form of its native identity.

Similarly, back in Spain, although the Catholic Monarchs tried to restore the nation to one Catholic religion, William Christian claims there were two levels of Catholicism prevalent throughout the region. He claims there was the Church Universal and then there were also local adaptations. The Church Universal was based on strict adherence to Catholic doctrine and was enforced in larger urban areas. However, much to the Church’s frustration, in the rural countryside, local religions that adopt Catholic and pagan ritual together existed. Christian (1989) states:

At the time lay professionals circulated through the Castilian countryside selling their services to individuals or communities to ward off disease, locusts, other insect pests, or hailstorms by magical methods. Known variously as necromancers, enpsalmers, or conjurers of clouds, they competed directly with the priests of the parishes. (29)

Like with the Native Americans in the New World, Spain struggled to maintain a Universal Catholic religion as local communities fused their ancestral traditions and practices with the mandated Christianity. For the Catholic Monarchs, the problem was created by the propaganda and influences of the non-Christian other: namely, the Jews and Muslims. Therefore, after the 1492 victory, the Catholic Monarchs reenergized the power and influence of a tribunal they had created in 1480, known as the Spanish Inquisition.

### ***Section 2: Regarding the Catholic Monarch's History of Discrimination, Expulsion, and Mistrusts for Non-Catholic Others***

Originally intended to ensure the orthodoxy of converted Jews (conversos) and Muslims (Moriscos), after 1492, the Spanish Inquisition became a means for ridding the empire of the non-Christian other. The longevity of the Spanish Inquisition would last centuries, up until 1834, but its strongest influence was initially seen during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs, and then later by their great-grandson, Philip II. Helen Rawlings (2006) states:

The Spanish Inquisition exercised both a secular and a religious function. It was a court of law that owed allegiance to the Crown with supreme authority to root out heresy and restore obedience to the Church. It served to reinforce the political as well as the ideological interests of the Catholic State. In terms of its administrative organization, it was a self-supporting body. It had its own leader, the Inquisitor General; its own ministry, the Council of Inquisition; its own courts, the tribunals of the Inquisition; its own prisons, district commissioners and local agents. In terms of its procedures, it adhered to a strict set of rules, stringent by modern-day standards, within which inquisitors endeavored to act justly. Its longevity as an institution could be attributed to the effectiveness of its organization and control mechanisms. (21)

While the Iberian Peninsula was free of Muslim rule after 1492, it was still not the unified nation the Catholic Monarchs had dreamed of, for it lacked a national identity. The peninsula still maintained a diverse population of Jews, Muslims, Christians, and others, like those that were mixed or had converted from one to the other. Therefore, that same year on March 31, the monarchs' signed the Alhambra Decree, which ordered the expulsion of all Jews from the Kingdoms of Castile and Aragon. Wanting a unified nation, the Catholic Monarchs' mandated a single, Catholic religion in their territories. Jews were given until the end of July to leave or convert. By 1502, a similar mandate ordered Muslims to do the same: leave or convert (Ife, 15). Spain was beginning to create a national identity, but by doing so, had to eliminate or assimilate the various groups living throughout the country.

Whereas the Monarchs believed exiling the non-Christian other would help unify a single, Catholic religion, the Church feared the blasphemous local adaptations were caused by something much larger, which had only been introduced to Spain nineteen years earlier. The invention of the printing press first arrived in Spain in 1473, and the results that followed would change Spain forever. The Spanish Renaissance, which was the result of Spain becoming a world power over night thanks to Columbus' famous discovery, placed a new focus on art, literature, and science. The printing press allowed for the proliferation of these new perspectives to be read by the majority of the reading public, thus creating what Marshall McLuhan (1962) called a radically new kind of communication technology based on "the discovery of the vernacular at a PA system" (194). For instance, Elliot (1969) claims:

The coming of printing to Spain around 1473 had given an extraordinary vogue to romances of chivalry, and *Amadís of Gaul* (1508), the most famous of them all, was known in affectionate detail by a vast body of Spaniards who, if they could not read themselves, had heard them told or read aloud. A society soaked in

these works, and touchingly credulous about the veracity of their contents, naturally tended to some extent to model its view of the world and its code of behavior on the extravagant concepts popularized by the books of chivalry. Here was an abundance of strange happenings and heroic actions. What more natural than that the mysterious world of America should provide the scene for their enactment? Uneducated and illiterate . . . all had heard of and hoped to find the kingdom of the Amazons; and it is recorded that their first sight of Mexico City reminded Cortés' men of 'the enchanted things related in the book of Amadís'. (53)

The proliferation of these texts, and the "touchingly credulous" beliefs these texts were true, caused fear in the Church that uneducated people could be misled to heresy without proper education. A new focus on the education system during the Spanish Renaissance was therefore directed at understanding and appreciating the arts and sciences, under the guidance of clergy.

The Church feared neglected children would become sinful and criminal, and therefore, in 1512, the dioceses of Seville ordered all parish priests and sacristans to begin providing elementary education for the children in Seville whose families could not afford private tutors (Kagan, 13). Students were taught the basics of reading and writing in the vernacular, as well as how to perform simple arithmetic calculations. In 1548, the year after Cervantes' birth, dioceses across the forming nation created similar orders for their priest, as the results from Seville were promising: fewer thieves, less disease, and more indoctrinated followers (Kagan, 14). While urban areas across Spain incorporated Seville's model and all social classes began to have access to education, the rural areas, as well as lower class women, remained uneducated.

One of the most enduring themes of *Don Quixote*, then, is precisely this tension between the emerging literate print culture and the old feudal manuscript or oral culture. According to McLuhan, "Cervantes confronted typographic man in the figure of Don Quixote," namely by showing how "inner direction towards remote goals is inseparable from print culture

and the perspective and vanishing point organization of space that are part of it" (213-4). What McLuhan means is that the new technology created a consciousness in the reader of having an individual perspective on a great swath of homogeneous space and time, much as one would look at a panorama. What drives Quixote crazy, then, is simply that his old feudal consciousness does not know how to adapt to the new print technology, and as a consequence he begins treating the old romances as if they were actual documents of reality in the way that the burgeoning new science is purported to be. Cervantes, through *Don Quixote*, thus "presents the case of the feudal man confronted with a newly visual quantified and homogeneous world" (213). And the fact that Cervantes was so well acquainted with these tensions and culture allowed him to create characters in Quixote and Sancho that embody this tension between the new print consciousness and the old oral culture of Spain as it struggled to adapt to a new age.

### ***Section 3: Concerning the History of Spain Following the Reign of the Catholic Monarchs up to the Publication of Cervantes' Don Quixote***

By the time Isabel died in 1504, Spain had been transformed from a land of isolated, multicultural kingdoms, into a Catholic nation unified by the large kingdoms of Castile and Aragon. However, with her death, Ferdinand remained king of only Aragon, not Castile. Many years earlier, to continue their ambitions for a unified peninsula, the Catholic Monarchs had arranged marriages for their four children to legitimize their inheritance through royal alliances with neighboring territories. Their son John married Archduchess Margaret of Austria, establishing an alliance with the Habsburgs. Their daughter Isabella married Manuel I of Portugal, uniting the peninsula with the House of Aviz-Beja. The middle daughter, Joanna, was married to Philip of Burgundy to further solidify the relationship with the Habsburgs of Austria. Their youngest daughter, Catherine, married Henry VIII of England, to form an alliance with the

Tudor Family. Unfortunately, both John and Isabella died unexpectedly, passing the crown's succession to their daughter Joanna and her husband Philip. However, Philip died only two years after Isabella's death, leaving their son, Charles, with the large inheritance.

Charles was too young to lead the nation when his father died in 1506, therefore, Ferdinand ruled on his behalf. It was not until his death in 1516, that Spain would finally be united under one legitimate king. Isabel and Ferdinand's grandson, Charles, would become the first king of a united Spain. In addition, Charles also inherited the reconquered territories on the peninsula, the territories in the New World, and, from his father's side, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, and Franche-Comté. Ife (2002) suggests:

When he was elected Holy Roman Emperor in 1519, the same year in which the Spaniards reached Mexico, a fourth group of territories were added to the monarchy: the Habsburg lands in Germany, Poland, Austria, and Hungary. Within a three-year period, King Charles I of Spain---the Emperor Charles V---became the most powerful man the world had ever seen. (19)

While originally the Spaniards rejected the new Emperor for his Flemish background, eventually he won their hearts by continuing his grandparents' quest to defend the faith over the new territories. He also won the Spaniards over by marrying Isabella of Portugal, learning the Spanish language, and creating a permanent home on the peninsula. In 1527, Charles and Isabella of Portugal gave birth to an heir, and twenty-nine years later, Philip II ascended the throne of Spain.

For the majority of Cervantes' life, Philip II would be king, and during his reign, Spain would reach the height of its influence and power. Having territories on every known continent at the time, Philip II followed his father in being the most powerful man in the world. He remained obstinately loyal to the Catholic cause and used several oppressive methods for

cracking down on unorthodox behaviors. He fully supported the Spanish Inquisition, adding to it the *auto de fe*, the index of prohibited books, and banning Spaniards from studying abroad. The *auto de fe*, or act of faith, was a “public and solemn demonstration of commitment to Catholicism, as well as an equally public expression of the revulsion felt for heresy” (Pérez, 2005, 155). Coupled with the prohibition on certain books and studying abroad, Philip II hoped the Spanish Inquisition would lead to a unified, Catholic nation.

Under Philip II, the Spanish Inquisition soon acquired a reputation for being a barbarous, repressive instrument of racial and religious intolerance that regularly employed torture as well as the death penalty for punishment. This reputation was propagated by Northern Europeans who were ideologically, politically, and religiously different from Spain. The attitudes towards Spain and the Inquisition by neighboring Protestant countries led to the “Black Legend” being spread—thanks to the printing press—via pamphleteers across Europe. These pamphleteers served as a warning of the consequences of Spanish imperialism. However, scholars have recently reassessed the history of the Spanish Inquisition and challenge its reputation as an evil instrument of torture and oppression for Catholic domination, by looking at the wider role it had on society as an educational force (Hawkins, 2005; Rawlings, 2006). Although he was devoutly and ruthlessly Catholic, Philip II’s reign was an era that continued the Renaissance’s cultural appreciation for education in the arts and sciences.

This cultural appreciation led to interests in advanced degrees, and the old universities sprinkled across Spain began to flourish. The oldest university in Spain was the University of Salamanca, which was established in 1218. The University of Salamanca was where Cervantes’ grandfather attended school for law before leaving his family. More importantly, it is also the

university where many of the students are from that Don Quixote encounters. For example, when Don Quixote meets a shepherd lamenting over the death of his friend, Grisóstomo, he learns the friend was a student from Salamanca that “knew the science of the stars and what happens up there in the sky with the sun and the moon.” In fact, Salamanca was one of the first universities to offer classes in astrology, “which was among the most important at the institution” (Gasta, 60). Although it is unknown if Cervantes was familiar with Copernicus or not, Chad Gasta claims, “Copernicus’s views on astrology were so pervasive in Spain that it is hard to believe that Cervantes did not know something about them” (59-60). Copernican theory eventually led to Pope Gregory XIII’s calendar revolution in 1582, which dropped ten days from the Julian calendar Cervantes was born understanding. While Gasta questions whether the calendar changes, including the change to the lunar calendar during his years in captivity, caused Cervantes to be strategically irregular and careless with time in the novel, the importance here is that people living in sixteenth century Spain were beginning to modernize their thinking about Earth’s location as the center of the universe. While Cervantes did not attend university, the cultural acceptance of scientific advancements during Phillip II’s reign allowed for Copernican theory to be generally understood and accepted in Catholic Spain.

Starting with the Catholic Monarchs and the victory at Granada, Spain had enjoyed the Spanish Renaissance, the scientific discoveries that came from that, and its influence was wide spread. It seemed the Spanish Empire would last forever as it had political influence on all the major continents. Elliot writes, “The language of Castile, its laws, and its arms, were supreme over wide portions of the globe. Here was an empire on which, as Ariosto had said, “the sun never set” (264). However, the sun would set, and rather quickly in fact.



Philip II's devotion to the Catholic cause would ultimately lead to the end of the Spanish Renaissance and Spain's status as the world superpower. In 1588, thirty years after the death of his wife and Queen of England, Mary I, Philip II sent an armada to England to restore Catholicism that Mary's half-sister, Elizabeth I, had destroyed with Protestant heresy after her death. The Spanish Armada reached the coasts of England, but were quickly driven out and defeated by English ships. The defeat signaled an end to Spain's status as world superpower, and also signaled an end to the Spanish Renaissance. As quickly as prosperity had arrived to Spain with the colonization of the New World, it would quickly crumble due to defaults on loans, inflation, and expensive wars. The Spanish Armada's defeat and the end of the Spanish Renaissance signaled the start of an economic crisis for the nation. Elliot (1989) explains in *Spain and Its World*, the nation was the Spain of Don Quixote, "a Spain, which, like a bemused knight errant, showed signs of having lost its bearings in a changing world" (265). Accordingly, within a few short years, Spain rose to the international stage as a world power, only to fall just as quickly. The quick ascent and descent of Spain's power, and the disassociation that caused, was the world in which Cervantes responds to in *Don Quixote*.

In this chapter, the biography of Miguel de Cervantes and a brief history of Spain have been considered to ground the context for the subsequent chapters of the dissertation. I began with Cervantes' parody of the Spanish Inquisition and auto de fé serving as one of the many examples of how the rhetorical background gave the language of Don Quixote poetic and rhetorical power. The rhetorical background shapes both the characters Cervantes develops, as well as, the situations they encounter. Cervantes' biography, specifically with regards to his

time as a prisoner in Algiers, haunts his writing. I introduced the Captive's Story from Part 2 of *Don Quixote*, as reflection of this haunting, which almost directly mirrors his own biography. I next turned to the history of Spain with regards to the everlasting influential changes brought about during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs, Isabella and Ferdinand. Under their leadership, social hierarchies became unstable, the Moors were pushed out of Spain, Columbus discovered the New World, and a single Catholic religion was enforced. Together, Cervantes' biography and Spain's brief history as the world's superpower provide the context for later explorations in the rhetorical situation discussed in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER TWO: THE RHETORICAL EXIGENCES OF CERVANTES' SPAIN

Picking at a piece of stale *roscón* left over from the Epiphany, a young woman sits quietly in her room reading what is today celebrated as the first novel. Atypical for the majority of women in seventeenth-century Spain, she is literate because her family's wealth allowed her to receive private tutoring from a young age. Her eyes fill with tears as she reads; tears which betray her deep emotional attachment to the story. Although occasionally caused out of pity or sorrow for the two main protagonists, most often her tears are the results of her own belly laughter. After all, she is reading Cervantes' *Don Quixote*. The young woman continues picking at the stale pastry, turning the pages, engulfed in the narrative. Unlike most contemporary readers, she understands the nuances and humor at play behind Cervantes' clever parody. She realizes, for instance, that windmills are new to Spain, and that attacking these giants is more out of ignorance than stupidity. She has a stronger appreciation for the incongruity in calling prostitutes high-born maidens, for the dangers in being caught by the Holy Brotherhood, and for the absurdity in believing Sancho could one day be governor of an *ínsula*. She has a stronger emotional connection to these and other elements of the story because, whether consciously or not, she understands the pervasive social changes which were happening at the time in which Cervantes' wrote *Don Quixote*, changes which in many cases produced exigencies which were not only the cause of political and ethical turmoil but also literary genius.

Published on January 16, 1605, only ten days after Spanish children received gifts in their wooden shoes celebrating the revelation of Jesus Christ, the world received Cervantes' gift celebrating the literary births of the heroic knight, Don Quixote de la Mancha, and his loyal squire, Sancho Panza. However, Cervantes' pivotal work did not arise in a vacuum of rhetorical

possibility; instead, it was born to an era in Spain which rhetorically required it. For in *Don Quixote*, Cervantes responds to the revolutionizing social and political culture around him. As Spain modernized over night with new discoveries, new inventions, and new scientific understanding, its people were left sorting out the effects caused by such changes. In the rhetorical situation of Spain's modernization, it is Cervantes who arises as the celebrated rhetor for identifying, clarifying, and addressing these cultural changes.

Cultural changes become rhetorical situations when they cause problems which are capable of being redressed through discourse. Lloyd Bitzer (1968) claims rhetorical situations create the context for rhetorical invention, calling specific audiences to action in order to resolve conflicting issues in culture. A text, work of art, or speech act becomes rhetorical not simply because it makes arguments or tries to be persuasive; they become rhetorical because they function as such within a certain type of situation. Bitzer writes that "rhetorical works belong to the class of things which obtain their character from the circumstances of the historic context in which they occur. ...[A] work of rhetoric is pragmatic; it comes into existence for the sake of something beyond itself; it functions ultimately to produce action or change in the world; it performs some task" (3-4). Bitzer's definition reveals the rhetorical situation by its three constituent parts: exigence, audience, and constraints. The exigence, or rhetorical purpose, is "a defect, an obstacle, something waiting to be done" (6). Exigences provide the reasons rhetors call particular, capable audiences to action. However, rhetorical situations also consist of constraints, which "have the power to constrain decision and action needed to modify the exigence" (8). Rhetorical constraints limit possibilities for invention, or else rhetors

fail to create “mediators of change” (8). Therefore, according to Bitzer, rhetoric occurs in response to an exigence with the rhetor constrained by the audience and the situations.

Yet, in 1973, Richard E. Vatz argues in “The Myth of the Rhetorical Situation,” that Bitzer’s definition leaves little agency for the rhetor, and therefore, flips Bitzer’s arguments. Whereas Bitzer claims exigences create rhetorical responses constrained by audience and situation, Vatz argues rhetorical discourse creates exigence. He states:

I would not say ‘rhetoric is situational,’ but situations are rhetorical; not ‘exigence strongly invites utterance,’ but utterance strongly invites exigence; not ‘the situation controls the rhetorical response,’ but the rhetoric controls the situational response; not ‘rhetorical discourse ... does obtain its character-as-rhetorical from the situation which generates it,’ but situations obtain their character from the rhetoric which surrounds them or creates them. (229)

For Vatz, rhetoric generates the perception of an exigence creating a rhetorical situation, thereby inverting Bitzer’s model. However, Barbara Biesecker argues the debate between Bitzer’s and Vatz’s definitions of the rhetorical situation is too limited. For Biesecker, their debate is the classic chicken/egg paradigm, and figuring out which came first is unproductive as they are relationally connected. Biesecker contends that Vatz’s response to Bitzer’s article “simultaneously confirms” Bitzer’s definition: “After all, Vatz’s statement is a response to Bitzer’s essay; Vatz reads ‘The Rhetorical Situation’ as itself a situation with an exigence that invites a response” (114). Drawing on Derrida’s “*différance*,” Biesecker argues meaning in the rhetorical situation is understood by looking at the “differencing zone” between the rhetor and the situation. For Biesecker, the rhetorical situation “may be seen as an incident that produces and reproduces the identities of subjects and constructs and reconstructs linkages between them” (126). In other words, rhetorical situations are produced through historical interactions

between events and language, calling into existence certain identities (i.e., a “knight errant”) that seem appropriate to responding to certain types of situations.

From this perspective, *Don Quixote* operates rhetorically on two levels. On the one hand, the novel as a historical artifact can be said to have both “responded” to the conditions of Cervantes’s Spain as well as “created” those conditions, namely through investing events with certain meanings. Indeed, the very idea of “Spain” itself is to some degree a rhetorical creation, invented at the very moment that it becomes a problem. Anthony Cascardi (2012), for instance, writes with respect to Cervantes’s work that “politics remains quixotic to the extent that it is driven by fantasies about how entities such as the nation are shaped, about who is essential members are, and about the meaning that is attached to the idea of participation in a whole” (180). As *Don Quixote* was the first nationalistic novel, it played a significant role creating the very “situation” to which it responded. On the other hand, the actions of the characters internal to the plot can be interpreted rhetorically in so far as they are constantly interpreting and reinterpreting situations in order to make other characters act in one way or another. Don Quixote’s fantastic inventions of “situations” are taken by most of the characters to be fantasies, and yet his speech nonetheless often succeeds in making people act differently than they would have done otherwise. Furthermore, his actions often create recognizably “real” problems, particularly when he engages in violence or other physical interventions. Understanding the complexities of how the speeches of Don Quixote and Sancho create and respond to various situations, however comedic or hyperbolic, can nonetheless inform our understanding of how rhetoric works in actual practice as well.

Of course, we cannot look at *Don Quixote* only as a rhetorical object. A work of literature like *Don Quixote* of course does not function rhetorically as a political speech or a sermon. It is, of course, primarily a work of art to be enjoyed for its own sake, so that the reader can be immersed in a fictional realm with fantastic characters and plots that stimulate the imagination and rouse the emotions. Works of literature, at least insofar as they are literature and not propaganda, rarely explicitly advocate this or that path of action. However, as Kenneth Burke (1968) notes, one might also “look upon literature as an incipient form of action,” for “in the pitting of some assumptions against others, the poet leaves us with an implied code of conduct” (185). Thus, whereas “the pamphlet, the political tract, the soapbox oration [is able] to deal with the specific issues of the day...the literature of the imagination may prepare the mind in a more general fashion” (189). A work of literature dramatizes specific tensions in society, and by doing so, acts as an indirect rhetorical function by calling forth in training these issues in a way that people can understand. And eventually some “political speaker may profit by this equipment when he shows his hearers that some particular situation in his particular precinct is unjust” by drawing analogies between that particular situation and its literary analogue (189).

Through rhetorical reflection on the merits of old and new social values, Cervantes’ *Don Quixote* dramatizes several exigences from the transitioning Spanish era, providing his audience a perspective on how to mediate the cultural transition by seeing the world anew. His novel gives meaning to many of the issues of the day through his dramatic work of art. For example, Mary Gaylord (2002) describes how some of even the most fantastic inventions of Cervantes had references to real-life people, events, and controversies, noting that it was his “grandest

project to continue to give the material world is due in imaginative accounts of human behavior” (123). She goes on:

It is particularly striking, in a work whose principal metafictional interest has been assumed to attach primarily to experiment with the marvelous, to find matters of representation routinely piggy-backed onto social, economic, political, and religious issues. Traffic in portraits stand in for traffic in women; fantasy narrative canvasses hint at other political misrepresentations; quasi-religious icons are found to undermine the integrity of individuals and families; and the publishing world creates the conditions for multiple manipulations. (123)

This chapter will focus on five points of tension in Spanish society which were highlighted by Cervantes: gender inequality, class issues, education accessibility, religious tensions, and an emerging national identity. Coupled together, they form the major exigences for Cervantes’ texts. While these exigences may be oblivious to contemporary readers, for the young woman mentioned earlier that was eating stale king cake and reading *Don Quixote* for the first time, the rhetorical situation still exists. Her ability to read demonstrates her wealth and status, yet neither free her from continuing to be disenfranchised. She is a woman, and like the lower classes, must follow the restrictions and expectations of her culture.

Perhaps reading Avellaneda’s blasphemous sequel in the interim, the woman waits ten years for Cervantes’ second part. When she finally does read the *true* second part in 1615, her eyes fill with tears again; and like before, she cries from both sorrow and laughter. Cervantes acknowledges Avellaneda’s sequel sarcastically and with disgust in his second part to address a new exigence for his audience to mediate: copyright issues with regards to original publications. The young woman also despises Avellaneda’s version, and laughs when Cervantes demonizes and makes fun of both it and the author. Although she thoroughly enjoys Cervantes’ criticism for Avellaneda’s work, her favorite part of Book II has to be in discovering Sancho



finally becomes a governor. And perhaps, like many readers of the time, the dramatization of this possibility, however fantastic, actually set in motion certain beliefs and attitudes which result in real political change.

### **GENDER INEQUALITIES**

When Columbus discovered the New World, establishing Spain as a world superpower overnight, at the head of the Spanish empire sat a woman. Queen Isabella defended the Catholic faith with vigor and force enabling her to rid the peninsula of Moorish rule and end the centuries-long Reconquista. She was a powerful leader and her reign established a new era in Spain. At the same time, she was the queen of a kingdom steeped in a patriarchal culture that regulated few rights to women. Instead, women were to be held up on pedestals, admired by men as delicate, silent objects of beauty until their parents married them to an appropriate spouse. Once married, their societal obligation was to care for their family and support their husbands in whatever they do. A woman's actions, behaviors, and appearance were direct reflections of their family's honor. Therefore before taking possession of his *ínsula*, Sancho listens to his master explain how his wife should behave as a governor's wife:

If you bring your wife with you (because it is not a good idea for those who attend to governing for a long time to be without their own spouses), teach her, instruct her, and smooth away her natural roughness, because everything a wise governor acquires can be lost and wasted by a crude and foolish wife. If by chance you are widowed, which is something that can happen, and with your position you wish a better wife, do not take one to serve as your lure and fishing rod, and the hood for your I don't want it; because it is true when I tell you that for everything received by the judge's wife her husband will be accountable at the universal reckoning, when he will pay four times over in death for the ledger entries he ignored in life. (II, 42, 731)

Don Quixote tells Sancho his wife needs to be educated on the proper behavior for women in her new found position. She should act respectable and keep up her appearances in public to

show support for her husband. Therefore, Sancho will need to educate her on ways to rid her crude and foolish behavior. In addition to saying *your wife* as opposed to her name, Teresa, Don Quixote further demonstrates the patriarchal society by diminishing her identity with ideas of “better wives.” While Don Quixote normally esteems women highly throughout his adventures—seeing prostitutes as high-born maidens, defending a woman accused of murder, professing everything he does in honor of his lady love—his advice above reflects the character of the age which restricted the sphere of action for women.

Unlike Isabella, who had a powerful position and was very visible in restoring the nation, the majority of Spanish women had little power and most were kept from the public eye. The few women in public positions needed to be “smoothed” of any peasant roughness. However, the majority of Spanish women were not in public positions like Isabella or Teresa; instead, were culturally expected to remain quiet and indoors. The cultural preference for sheltering women and keeping them hidden from the public was a traditional practice. Susan Socolow (2000) claims the role of women in Spanish society reflected a fusion of Islamic and Catholic traditions. This combination of cultural views created confusion as to the proper role for ideal Spanish women. Socolow explains:

On the one hand, the Islamic ideal of the cloistered, sheltered woman, the woman protected in the home of the harem, continued to resonate in Iberian society, as did the strong link between female virginity and honor. On the other hand, the gap between the idealized conduct of women and their real behavior was sizable. Women in Christian society, for example, especially the rural peasants, enjoyed a good degree of independence. (6)

While the mixed culture demanded women be isolated from society in order to protect them from the dangers of sin, some women challenged these notions and demonstrated their ability to remain virtuous Catholics. Indoctrinated in such a patriarchal culture, most members of

society would have frowned at women challenging for independence. However, others members of society noticed the inequalities females faced and the unfair assessment of being less capable, less intelligent, and less able to avoid sin than their male counterparts. Cervantes juxtaposes this unfair view of women with female characters that are capable, intelligent, and able to remain virtuous. Highlighting the stereotypes of women versus their real capabilities, throughout *Don Quixote* Cervantes provides several female characters—like Dulcinea, Marcela, and Dorotea—that defy the cultural expectations of women.

***Section 1: Which Reveals the Rhetorical Situation in the Idealization of Women and Their Roles as Displayed in Don Quixote's Obsession with Dulcinea del Toboso***

The central female character of the novel is Don Quixote's lady love, Dulcinea del Toboso, and her role as the idealized woman demonstrates certain gender stereotypes in early modern Spain. Based on the chivalric tales of knights and princesses, Don Quixote constructs the perfect woman to love and honor through virtuous deeds. When Don Quixote declares his love is to Dulcinea to a group of traveling shepherds in Chapter 13, he describes her as the epitome of perfection and beauty:

Her name is Dulcinea, her kingdom, Toboso, which is in La Mancha, her condition must be that of princess, at the very least, for she is my queen and lady, and her beauty is supernatural, for in it one finds the reality of all the impossible and chimerical aspects of beauty which poets attribute to their ladies: her tresses are gold, her forehead Elysian fields, her eyebrows the arches of heaven, her eyes suns, her cheeks roses, her lips coral, her teeth pearls, her neck alabaster, her bosom marble, her hands ivory, her skin white as snow, and the parts that modesty hides from human eyes are such, or so I believe and understand, that the most discerning consideration can only praise them but not compare them. (I, 13, 91)

Thus, according to Don Quixote's description of Dulcinea, the stereotyped-perfect woman that was to be idealized by Spaniards was a beautiful woman of royal blood with sparkling eyes like

the sun and skin as white as snow. While Don Quixote describes her physical beauty in detail with vivid metaphors, he also remarks that her beauty is contingent on the condition she is a princess. This important contingency is so she is able to someday become Don Quixote's queen when he has vanquished his last foe. The royal prerequisite for her beauty is even expressed in her name: Dulcinea del Toboso. The *del Toboso* expresses a sarcastic royal status from the *kingdom* of Toboso.

Contemporary readers may miss the irony placed on having a princess from a place in La Mancha, but original readers would have laughed at this incongruous perspective. A flat, arid, and rural area, with no fortified castles to house princesses, La Mancha was the rural backwaters of social society in Cervantes' time. Although her beauty is based on being a princess, her flawless, perfect physical appearance outshines the importance of a noble lineage from a noble place. Don Quixote explains her family's lineage has yet to achieve its honorable fame, as he and her together will create the "generous beginning to the most illustrious families of centuries to come" (I, 13, 91). Therefore, the lack of her noble lineage and being from the "kingdom" of Toboso are nonissues as her family name will retroactively receive fame in future revisions of the past for the great deeds her family will do.

While Dulcinea is the polestar of perfection in Don Quixote's mind, she is a ridiculous figment of Don Quixote's imagination to Sancho. In Chapter 25, Sancho learns that the true identity of Dulcinea del Toboso is none other than his neighbor's daughter Aldonza Lorenzo, which helps him realize Don Quixote's madness is even crazier than he had originally thought. He claims to know the woman well, stating:

I can say that she can throw a metal bar just as well as the brawniest lad in the village. Praise our Maker, she's a fine girl in every way, sturdy as a horse, and

just the one to pull any knight errant or about to be errant, who has her for his lady, right out of any mudhole he's fallen into! Damn, but she's strong! And what a voice she has! I can tell you that one day she stood on top of the village bell tower to call some shepherds who were in one of her father's fields, and even though they were more than half a league away, they heard her just as if they were standing at the foot of the tower. And the best thing about her is that she's not a prude. In fact, she's something of a trollop: she jokes with everybody and laughs and makes fun of everything. Now I can say, Señor *Knight of the Sorrowful Face*, that your grace not only can and should do crazy things for her, but with good cause you can be desperate and hang yourself; there won't be anybody who knows about it who won't say you did the right thing, even if the devil carries you off. (1, 25, 199)

Sancho's realization and description of Dulcinea as Aldonza is the opposite of what Don Quixote thinks about her. She is strong, where she should be dependent; she is sturdy, where she should be dainty; she is loud, where she should be quiet. In all regards, she is the antithesis of the ideal woman.

While her dual role of being both ugly and beautiful is hilarious to the reader, her appearances serves as a perspective into the stereotypes of female beauty. On the one hand, as Aldonza Lorenzo, Don Quixote's lady love is a large, loud, peasant woman whose appearance is mocked by Sancho and provides a counter perspective on women and beauty. On the other hand, through the ever-present-but-never-seen Dulcinea, Cervantes provides the stereotyped ideal version of women in early modern Spain. While she plays a pivotal role in shaping everything Don Quixote's does, it is Dulcinea's beauty that moves him to action, not her words. In fact, with the exception of a falsified testimony by Sancho, Dulcinea never once speaks throughout either book. Coupled with her smooth white skin and rosy cheeks, her silence and physical absence from Don Quixote make her the ideal woman in early modern Spain.

In correspondence with his books of chivalry, Dulcinea is therefore created as the image of the ideal woman and her beauty alone justifies and encourages Don Quixote's behaviors and

actions. When Don Quixote defends his love for her to Sancho, he states, “two things inspire love more than any other; they are great beauty and a good name, and these two things reach their consummation in Dulcinea” (201). Important in his description for love’s inspiration, is the lack of any mention of a lover’s ability to communicate. In fact, Dulcinea embodies the essence of the idealized woman in early modern Spain not only because of her unmatched beauty, but also because of her unmatched silence. In sixteenth-century Spain, virtuous women were quiet and kept safely away from the temptations of men until they were married. Eloquence and physical presence played no part in the stereotyped “perfect woman,” and, in fact, were considered dishonorable qualities for a lady to possess. While Dulcinea, as the representation of ideal beauty and perfection, is never given a voice in the story, other female characters demonstrate women can have a strong rhetorical prowess.

***Section 2: Which Follows Section One, and Deals with Matters Necessary for the Rhetorical Situation involving Marcela’s Defense***

In Chapter 14, Don Quixote meets a young shepardess named Marcela that is accused of having caused the death of a man that had fallen in love with her, and her defense reveals a thorough understanding of rhetorical strategies. Although apparently beautiful, Marcela is first described to Don Quixote as a guilty murderer, which is ultimately for her lack of understanding a woman’s place in society. Her beauty has caused men to go mad for her refusal to reciprocate love to them, and as one shepherd explains, “by living this way, she does more harm in this land than the plague” (84). Her refusal caused one very wealthy man named Grisótomo so much despair that he died of a broken heart. According to the shepherds, Marcela is guilty of murder for her ungrateful, cruel nature and disdain for men. In reality, her crime is not realizing the proper place of women and their role in society at the time. Her first

crime is being visible. She should not have been wandering the fields allowing her beauty to be seen by so many men. She should have been kept safe inside the family home until her parents had arranged an appropriate marriage. Her second crime is having an opinion and voicing it in public. She should have allowed a male relative to speak for her in public. Her final crime is saying no to a man and causing him public grief. However, instead of being some villainous female criminal, Marcela acts for Cervantes as way to criticize the conventional norm of arranged marriages by satirizing what the opposite effects would do on society.

Marcela causes men all types of grief and heartache because she did not follow the norms of having an arranged marriage. Don Quixote, however, pardons her actions after this account by one of the shepherds which explains why she was never married:

[I]n our village there was a farmer even richer than Grisóstomo's father, and his name was Guillermo, and God gave him not only great wealth but also a daughter, whose mother died giving birth to her, and her mother was the most respected woman in this whole district. . . . Guillermo, died of grief at the death of such a good woman, and their daughter, Marcela, was left a very rich girl, in the care of an uncle who was a priest, the vicar of our village. The girl grew, and her beauty reminded us of her mother's, which was very great, though people thought the daughter's would be even greater. . . . and most fell madly in love with her. Her uncle kept her carefully and modestly secluded, but even so, word of her great beauty spread so that for her own sake, and because of her great fortune, not only the men of our village but those for many miles around, the best among them, asked, begged, and implored her uncle for her hand in marriage. But he, a good and honest Christian, though he wanted to arrange her marriage as soon as she was of age, didn't want to do it without her consent, and didn't even care about the profit and gain from the girl's estate that he would enjoy if he delayed her marriage. And by my faith, there was many a gossip in the village who said this in praise of the good priest. . . . As for the rest, you should know that even though the uncle suggested names to his niece, and told her the qualities of each of the many suitors begging for her hand, and asked her to choose and marry a man she liked, she never said anything except that she didn't want to marry just then, and since she was so young she didn't feel able to bear the burdens of matrimony. Hearing these excuses, which seemed so reasonable, the uncle stopped asking and waited for her to get a little older, when she would be able to choose a husband she liked. Because he said,

and rightly so, that parents shouldn't force their children into marriage against their will. (I, 12, 84)

The shepherd's biography of Marcela highlights one of the societal issues regarding women of the day—the criticism of traditionally arranged marriages. Marcela's parents did not keep her under heavy supervision like good Catholics would because they were both deceased. Instead, her uncle, a priest, raised her and did his best to keep her “carefully and modestly secluded.” However, word of her beauty still permeated through the land, and when suitors came looking, the uncle would turn them down. The uncle's decision not to arrange Marcela's wedding without her consent was praised by his local villagers. Although the shepherd finds Marcela guilty of his friend's death, he ironically agrees with the local villagers that the uncle acted “rightly so” in not arranging her marriage.

The shepherd then explains that Marcela, not wanting to marry, dressed as a shepardess one day and began wandering the fields, which is where his friend Grisótomo saw her and fell in love. The pain he received by her rejection caused him to die of a broken heart. Don Quixote, moved by the tragic love story, joins the shepherd the following day to the funeral of Grisótomo, where Marcela, “whose beauty far surpassed her fame for beauty,” arrives to defend himself against the murder allegations. In a nearly-perfect rhetorical defense, Marcela argues for her innocence and the rights of women:

Heaven made me, as all of you say, so beautiful that you cannot resist my beauty and are compelled to love me, and because of the love you show me, you claim that I am obliged to love you in return. I know, with the natural understanding that God has given me, that everything beautiful is lovable, but I cannot grasp why, simply because it is loved, the thing loved for its beauty is obliged to love the one who loves it. . . . According to what I have heard, true love is not divided and must be voluntary, not forced. If this is true, as I believe it is, why do you want to force me to surrender my will, obliged to do so simply because you say you love me? But if this is not true, then tell me: if the heaven that made me



beautiful had made me ugly instead, would it be fair for me to complain that none of you loved me? Moreover, you must consider that I did not choose the beauty I have, and, such as it is, heaven gave it to me freely, without my requesting or choosing it. And just as the viper does not deserve to be blamed for its venom, although it kills, since it was given the venom by nature, I do not deserve to be reproved for being beautiful, for beauty in the chaste woman is like a distant fire or sharp-edged sword: they do not burn or cut the person who does not approach them. Honor and virtue are adornments of the soul, without which the body is not truly beautiful, even if it seems to be so. And if chastity is one of the virtues that most adorn and beautify both body and soul, why should a woman, loved for being beautiful, lose that virtue in order to satisfy the desire of a man who, for the sake of his pleasure, attempts with all his might and main to have her lose it? (1, 13, 98-9)

Although the above quotation is only a brief excerpt from her entire defense, the essence of her argument is made clear. Marcela begins her defense with an appeal from an abstract principle that ends with a personal example. Heaven ordained her beauty, and beautiful things are loved, but, she argues, her beauty does not require her to love those that she does not find beautiful. Mary Mackey (1974) analyzed Marcela's speech and observes that she is a model of true Christian rhetoric as she developed her arguments precisely and with careful control of elocution (63). Hart and Rendall (1978) also examined her speech and conclude it is a well-constructed rhetorical defense based on the classical tradition. Although Marcela's speech is rhetorically sound and reflects a strong level of education, her ultimate goal of defending her innocence fails to persuade, and she is forced to flee into the mountains.

Marcela's speech fails to persuade her accusers on the lone fact that she is a woman and this failure provides a perspective on some of the cultural stereotypes of women in Spanish society. Matthew Wyszynski (2010) argues Marcela's failure to win her accusers over was solely because she was a woman, "and a Renaissance woman was not to speak eloquently" (86). Wyszynski continues, "Marcela's rhetoric, along with her other 'eccentric' behaviors,

further classify her as a woman apart—for the modern reader in a positive way, but for Cervantes’ contemporaries, this is an aberration worthy of censure” (88). Women that were educated in sixteenth century Spain were still not permitted to give speeches, specifically speeches with such rhetorical eloquence. Joan Gibson (1989) claims that while the study of grammar and languages could be positive values for female education, dialectic and rhetoric should be prohibited for the Renaissance woman. “As a student, a girl would be occupied and would discipline her character to docility” (18). Marcela’s eloquence and rhetorical ability poke fun at the traditional roles of women and is the ultimate reason for her failure.

### ***Section 3: Which details the Rhetorical Situation of Gender Equalities in Relation to the Deceiving Dorotea***

In Chapter 23, readers are introduced to another empowered female character, named Dorotea, and, like Marcela, her story satirizes the cultural attitudes of women of the time. Unlike Marcela, who is revealed to readers right away through her biography by the shepherd, Dorotea is mysteriously presented through the perspectives of the priest, barber, and Cardenio. Continually disguised as different characters to achieve different aims, when the three men encounter Dorotea in the Sierra Morena Mountains, she is dressed in male garments masquerading as a peasant boy. Although dressed as a peasant, she is the daughter of rich farmers, and is disguised in order to pursue Don Fernando, the man that stole her heart. Don Fernando forced Dorotea into a secret marriage, only to deflower her and then vanish. Dorotea was crushed by her new husband’s betrayal, for as she explains in her own biography, she had been brought up the correct Catholic way, hidden from society:

The truth is that my life was devoted to so many occupations, and was so cloistered, that it could have been compared to that of a convent, and I was not seen, I thought, by anyone other than the household servants, because on the

days I went to Mass it was so early, and I was so well-chaperoned by my mother and by maids, and so modestly covered, that my eyes could barely see more than the ground where I placed my feet. (I, 28, 231)

As to not arouse the uncontrollable urges of men (like Marcela blatantly does to the shepherds earlier), good Catholic girls like Dorotea were unseen by society until marriage. Instead, a woman's role was to take care of the home and help the family behind the scenes of public eye. Dorotea explains that before secretly marrying Don Fernando, she had always remained virtuous by keeping busy with duties proper of a young lady:

In short, I kept the accounts of everything that a rich farmer like my father can and does have, and was steward and mistress, with so much care on my part and so much satisfaction on theirs that I cannot express it adequately. My times of leisure, after I had attended to overseers, foremen, and other laborers, I spent in activities both proper and necessary for young women, such as those offered by the needle and pincushion and, at times, the distaff; when I left these activities to refresh my spirit, I would spend the time reading a book of devotions, or playing the harp, for experience had shown me that music soothes unsettled minds and alleviates troubles arising from the spirit. (231)

Dorotea's rearing expresses the epitome of the ideal way a girl should be raised to become the ideal Spanish woman. Most of the time, she helped out with the family farm by managing the accounts, and in her spare time she did activities "both proper and necessary for young women." By the end of her biography she convinces the priest, barber, and Cardenio to assist her in finding Don Fernando and demand that he honor his marital obligations. Her background provides enough reason to assist her as such a tragedy should not befall a woman raised so well by such a humble family. However, until they find Don Fernando, Dorotea agrees to assist the three men in persuading Don Quixote into returning home to La Mancha.

Disguised now as the Princess Micomicona with claims of her kingdom being attacked by a giant, Dorotea manipulates Don Quixote into coming out of the woods in which he had been

doing penance in honor of his love for Dulcinea. Don Quixote agrees to help the princess and follows her to a nearby inn where they will rest for the night. In the inn, Dorotea and Don Fernando are finally reunited, and she delivers a final plea for him to return to her. When Dorotea beseeches Don Fernando to return to her in front of the entire group, like Marcela's speech at Grisótomo's funeral, she challenges the conventional social order by demonstrating her own rhetorical prowess in front of a public audience. She declares:

I am the one who, secluded and surrounded by virtue, lived a happy life until, heeding your urgent words and what seemed to be fitting and loving sentiments, opened the doors of her modesty and handed you the keys to her freedom, a gift so little valued by you that I have been obliged to come to the place where you find me now, and see you in the manner in which I now see you. Even so, I would not want you to think that my dishonor has directed my steps, when I have been brought here only by the sorrow and grief of being forgotten by you. You wanted me to be yours, and you wanted it in such a manner that even though you no longer do, it will not be possible for you to stop being mine. Consider, Señor, that the incomparable love I have for you may be recompense for the beauty and nobility for whose sake you have abandoned me. (I, 34, 316)

Above all, a woman was not to divulge the intimate moments in her bedroom, but Dorotea demands answers from Don Fernando for taking "the keys to her freedom." This public confession of her sexual awakening erotically disrupts cultural notions of the proper language befitting of any respected Spanish woman. It also places unflattering attention on Don Fernando in front of a public audience, challenging the conventional role of women being quiet and respectful. She continues her lament:

And if you do not love me for what I am, your true and legitimate wife, then at least want me and take me as your slave; if I am possessed by you, I shall think of myself as happy and fortunate. Do not, by leaving and abandoning me, permit my dishonor to become the subject of gossip and rumors; do not ruin the old age of my parents: their loyal service, as good vassals to your family, deserves better. And if it seems to you that you will debase your blood by mixing it with mine, consider that there are few, if any, noble lines in the world that have not taken this path, and that the bloodline on the woman's side is not relevant to an

illustrious lineage; furthermore, true nobility consists of virtue, and if you lose yours by denying me what you rightly owe me, then I shall have more noble characteristics than you. (317)

In her final appeal, Dorotea begs of Don Fernando to not dishonor her, even if it results in her becoming his eternal slave. He tricked her into giving herself up to him and now that she is no longer a virgin, she is worthless to other men. Her tragic speech stresses her humble family lineage, but reminds Don Fernando that he has no reason to fear her corrupting his bloodline as nobility is passed down through the father's blood. Her argument eases any concerns about bloodline, but also demonstrates a cultural importance granted to men as maternal lineage was not formulated in establishing social hierarchy. Appealing to the conventional attitudes towards women at the time, Dorotea logically persuades Don Fernando to return to his promise. Anne J. Cruz (2002) states her speech is a "rhetorical display of impeccable logic" and "even though marriage to her seducer may not constitute a liberating act for today's feminist readers, it restores Dorotea's honor while elevating her to a higher social class and ensuring her seducer's redemption" (201-2). Where Marcela's rhetorical abilities betray her as a woman apart from society, Dorotea's impious speech wins her lover's heart back.

While Marcela was secluded by her uncle to a point, she ultimately rejects her place in society and the conventional role of women. The two female characters' different backgrounds show a culture questioning women's issues and their conventional roles in society. On the one hand, Marcela wanders the open fields free from the confines of a convent-like lifestyle. She remains virtuous and does not succumb to advances by lustful men. On the other hand, Dorotea followed the conventions of her society in regards to a woman's place, and yet, these conventions led to her tragedy. Although she remained secluded, Don Fernando was able to

sneak into her room and seduce her. He promised marriage and this promise deprived Dorotea the ability to resist his advances. While Marcela left the protection of home and frolicked around in the company of men, she remained untouched by man. Dorotea remained home and away from the eyes of men, but unlike Marcela, she succumbed to a man's advances only to be tragically let down. In the end, only Dulcinea's virtue remains unchanged; her supernatural beauty is never tarnished by any voiced opinions or physical presence.

### **CLASS ISSUES**

In Cervantes' time, Spanish society was in a complicated transition as contradictory understandings of class hierarchies formed with the introduction of new economic opportunities. The traditional role bloodline played in determining social rank was essential to maintaining the feudal structure of Medieval Spain. However, new perspectives on social hierarchy began emerging throughout the peninsula as wealth and skill became more important than blood. A middle class of wealthy peasants and merchants started to form and their influence began challenging the authority and power of the aristocratic class. Previously thought of as worthless peasants, this new middle class confronted the conventions of the feudal culture where economic opportunity was based solely on lineage. Whereas many peasants demonstrated their virtue and hard work, many nobles demonstrated their vices and desire for a leisurely life. So when Don Quixote advises Sancho about his new role as governor, he argues that noble action supersedes noble birth:

Take pride in the humbleness of your lineage, and do not disdain to say that you come from peasants, for seeing that you are not ashamed of it, no one will attempt to shame you; take more pride in being a humble virtuous man than in being a noble sinner. Innumerable men born of low family have risen to the highest pontifical and imperial dignity, and I could cite so many examples of this truth to you that you would grow weary. Consider, Sancho: if you take virtue as

your means, and pride in performing virtuous deeds, there is no reason to envy the means of princes and lords, because blood is inherited, and virtue is acquired, and virtue in and of itself has a value that blood does not. (II, 42, 730)

In the quotation above, Don Quixote claims that like noble action, virtue is acquired, giving honorable action a sort of piety that had previously been reserved only for honorable blood.

The reversal in values from lineage to merit determining a person's worth defied traditional assumptions highly regarded in Medieval Spain. However, as Spain transitioned into the Renaissance era of the sixteenth century, these traditional assumptions fractured. The end of the Reconquista and the discovery of the New World in 1492 marked the end of the medieval era as new economic opportunities began challenging the established feudal class hierarchy. Economic opportunities that had been previously not available to the lower classes began to appear, creating a rising middle class of professions like merchants, farmers, innkeepers, and entrepreneurs. As B. W. Ife (2002) explains, the results of this rising class reversed the relation between wealth and status:

Taken as a whole, Spain was an extremely prosperous country in the early modern period, but the gap between the rich and the poor grew steadily wider throughout the sixteenth century. At the same time, the traditional correlation between social class and economic circumstances came under significant strain. New routes to wealth were open to all classes and ethnic groups, and no class was immune from poverty. The result was to reverse the polarity between wealth and status: where once membership of the ruling class would almost inevitably bring prosperity, in the changing circumstances, wealth was increasingly used to buy rank. There were three major factors driving these changes: demographic stability and growth, major shifts in land use and tenure, and the new commercial opportunities offered by the New World. (24)

The new routes to wealth quasi-democratized the social hierarchy in Spain as the new status granted by wealth provided employment opportunities with actual political power to a previously disenfranchised class of people. Whereas before, wealth was the product of

someone's identity and social class, starting in the sixteenth-century the reverse became true: identity and social class were seen as the product of wealth.

The change in class hierarchy, Ife suggests, is the product of three major factors that provided new economic opportunities for the lower classes. First, demographic stability and growth was a major factor that led to changes in class hierarchy. Propagandized as virtuous Catholics reclaiming their homeland from the evil Moors, the Reconquista instilled confusion and fear about non-Christian others and warranted their forced exile from the country. Second, major shifts in land use and ownership provided opportunities for economic advancement to social class previously excluded. To increase and maintain loyalty, beginning with Isabel and Ferdinand, services for the crown were rewarded not with money, "but by various kinds of patronage, including grants of land" (Ife, p. 16). In addition to maintaining loyalty, this shift changed the idea of class social structures as rewards were based off merit instead of blood. Third, the discovery of the New World and its colonization was a final major factor contributing to the class changes in Spain at the time. In fact, a royal appointed position somewhere in the Americas was one of the most highly coveted rewards. Being appointed a governor of an island or conquistador of the unexplored territory provided huge financial opportunities. Although these changes happened over several decades, their impact was not subtle on the general population. These changes in class hierarchy created tension and confusion throughout Spanish society as different groups struggled to understand their own identities.

Cervantes provides clues for seeing this culture in confusion through a myriad of characters, each with their own unique identity and perspective, that act and comment on the changing world around them. The characters that personify the clearest social class



distinctions are the two main protagonists, Don Quixote and Sancho Panza. The two characters are seemingly the antithesis of one another in both appearance and in philosophy. While the knight is tall and slender, the squire is short and fat. The knight believes in the idealism of a romanticized past, while his squire is grounded in the practical needs of the present moment. At times, the two even find it difficult to understand the other when they speak or act conventional to their social class. Don Quixote speaks with a formality and eloquence that validates his status in society, but initially confuses Sancho. Likewise, Sancho's reliance on stringing together proverbs to argue his perspective baffles Don Quixote. However, as their dynamic relationship develops and they continue to learn from one another, they begin betraying their class stereotypes to a point where the distinction is unrecognizably blurred.

***Section 1: Regarding the Class Differences Displayed through the Knight's Chivalric Decorum and the Squire's Multiple Proverbs***

In their first few adventures, where their actions and behaviors typify their respective social class, the two constantly butt heads over their respective views of reality. For example, in Chapter 15, Don Quixote wants to retaliate against a group of Yanguesans after they challenge his honor and status as a knight. The Yanguesans, a Celtic group from north-western Spain, attacked Rocinante for harassing their mares. When Sancho realizes Don Quixote's plans to get revenge for his poor horse, he warns that they are outnumbered ten-to-one. Showing the humility of his social class, Sancho claims to be only "half a man" compared to this group of twenty. In contrast, diluted with the arrogance of his nobility, Don Quixote believes he is worth a "hundred" of these men. After the attack fails and he and Sancho are defeated, lying on the ground, Don Quixote accepts responsibility for fighting with a lower class than himself. He explains to Sancho:

I hold myself responsible for everything; I should not have raised my sword against men who were not dubbed knights like myself; and therefore I believe that as a punishment for having trespassed against the laws of chivalry, the god of battles has allowed me to be injured in this way. Therefore, Sancho Panza, it is fitting that you heed carefully what I shall say to you now, because it is important to the well-being of both of us, and it is that when you see rabble like this offending us in some way, do not wait for me to raise my sword against them, because I shall not do that; instead, you must seize your sword and punish them as you like, and if knights come to their aid and defense, I shall know how to defend you and offend them with all my power, for you have seen in a thousand demonstrations and experiences the extent of the valor of this my mighty arm. (I, 15, 104)

Because Don Quixote is a knight and the Yanguesans are not, divine intervention was forced to step in, allowing the minority group to win in order to punish the knight for trespassing against chivalric decorum. Similar to the ethos gained by speaking formally and eloquently, social decorum sets down the rules for behaving appropriate to one's class. Don Quixote stepped outside the parameters of chivalric decorum when he attacked members of a lower class, which caused his defeat. Therefore, Don Quixote orders that in the future Sancho should step in where matters of social class could prevent his victory. By reinterpreting the defeat as a matter of chivalric decorum, Don Quixote is able to maintain his ethos as a noble knight.

However, Sancho cannot see the value of chivalric decorum and responds that he will have no part in fighting another person. Sancho is a pacifist that has been raised with the peasant mentality of worrying about himself and his family only. Attacking another person for some chivalric ideal seems utterly ridiculous to him. Therefore, he responds to Don Quixote's orders with the following defense:

Señor, I'm a peaceful, mild, and quiet man, and I know how to conceal any insult because I have a wife and children to support and care for. So let your grace be advised as well, since I can't give an order, that under no circumstances will I raise my sword against either lowborn or gentry, and from now until the day I appear before God, I forgive all offenses that have been done or will be done to

me, whether they were done, are being done, or will be done by a person high or low, rich or poor, noble or common, without exception, and regardless of rank or position. (105)

Unlike the knights in chivalric romances that glorify patriotic duty and ideal justice, Sancho prefers to maintain peace. In the hierarchy of needs among peasants like Sancho, chivalric decorum has little place.

As the story progresses, however, Don Quixote begins to use more proverbs and Sancho begins to rely more and more on chivalric reasoning as they begin to educate, empathize, and understand one another. By conflating the knight and squire's social status together, conventional roles imposed by society are flipped, allowing Cervantes to poke fun at class stereotypes of the time. Although still illiterate by the end of the novel, Sancho is able to speak as if he had read the books of chivalry himself. At the end of Book 1, when Don Quixote is captured by some enchantment and feeling completely defeated, Sancho is able to lift his spirits with a chivalric-sounding lament: "O flower of chivalry, a single blow with a club has brought your well-spent years to an end! O honor of your lineage, honor and glory of all La Mancha, even of all the world, which, with you absent, will be overrun by evildoers unafraid of being punished for their evil doings!" Sancho's eloquent speech awakens Don Quixote from his depression and eventually helps persuade the knight of the reality of their situation. Instead of being filled with a string of proverbs, Sancho's speech contains subordinate clauses connecting the justice praised in chivalric tales with the tragedy of the situation. As a result, Cervantes creates a narrative that shows how the evolution of social classes is possible through a collaborative and communicative relationship based on friendship and trust.

## ***Section 2: Concerning the Class Disparities in Other Characters and the Correspondence between the Duchess and Sancho's Wife***

While Don Quixote and Sancho go through a metamorphosis in character development from start to finish, other characters do not evolve and, instead, their identities become stereotyped caricatures of their respective social class. For example, the Duke and Duchess are members of the old feudal class, and share similar aristocratic values with Don Quixote. Being members of the nobility, the Duke and Duchess understand the appeal to books of chivalry and, similar to Don Quixote, they yearn for the stability found in the nostalgic past. However, unlike the knight's evolution, the Duke and Duchess remain burlesque characters that get simple joy from other's misery. While Don Quixote develops into a well-rounded hero to represent the best aspects of the aristocratic class, the Duke and the Duchess remain one-dimensional antagonists to represent the worst. They exploit Don Quixote and Sancho for simple, narcissistic delight.

For example, for the sake of fun, the Duke and Duchess decide to separate the two heroes by granting Sancho the governorship of one of their *ínsulas*. Finally getting his long awaited promise of governing, Sancho leaves the rest of the group at the Duke and Duchess' estate, and goes off to find his *ínsula*. However, as he is leaving, the historian Cide Benengeli interjects: "Kind reader, let the good Sancho go in peace and good fortune, and expect two bushels of laughter when you learn how he behaved in office" (739). The break in narration creates some ambiguity as to the *ínsula's* location. Readers are later told that "Sancho came to a village with some thousand inhabitants" where he learned that it was called *Ínsula Barataria*, or Discounted/Cheap Island. The silly name, the lack of descriptive geography, Sancho's

ignorance about *ínsulas*, and the appointment itself, are overt parodies of the New World's influence on Spanish society.

After a brief introduction with his new village, Sancho is taken to a courtroom to sit at the judge's seat where he notices big letters written on the opposite wall and asks a steward what they say. The steward responds:

Señor, the day of which your lordship took possession of this *ínsula* is written and noted there, and the inscription says: *Today, on such-and-such a date in such-and-such a year, Señor Don Sancho Panza took possession of this ínsula, and may he enjoy it for many years.* (original italics, II, 44, 747)

The steward's response to the governor parodies a major feature of the New World. Sancho "taking possession" of the *ínsula* refers to the colonial quests for land ownership. Colonization brought great wealth to many people, which in turn flooded requests for royal appointments abroad. Essentially, members of a lower social status could bestow a gift, perform an important task, lie, bribe, or even blackmail someone in authority, and in return receive some patronage like a land grant or overseas appointment, allowing them rise up the social ladder as their wealth quickly increased. While it was rare to happen for many people, it was entirely possible. However, when Sancho's friends and neighbors learn he has "took possession" of *Ínsula Barataria*, they are suspicious as it seems too far outside the realm of possibility for such a fool.

The villagers of La Mancha learn of Sancho's governorship in Chapter 50, when Teresa, Sancho's wife, receives a letter from the Duchess informing her of her husband's newly appointed position. The Duchess' letter demonstrates her intelligence and wit, but also her mischievous nature, as she riddles the letter with double-meanings that show her sense of superiority over the peasant class:

My friend Teresa: The qualities of goodness and wit in your husband, Sancho, moved and obliged me to ask my husband, the duke, to give him the governorship of one of the many *ínsulas* which he possesses. I have been told that he governs in grand style, which makes me very happy, and of course, the duke my lord, too, for which I give many thanks to heaven that I was not deceived when I chose him for the governorship, because I want Señora Teresa to know that it is difficult to find a good governor in the world, and may God treat me in just the way that Sancho governs. I am sending you, my dear, a string of corals with gold beads; I'd be happy if they were Oriental pearls, but the person who gives you a bone doesn't want to see you dead; one day we shall meet and communicate with each other, God knows when that will be. Remember me to your daughter, Sanchica, and tell her for me that she should get ready, because I plan to arrange an excellent marriage for her when she least expects it. I am told that there are fat acorns in your village: send me about two dozen, and I shall esteem them greatly because they come from your hand; write me a long letter informing me of your health and well-being; if you happen to need anything, you only have to say the word, and your word will be heeded. May God keep you. From this place. Your friend who loves you, The Duchess (II, 50, 785)

While the letter serves to inform of Sancho's new position, the Duchess' real objective is to patronize Teresa and the peasant class. First, she praises Sancho's ability to govern with divine justice, hoping God treats her "in just the way that Sancho governs." A grounding principle in the feudal era was the belief that the nobility had been chosen by God to rule over others.

While the Duchess is being sarcastic about Sancho's divine ability, her statement satirizes old conventional beliefs betraying her apparent kind description. Later in the story, the Duchess will receive word of Sancho's surprising capacity to govern, but at the time she wrote the letter to Teresa, she did not know. Instead, her comparison belittles peasants and their abilities.

Second, she gives Teresa a string of corals with gold beads and expresses humility through the use of a morbid proverb about not being able to provide pearls. She then uses the proverb "a person that gives you a bone, doesn't want to see you dead" suggesting Teresa should be grateful for any gift, no matter the worth. Third, she plans to arrange the marriage of Sancho

and Teresa's daughter "when she least expects it." The issue of arranged marriages was debated at the time and the Duchess' involvement in marrying Sanchica unexpectedly is yet another way to patronize the peasant class. Fourth, she desires Teresa pick acorns and sends them to her. The Duchess sends a string of coral that cost her to exert no energy, but she wants to ridicule Teresa's social class by making her labor for her gift. Fifth, she cleverly hides subliminal double-meanings throughout the letter at the expense of Teresa's ignorance. For example, at the end of the letter the Duchess cleverly uses "from this place" as a subordinate clause to give two different meanings. On the one hand, the Duchess could mean, "May God keep you from this place," as if warning of her own cruelty. On the other hand, the Duchess may mean it as part of her valediction to end the letter: "From this place your friend that loves you." The double-meaning demonstrates the Duchess' wit, and together with the other four elements, show the Duchess' vindictive intent. The letter provides an amusing way for the Duchess to patronize the peasantry by encouraging an unfeasible dream of advancing one's station in life.

In response, Teresa sends back a letter to the Duchess thanking her for her unconventional friendship and support. The contrast between the letters of the Duchess and Teresa's highlight the differences between their social classes. Despite her low status, Teresa demonstrates a strong will and clear understanding of social class barriers. At the start of Book II, before Sancho left on his second sally, Teresa warned that people "should marry an equal" and "be content with [their] station" (II, 5, 486). However, the Duchess' letter changes Teresa's opinion, she claims "even though she's a duchess, calls me her friend and treats me like an equal, and may I see her equal to the highest bell tower in all of La Mancha." Now that her

husband is a governor, Teresa becomes part of the aristocratic class and realizes her identity must change to play the appropriate part as governor's wife. Since she is illiterate, she has the steward transcribe her reply:

Señora, the letter your highness wrote to me made me very happy, for the truth is it was something I had been wanting. The string of corals is very nice, and my husband's hunting outfit is just as good. Your ladyship making my spouse, Sancho, a governor has given a lot of pleasure to the whole village, even if nobody believes it, especially the priest, and Master Nicolás the barber, and Sansón Carrasco the bachelor, but that doesn't bother me; as long as it's true, which it is, each person can say whatever he wants, though to tell you the truth, if the corals and the outfit hadn't come I wouldn't believe it either, because in this village everybody takes my husband for a fool, and except for governing a herd of goats, they can't imagine what governorship he'd be good for. May God make him good and show him how to see what his children need. Señora of my soul, I've decided, with your grace's permission, to put this good day in my house by going to court and leaning back in a carriage and making their eyes pop, for there are thousands who are already envious of me; and so I beg Your Excellency to tell my husband to send me some money, and to make it enough, because at court expenses are high: bread sells for a real, and a pound of meat costs thirty *maravedís*, which is a judgment, and if he doesn't want me to go, he should let me know soon, because my feet are itching to get started; my friends and neighbors tell me that if my daughter and I look grand and important in court, my husband will be known through me and not me through him, because many people are bound to ask: 'Who are those ladies in that carriage?' And a servant of mine will respond: 'The wife and daughter of Sancho Panza, governor of the *ínsula* of Barataria,' and in this way Sancho will become known, and I'll be admired, so let's get to it, no matter what. (II, 52, 801)

Teresa's letter starts by acknowledging the apparent incongruity of her husband being a governor, claiming nobody in their village can believe it. Like Sancho, Teresa is a member of the peasant class; however, unlike Sancho, she does not evolve through the course of the novel. Like the Duchess with aristocracy, Teresa is representative of the stereotyped peasant: simple, uneducated laborer. While Teresa's response is written down by the steward because she is illiterate, the letter is still representative of her character. First, the letter is a string of long sentences put together in an additive nature in order to comment on "everything there is to



tell." She explains that no one in her village believes in Sancho's new appointment, even naming Sancho's friends the priest, barber, and bachelor specifically. As if the Duchess is unaware, Teresa goes into details about the expenses of courtly life, including the prices of bread and meat. Second, she has no real understanding of the aristocratic life besides what she sees as pompous decorum, which she will try to emulate as governor's wife. Nobility is all about appearances to Teresa, so she will go to court "leaning back in a carriage" to represent her husband well. Her letter concludes expressing her true humility in the desire to give the Duchess the best acorns in La Mancha. She states:

It makes me as sorry as I can be that this year they haven't picked acorns in this village; even so, I'm sending your highness about half a *celemín*; I went to the woods myself to pick them and pick them over one by one, and I couldn't find acorns any bigger; I wish they were like ostrich eggs. Your magnificence mustn't forget to write to me, and I'll be sure to answer and tell you about my health and everything there is to tell about in this village, where I'm praying that Our Lord keeps your highness, and doesn't forget about me. My daughter, Sancha, and my son, kiss the hands of your grace. Wishing to see your ladyship more than to write to you, I am your servant, Teresa Panza (II, 52, 801-02)

She handpicked the acorns and this manual labor betrays her new role as governor's wife.

The differences between the Duchess and Teresa, similar to the differences between Don Quixote and Sancho, demonstrate Cervantes' response to social class stereotypes. While the lower classes dreamed of equal status with the nobility, the opposite was not true. Unless delusional like Don Quixote, the upper class would rather make fun of the lower class than associate with them. However, a new threat began to emerge for the nobility and forms the basis for another exigence to which Cervantes satirically responds; namely, the emergence of an educated working middle class. Thanks in part to the Church's education reform policies

providing basic education to the poor, this new class's wealth began to dissolve the authority, power, and influence of the old aristocracy.

### ACCESS TO EDUCATION

Perhaps the single greatest exigence for the birth of *Don Quixote* was the emergence of an educated population that not only provided Cervantes with a nation of literate readers, but also the substance for much of his parody. For example, as Don Quixote advises Sancho on his new role as governor, he laments:

How bad it seems in governors not to be able to read or write! Because you must know, Sancho, that a man not knowing how to read, or being left-handed, means one of two things: either he was the child of parents who were too poor and lowborn, or he was so mischievous and badly behaved himself that he could not absorb good habits or good instruction. This is a great fault in you, and I would like you at least to learn to sign your name. (II, 43, 735)

Don Quixote's advice addresses the exigence both in the story (Sancho not being able to read) as well as in real seventeenth-century Spanish life. The emergence of an educated middle-class was thanks in part to the Church's education reform policies to educate the poor. While the Church began providing free education throughout Spain starting in the sixteenth century, it was limited to the larger urban areas, and not all Spaniards had access. Therefore, Cervantes creates a plethora of characters with varying degrees of education as a response to the rhetorical situation.

#### ***Section 1: Regarding the Prostitutes which Don Quixote Mistakes for High-Born Maidens and their Lack of Education***

After a full day of slowly riding through the Manchegan countryside atop his trusty nag Rocinante, despair begins to overcome Don Quixote as the night approaches. Having not accomplished one chivalric act on his first day, the disappointed hidalgo begins searching for a

place to shelter and alleviate his hunger. As if guided by a star, Don Quixote sees a castle not far from his path and quickens his pace to reach it before it becomes too dark. However, readers are quickly alerted that the castle Don Quixote sees is really just an inn:

Since everything our adventurer thought, saw, or imagined seemed to happen according to what he had read, as soon as he saw the inn it appeared to him to be a castle complete with four towers and spires of gleaming silver, not to mention a drawbridge and deep moat and all the other details depicted on such castles. (I, 2, 26)

In addition to the castle, Don Quixote sees the people at the inn as chivalric characters similar to those depicted in books he had read. As he approaches, a dwarf signals his arrival with a loud horn and two-highborn maidens greet him outside the doors of the castle. However, the maidens become frightened when they see the hidalgo armed bizarrely with a bridle, lance, shield, and corselet. Don Quixote senses their fears and responds by reassuring them in a gallant manner of their safety, stating, “Flee not, dear ladies, fear no villainous act from me; for the order of chivalry which I profess does not countenance or permit such deeds to be committed against any person, least of all highborn maidens such as yourselves” (26). The two women’s fears are replaced with laughter when they hear Don Quixote refer to them as highborn maidens, as it is the antithesis to their identities. The ladies are actually prostitutes on their way to Sevilla with a group of muledrivers. Likewise, the dwarf that had announced Don Quixote’s arrival is really a swineherd using a horn to drive his pigs out a mud hole. Members of the lower class like the prostitutes, muledrivers, and swineherd are continually transformed into some idealized symbol of chivalric virtue in Don Quixote’s mind and his identification of these characters as nobility oftentimes causes both confusion and laughter for many of them.

These other characters are representative of a social class that lacked education in sixteenth-century Spain and, therefore, do not understand Don Quixote when he speaks with the proper, formal language found in books of chivalry. Although the Church began providing free education to the lower classes throughout Spain at the start of the sixteenth-century, it was only provided in the larger cities and towns. Rural areas remained uneducated in the sixteenth century for several reasons: 1) the population was too spread out for a central location; 2) there was a lack of qualified teachers in the area; and 3) families needed child labor to help the family income. Kagan states, "Those who were unable to read and write were most numerous by far in rural areas, the educational backwaters of early modern Spain" (24). The inn that Don Quixote first meets these three groups of people is located in La Mancha where the Church's education policies would have been minimal. The prostitutes, muledrivers, and swineherd remain uneducated in a society that was beginning to provide free access to education because they are members of the lower class that live in the "educational backwaters" of rural La Mancha. Therefore, problems arise when Don Quixote interacts with them in the chivalric language printed in books as they lack the educational background to read and write. For instance, later that evening muledrivers try to remove the hidalgo's armor from a trough to let their mules drink, but believing he is being egregiously assaulted, Don Quixote responds:

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. (I, 2, 32)

Promoting the muleteer to the position of knight, Don Quixote warns in the archaic language of chivalry for him to immediately stop. However, not caring for Don Quixote's language, the

muleteer ignores his warning and throws the armor on the ground. Don Quixote retaliates, ending up in a brawl with the five other muledrivers, and is only saved when the innkeeper steps in and breaks up the fight.

***Section 2: Which Recounts What Happens in the First Inn and the Level of Education of the Innkeeper as Response to an Emerging Educated Working Class***

Don Quixote first meets the innkeeper after the two prostitutes' laughter at being called highborn maidens draws him outside of the inn. When the innkeeper asks what he wants, Don Quixote replies, "For me, good castellan, anything will do" (27). Instead of hearing good *castellan*, the innkeeper thinks Don Quixote says good *Castilian*, and being from Sanlúcar, a coastal city in Andalusia known for being home to many criminals, is flattered at the suggestion. While contemporary readers may miss this significance of being called a Castilian, seventeenth-century Spanish readers would immediately recognize the humor in this incongruous perspective of the innkeeper. The innkeeper is flattered by the mistaken understanding because Castile is the land of castles and nobility, whereas Sanlúcar was the land of criminals and thieves. The mistaken flattery goes far as it persuades the innkeeper to invite Don Quixote inside the inn and continue their conversation.

Throughout their discussion, the innkeeper demonstrates his level of education by playing to Don Quixote's madness in regards to chivalry to the point of becoming his mentor on chivalric conventions. The innkeeper's intimate knowledge of the chivalric romance genre and his rhetorical skills are clues that he has some basic education. For instance, in response to Don Quixote claims of having no money because he had never read of knights carrying such provisions, the innkeeper educates him on these matters in regards to chivalry:

The innkeeper replied that he was deceived, for if this was not written in the histories, it was because it had not seemed necessary to the authors to write down something as obvious and necessary as carrying money and clean shirts, and if they had not, this was no reason to think that knights did not carry them; it therefore should be taken as true and beyond dispute that all the knights errant who fill so many books to overflowing carried well-provisioned purses for whatever might befall them; by the same token, they carried shirts and a small chest stocked with unguents to cure the wounds they received, for in the fields and clearings where they engaged in combat and were wounded there was not always someone who could heal them, unless they had for a friend some wise enchanter who instantly came to their aid, bringing through the air, on a cloud, a damsel or a dwarf bearing a flask of water of such great power that, by swallowing a single drop, the knights were so completely healed of their injuries and wounds that it was as if no harm had befallen them. But in the event such was not the case, the knights of yore deemed it proper for their squires to be provisioned with money and other necessities, such as linen bandages and unguents to heal their wounds; and if it happened that these knights had no squire---which was a rare and uncommon thing---they themselves carried everything in saddlebags. (I, 3, 31)

The innkeeper's response illustrates his level of education as it shows he is both intelligent and literate. He is familiar with the books of chivalry and uses this knowledge to convince Don Quixote that knights paid for their stays in inns. Don Quixote concluded knights did not carry provisions like money and clothing because he had never read in the histories about such matters. By approaching the enthymeme from a different angle, the innkeeper provides four examples for why Don Quixote did not read about a knight's provisions. First, if it was not written, it was because it had "not seemed necessary" for it was too "obvious." Second, if knights did not carry such necessities it was because they were friends with "some wise enchanter who instantly came to their aid." Third, and most likely, it was because knights "deemed it proper" to have squires carry such provisions. Finally, in the event the knight had neither enchanter nor squire, the knight still concealed "everything in saddlebags." These four

examples shows the rhetorical skills and intelligence of the innkeeper by syllogistically finishing the enthymeme from a different perspective than Don Quixote had originally considered.

The innkeeper is representative of a rising social class that gained economic power in sixteenth-century Spain as members of the lower class received education and were able to obtain more profitable professions. Fearing that neglected children could become sinful criminals, the dioceses of Seville ordered in 1512 that all parish priests and sacristans begin providing elementary education for the children in Seville whose family could not afford private tutors (Kagan, 13). Students were taught the basics of reading and writing in the vernacular, as well as how to perform simple arithmetic calculations. In 1548, the year after Cervantes' birth, dioceses all across the forming nation created similar orders for their priest because the results from Seville were promising: fewer thieves, less disease, and more indoctrinated followers (Kagan, 14). The innkeeper is from Sanlúcar, Seville's neighbor to the south, and since it was a port city known for its vices, it was one of the first locations the Church incorporated the Seville model of free education in hopes of reducing crime.

Since the innkeeper was most likely born after 1548, he most likely received at least a basic level of education as displayed in his ability to quickly diagnose Don Quixote's delusional quest for the chivalric past as well as his successful ability to communicate with him. When he first learns that Don Quixote wants to "travel the four corners of the earth in search of adventures on behalf of those in need," the innkeeper realizes his guest's madness, for just like Don Quixote, he too is literate (I, 3, 30). Teaching students to read and write in the vernacular was a top priority of the Church as it provided jobs to people that might have become criminals, but more importantly, they feared people would misread sacred texts like the Bible.

The ability to read and write not only opened up more profitable job opportunities for the lower class, but it also changed the way people understood the world around them. Marshall McLuhan states, "Literacy gives people the power to focus a little way in front of an image so that we take in the whole image or picture at a glance" (37). In other words, literate people are able to diagnose a situation by glancing over the entire situation from a detached point of view. Whereas illiterate people see themselves attached to the situation, being "wholly with the object," and look over it segment by segment (37). The prostitutes and muleteers do not get Don Quixote because they are unable to see the big picture. Although he talks eloquently and formally, dresses in a grotesque knightly style, and professes chivalric ideals, the illiterate characters cannot reason inductively as to what Don Quixote is doing. In contrast, the literate innkeeper quickly puts the segmented parts of Don Quixote's speech, dress, and ideals together and immediately suspects the hidalgo believes he is in a chivalric romance adventure:

The innkeeper, as we have said, was rather sly and already had some inkling of his guest's madness, which was confirmed when he heard him say these words, and in order to have something to laugh about that night, he proposed to humor him, and so he told him that his desire and request were exemplary and his purpose right and proper in knights who were as illustrious as he appeared to be and as his gallant presence demonstrated; and that he himself, in the years of his youth, had dedicated himself to that honorable profession, traveling through many parts of the world in search of adventures, to wit the Percheles in Málaga, the Islas of Riarán, the Compás in Sevilla, the Azoguejo of Segovia, the Olivera of Valencia, the Rondilla in Granada, the coast of Sanlúcar, the Potro in Córdoba, the Ventillas in Toledo, and many other places where he had exercised the light-footedness of his feet and the light-fingeredness of his hands, committing countless wrongs, bedding many widows, undoing a few maidens, deceiving several orphans, and, finally, becoming known in every court and tribunal in almost all of Spain; in recent years, he had retired to this castle, where he lived on his property and that of others, welcoming all knights errant of whatever category and condition simply because of the great fondness he felt for them, so



that they might share with him their goods as recompense for his virtuous desires. (I, 3, 30)

Not only does he understand Don Quixote's archaic language where the inn's uneducated guests do not, but the innkeeper is also able use similar language to persuade and ridicule the mad hidalgo. The innkeeper's mock confession transcends his *pícaro*-past into chivalric romance nostalgia to ironically prove his ethos for Don Quixote. By searching for adventures in the famous hellish places he lists and committing countless wrongs as a youth, the innkeeper conflates the virtuous language of chivalric literature with the corrupt descriptions of the picaresque.

The popularity of Mateo Alemán's 1599 picaresque novella, *Guzmán de Alfarache*, gave the role of *pícaro*, or rogue, a new literary dimension throughout Spain, personified in the innkeeper's romanticized biography. The innkeeper becomes the *pícaro* antihero, mocking Don Quixote's embodiment as chivalric knight hero, as both are fantasized character-types in fictional literature. In the picaresque genre, the antihero is a wandering criminal who survives off his wit as he challenges a corrupt world. The criminal, crooked acts of the *pícaro* are forgiven in literature because they are understood to be committed out of necessity, rather than malicious intent. As Roberto González Echevarría (2005) claims, however, this innkeeper personifies the role of *pícaro* for a different reason:

By 1605, when Part One of the *Quixote* was published, the picaresque style of life had acquired a literary dimension, in great measure because of the success of Alemán's *Guzmán de Alfarache*. In other words, *pícaro* was a role one could play like that of knight. . . . [S]ome of the real pícaros had chosen that path not because of need, but to play the role and to revel as a group in their collective rejection of society. They are, in a sense, doing the same as Don Quixote by adopting the style of a literary character and setting out in a life of adventure according to books read, not to society's rules. (121)

The innkeeper mocks the hidalgo's literary understanding of the world by fusing it with its literary antithesis. In addition to being both a clever parody of Don Quixote on the innkeeper's part, and a clever parody of the picaresque genre on Cervantes' part, the innkeeper's description of his supposed *pícaro*-past demonstrates his familiarity with the genre and expresses his ability to read and write and a basic level of education.

***Section 3: Concerning how Cervantes Responds to the Most Educated Members of Society and their Arrogant Attitudes as Displayed in the Bachelor Sansón Carrasco***

In addition to access to basic education, students that completed elementary education could attend advanced schools and universities that populated the urban areas throughout Spain. The oldest university in Spain is the University of Salamanca, established in 1218, and is the alma mater to many of the scholars Don Quixote and Sancho encounter on their adventures. For example, Don Quixote meets a shepherd lamenting over the death of his friend who was a student from Salamanca that "knew the science of the stars and what happens up there in the sky with the sun and the moon" (I, 12, 82). The cultural acceptance of scientific advancements during Phillip II's reign allowed for conventional beliefs about heaven, hell, and earth's location to be contested by Copernican theory. In fact, the University of Salamanca was one of the first universities to offer classes in astrology, "which was among the most important at the institution" (Gasta, 60). While universities new focus on education in the sciences seemed to help modernize the forming nation, allowing for a new social class of university-educated members, Cervantes satirizes university students, graduates, and their modern inventions throughout both parts. On the one hand, Cervantes' knight is in search of the chivalric past of the Golden Era, where knights defended the realm and were appreciated for their virtues and valor. Don Quixote attacks modern inventions like the windmills and

watermills. On the other hand, university students are always portrayed as intelligent clowns in the novel, leading readers and other characters to question who is madder: Don Quixote or the student? For example, Sancho's neighbor Tomé, disguised as the Squire of the Woods, questions Sansón Carrasco, a graduate of Salamanca and is disguised as the Knight of the Mirrors. He questions, "Don Quixote's crazy, we're sane, and he walks away healthy and laughing, while your grace is bruised and sad. So tell me now, who's crazier: the man who's crazy because he can't help it or the man who chooses to be crazy?" (II, 15, 549). Tomé and Carrasco defeat by Don Quixote satirizes the supposed intelligence of university students as the crazy knight is able to beat the intelligent student.

Sansón Carrasco is first introduced in Part II of *Don Quixote*, and plays a pivotal role in the storyline as his intelligence finally outwits Don Quixote into giving up knight-errantry and returning home at the end of the novel. Carrasco is a recent graduate of the University of Salamanca, and his mischievous nature makes him believe he can outwit Don Quixote into returning home and renouncing chivalry. Believing his intelligence superior to others since he was a graduate of Salamanca, Carrasco devises a plan to play to Don Quixote's madness in order to return him to La Mancha. By defeating him as a knight, Carrasco would demonstrate his superior intelligence and force Don Quixote to give up knight-errantry and return home.

Carrasco details his virtuous reasons for dressing up like a knight and fighting to Don Antonio Moreno, Don Quixote and Sancho's host in Barcelona, but his defense reveals his quest to defeat the knight turned to revenge after fate robbed him the first time as the Knight of the Mirrors. Demonstrating both his intelligence as a graduate and that he has slipped into his own kind of madness, Carrasco defends himself, claiming:

I know very well, Señor, why you have come: you want to know who I am, and since there is no reason not to tell you, while my servant removes my armor I shall tell you the truth of the matter, omitting nothing. Know then, Señor, that my name is Bachelor Sansón Carrasco; am from the same village as Don Quixote of La Mancha, whose madness and foolishness move all of us who know him to pity; I have been one of those who pitied him most, and believing that his health depends on his remaining peacefully in his own village and in his own house, I devised a way to oblige him to do that, and so some three months ago I took to the road as a knight errant, calling myself the Knight of the Mirrors, and intending to do combat with him and defeat him without doing him harm, and setting as a condition of our combat that the vanquished would have to obey the victor; what I planned to ask of him, because I already considered him defeated, was that he return to his village and not leave it again for a year, for in that time he could be cured; but fate ordained otherwise, because he defeated me and toppled me from my horse, and so my idea did not succeed; he continued on his way, and I returned home, defeated, chagrined, and bruised from my fall, which was a dangerous one, yet not even this could diminish my desire to find him again and defeat him, as you have witnessed today. And since he is so punctilious in complying with the rules of knight errantry, he undoubtedly will comply with the conditions I have set, and keep his word. This, Señor, is what has happened, and I have nothing more to tell you, and I implore you not to reveal my identity or tell Don Quixote who I am, so that my good intentions can be put into effect and a man can regain his reason, for his is fine when free of the absurdities of chivalry. (II, 45, 88)

The introduction of Carrasco's defense justifies his actions by claiming Don Quixote's health depended on his returning home. Since he is more educated and intelligent than Don Quixote, Carrasco "already considered him defeated." However, when "fate ordained otherwise" and he lost in the first battle, his virtuous intentions turned to revenge as nothing could diminish his "desire to find him again and defeat him." His different costumes and performances that play to Don Quixote's delusions of knights-errantry mock his intelligence, and as his squire Tomé suggests, appear to make him look crazier.

### **RELIGIOUS CONFLICTS**

The Catholic Church and its power in Spanish politics and culture created several constraints for Cervantes' invention, as the Church influenced most aspects of Spanish life.

Church officials exercised considerable control over the Spanish population in their attempt to create a single, universal church. However, while the Church's presence in larger urban areas influenced strict adherence to Catholic doctrine, elsewhere in the country, people practiced what William Christian terms, local religions. Christian (1989) states:

There were two levels of Catholicism . . . that of the Church Universal, based on the sacraments, the Roman liturgy, and the Roman calendar; and a local one based on particular sacred places, images, and relics, locally chosen patron saints, idiosyncratic ceremonies, and a unique calendar built up from the settlement's own sacred history. (3)

To combat these local religions, the Church Universal created ever greater restrictions on the population. While the rural areas were Catholic by name, their practices often resembled pagan ritual. For instance, instead of leaving their ailment in God's hands through prayer, when people got sick they would use sacrilegious relics and folk healers for their cure.

Cervantes responds to the exigences created from the Church's strong influence throughout *Don Quixote* by carefully parodying their concerns. In fact, shortly after the novel begins, Don Quixote's friends participate in an *auto de fé* parody to address appropriate books to read by tossing most of the knight's library into a fire. Instead of throwing all the books in the fire together like the housekeeper and the niece prefer, the Priest and Barber put each of Don Quixote's books on trial. Resembling a mock *auto de fe*, the Priest acts as the prosecution, the Barber as the defense, and books of chivalry as the accused. The Priest offers evidence that reading these books has led to Don Quixote's madness. However, the Barber defends certain books like *Amadís de Gaul*, Spain's first chivalric romance. The Barber claims they are "the best of all the books of this kind ever written" and therefore, should "be pardoned" (I, 6, 46). The Priest agrees, and the histories of Amadís are saved from the flames. In addition, three other

books are spared: *Belianis de Grecia*, spared because the Barber wants to read it; *Palmerin de Inglaterra*, spared because it is a favorite of the Priest's; and, *Tirante el Blanco*, spared accidentally because the Barber dropped it on the way to the fire. The rest of Don Quixote's collection burns. Cervantes' parody of the *auto de fé* responds to the religious tensions in Spanish society and served as a resource for his invention.

### ***Section 1: Regarding the Chivalric Religion of Don Quixote and the Church's fears of Worshipping False Idols***

In Chapter 13, on their way to the funeral of Chrysostom, a traveler named Vivaldo asks Don Quixote the reason for wearing such knightly armor in the summer heat, specifically when Spain is such a peaceful country, to which Don Quixote responds affirming a great fear of the Church: worshipping false idols. He begins by providing the birth of knight-errantry, starting with King Arthur and the Round Table in England, and then explains how it spread throughout the world:

Have your graces not read, the annals and histories of England, in which are recounted the famous deeds of King Arthur, whom, in our Castilian ballads, we continuously call King Artús? According to an ancient and widespread tradition throughout the kingdom of Great Britain, this king did not die but, through the art of enchantment, was turned into a crow and in time will return to rule and recover his kingdom and scepter; for this reason, it can be demonstrated that no Englishman has ever killed a crow from that time to this. Well, it was in the days of this good king that the famous chivalric order of the Knights of the Round Table was instituted, and, in these same chronicles, in the minutest detail, there is also a recounting of the love between Sir Lancelot of the Lake and Queen Guinevere, their intermediary and confidante being the highly honored Duenna Quintañoa, . . . followed by the sweet and gentle tale of his feats of love and of valor. Since that time, from one generation to the next, the order of chivalry has extended and spread through many different parts of the world, and among its members, famous and known for their great deeds, were the valiant Amadís of Gaul and all his sons and grandsons unto the fifth generation, and the valorous Felixmarte of Hyrcania, and the never-sufficiently-praised Tirant lo Blanc, and in our own time we have almost seen and communicated with and heard the invincible and valiant knight Don Belianís of Greece. This, then, gentlemen, is

what it means to be a knight errant, and the order of chivalry is just as I have said, and in it, as I have also said, I, though a sinner, have taken my vows, professing exactly what was professed by the knights I have mentioned. And therefore I wander these solitary and desolate places in search of adventures, determined to bring my arm and my person to the most dangerous that fortune may offer, in defense of the weak and helpless. (I, 13, 87-88)

In this history, Don Quixote describes the feats of love and valor between Lancelot and Guinevere, as well as, provides the names of several famous knights, including his favorite, Amadís, to detail what it means to be a knight errant. Don Quixote has taken these vows, "professing exactly" what other great knights-errant professed and this quick history should explain his armed attire.

In addition to warranting his armor, his explanation addresses several religious issues of the day in regards to worshipping false idols. First, Don Quixote draws upon the books of chivalry to ground his moral compass and justify his virtuous actions. Second, Don Quixote justifies his love for Dulcinea through Lancelot and Guinevere, and places her on a pedestal of ideal perfection on par with piety. Third, Don Quixote's continual praises of Amadís as the ideal representative of knight-errantry likens him to the praise Christ receives from Christians. Don Quixote's madness is a result of giving books of chivalry the same degree of historical and moral truth usually reserved for the Bible. His religion becomes a religion of chivalry, requiring him to travel the countryside, armed as he is, to right wrongs as a knight errant.

After this defense of his clothing, Vivaldo realizes his companion has lost all reason, and capitalizes on his madness for the sake of entertainment by continuing to ask questions in order to provide Don Quixote more "opportunity to go on with his nonsense" (I, 13, 88). However, Vivaldo's questions give Don Quixote an excuse to defend knight-errantry with Christian undertones. When Vivaldo compares Don Quixote's vow of knight-errantry with the vows of

austere monks, the knight interjects that the latter has an easier life, making the former more virtuous:

[The profession of friar] 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 religious, in absolute peace and tranquility, ask heaven for the well-being of the world, but we soldiers and knights effect what they ask, defending the world with the valor of our good right arms and the sharp edge of our swords, not protected by a roof but under the open sky, subject to the unbearable rays of the sun in summer and the icy blasts of winter. In this way we are ministers of God on earth, the arms by which His justice is put into effect on earth . . . it follows that those whose profession it is undoubtedly face greater difficulties than those who in tranquil peace and repose pray to God to favor those who cannot help themselves. I do not mean to say, nor has it even passed through my mind, that the state of a knight errant is as virtuous as that of a cloistered religious; I wish only to suggest, given what I must suffer, that it is undoubtedly more toil-some and more difficult, more subject to hunger and thirst, more destitute, straitened, and impoverished, for there can be no doubt that knights errant in the past endured many misfortunes in the course of their lives. And if some rose to be emperors through the valor of their mighty right arms, by my faith, it cost them dearly in the quantities of blood and sweat they shed, and if those who rose to such great heights had not had enchanters and wise men to help them, they would have been thwarted in their desires and deceived in their hopes. (I, 13, 88-89)

Don Quixote's comparison of knights-errant with monks satirizes and frustrates the tensions within the Church over heretical literature. In addition to placing more emphasis on his religion of chivalry over Catholicism, Don Quixote argues that the order of knight-errantry is more necessary in the world than the order of monks. Monks "ask heaven for the well-being of the world," while knights enact heaven's will to create this well-being. As opposed to sitting around praying in a covered monastery, knights are out in the world defending God's will. The Church's frustration is furthered parodied when Don Quixote paraphrases an important verse from the New Testament saying knights are "ministers of God on earth" to execute "His Justice." Henry Higuera (1995) shows how this line resonates with St. Paul's letter to the



Romans (13:4), which states, “For he [the prince] is the minister of God, an avenger to execute wrath on him who does evil” (40). Conflating books of chivalry with the Bible generally, and Don Quixote with Jesus specifically, Cervantes parodies and brings attention to religious tensions with literature.

A literal reading of the books of chivalry led to Don Quixote’s madness as he acts out the knight’s duties in every detail. From wearing ridiculous armor, seeing windmills as giants, to professing love for some idealized maiden, performing these roles makes Don Quixote seem mad. However, similar to Miguel de Unamuno’s argument in *Our Lord Don Quixote*, if Christ were to return, critics “would take him for a madman or a dangerous agitator and would seek to give him an equally ignominious death,” similar to the way critics of chivalric romances, like Bachelor Sansón Carrasco, the Priest, and the Barber, bring Don Quixote’s death in the end by forcing his sanity to return (1967, 209). From walking on water (Matthew 14:25), healing any illness (Matthew 8:7), to converting water into wine (John 2:9), performing the role of Jesus would make anyone seem mad also. When Don Quixote converts to a religion of chivalry in the first chapters of Book 1, he is seen as a madman that cannot be trusted, for his ethos as a Christian comes into question. Although people think he is mad, they cannot help but respect his virtuous intentions. In contrast, when he comes back to reality, back to Alonso Quixano, and converts back to Christianity in the final chapter of Book II, he dies.

Don Quixote’s conversion back to Christianity, however, is not immediately believed by his friends, which shows cultural apprehension in sixteenth-century Spain of trusting people that claimed to have converted to Christianity. When Don Quixote first proclaims his sanity, stating, “I am no longer Don Quixote of La Mancha but Alonso Quixano, once called *the Good*

because of my virtuous life,” his friends do not believe him (II, 74, 935). Instead, they believe some new form of madness has taken over him and ironically plead: “For God’s sake, be quiet, come to your senses, and tell us no more tales” (936). But Don Quixote insists he has regained his sanity and not a moment too soon:

Señores, I feel that I am dying very rapidly; let us put all jokes aside, and bring me a confessor to hear my confession, and a scribe to write my will, for at critical moments like these a man cannot play games with his soul; and so, while the priest hears my confession, I beg you to bring the scribe. (936)

There is no time for joking around, for Don Quixote’s death is imminent and therefore he returns to Christianity in order to save his soul. Don Quixote’s friends are astonished by his “so well-spoken, so Christian, and so reasonable” words, and although they tended to believe him, they still had their doubts (936). Jews and Muslims that had converted to Christianity, known as conversos and moriscos respectively, caused anxiety in Spanish society because people were afraid they had not really converted. Similarly, Don Quixote’s friends’ doubts about his sudden conversion parodies this cultural mistrust for converted Christians. The cultural tension regarding Christian converts can further be seen in context to the story about Zoriada, a Christian-converted Algerian woman, in the final chapters of Book I.

***Section 2: Which Reveals the Rhetorical Situation of Religious Discrimination, Conversion, and Practice, as Discussed in the Captive’s Tale***

While Don Quixote and Sancho argue over enchantments in the final inn of Book I, a couple dressed as Moors arrive and when the man, Ruy Pérez de Viedma, known as “the Captive,” recounts their escape from captivity in Algiers, he reflects several religious tensions in Spanish society at the time. He explains that he was a prisoner of war and she was a prisoner of her faith, and that their escape would allow him to return home and allow her to freely choose

her own religion. Although the woman, Zoraida, never speaks—reflecting both her powerless status in society and the cultural expectations of Moorish women—her desire to convert to Christianity is explained through the Captive’s tale.

The Captive begins his account by describing his time as a soldier fighting the Turks at the Battle of Lepanto and his subsequent capture and imprisonment in Algiers where he first met Zoraida. Zoraida helped the Captive pay for his ransom to free himself in order to return and free her. Zoraida had converted to Christianity because the ghost of her deceased Christian slave returned to tell her Lela Marién, the Christian Virgin Mary, loved her and needed her to go to Christian lands. From her window she dropped the Captive the money for his ransom and a note that read:

When I was a little girl, my father had a slave woman who taught me in my own language a Christian zalá, or prayer, and she told me many things about Lela Marién. The Christian slave died, and I know she did not go to the fire but to Allah, because afterward I saw her two times, and she told me to go to a Christian land to see Lela Marién, who loved me very much. I do not know how to go: I have seen many Christians through this window, and none has seemed as much a gentleman as you. I am very beautiful and young, and I have a good deal of money to take with me; see if you can plan how we can go, and when we are there you can be my husband if you like, and if you do not, it will not matter, because Lela Marién will give me someone to marry. I wrote this; be careful who you ask to read it: do not trust any Moor, because they are all false. I am very worried about that: I wish you would not show it to anybody, because if my father finds out, he will throw me in a well and cover me over with stones. I will put a thread on the reed: tie your answer there, and if you do not have anybody who writes Arabic, give me your answer in signs; Lela Marién will make me understand. May she and Allah protect you, and this cross that I kiss many times, as the captive woman taught me to do. (I, 40, 347)

Zoraida’s letter expresses her interest in becoming Christian and leaving her homeland for Spain at the expense of her own family and nation. Her letter shows her misunderstandings of Christianity, and, in addition, provides another example of confusing superstition with piety.

Her Christian slave had taught her to kiss the cross many times and somehow it, along with Allah and Lela Marién, would protect people. Her letter also belittles her own people to confirm her Christianity. Christians stereotyped Moors as being false liars, and conversely, Moors stereotyped Christians as being the same. When she warns not to trust any Moor, “because they are all false,” she differentiates herself from them and commits to her new Christian identity.

As part of her commitment, she also requires a Christian husband, whether it is the Captive or someone else, and this desire to marry a Christian man calls attention to the tensions between interreligious and interracial relationships in early modern Spain. Zoraida is a Moor and was raised Muslim, while the Captive is a Spaniard and was raised Christian. In addition to their racial and religious differences, Zoraida is the daughter of an extremely wealthy man, while the Captive’s father is moderately poor. The idea of the two marrying in spite of their social, racial, and religious differences, reveal Cervantes’ ironic examination of some of the social tensions with the official state religion of Spain. The Moorish other, hailed as immoral, wicked, and malicious by the Catholic Church, is presented in *Don Quixote* as noble, decent, and compassionate. For instance, when Zoraida’s father, Agi Morato, realizes the depths of his daughter’s betrayal, his hatred for the Christians is not out of evil indignation, but out of grief for his daughter’s abandonment.

While Catholic readers would be happy with her conversion to Christianity, Cervantes’ empathy for her father complicates the ethos of her heroism, and displays the corporeal price for her spiritual victory. Zoraida tries to explain that she converted for the good of herself, not to harm her father, and that he should ask Lela Marién for guidance in understanding. Her

suggestion to pray to the Christian idol is too much for Agi Morato, so he tries to commit suicide by plunging into the ocean. However, he is quickly saved and then left on an island with his men because Zoraida cannot bear to see him kept prisoner. In an outrage directed first at the Christians helping her, and then at Zoraida herself, Agi Morato exclaims:

Christians, why do you think this perverse female wants you to give me my freedom? Do you think it is because she feels compassion for me? No, of course not, she has done this because my presence will be a hindrance to her when she decides to put her evil desires into effect: do not think she has been moved to change her religion because she believes yours is superior to ours, but only because she knows that in your country there is more lewd behavior than in ours. . . . Oh, shameless maiden, misguided girl! Where are you going, blindly and thoughtlessly, in the power of these dogs, our natural enemies! Cursed be the hour I begot you and cursed be the comfort and luxury in which I reared you! (I, 41, 362-3)

The price of converting spiritually cost Zoraida the relationship she had with her father as he decries her lewd intent and curses her upbringing. Continuing his shouting lament at his daughter and her Christian companions as their ship sails out of sight, he calls on Mohammed to destroy them. Agi Morato's lament, calling Christians "dogs" and their "natural enemies," highlights the mutual prejudices Moors had for Christians.

This type of hate rhetoric would seem to further demonize Agi Morato as the Moorish enemy and validate Zoraida as the Christian heroine. Instead, Cervantes parodies cultural stereotypes by providing a well-rounded perspective of Zoraida's father. Broken hearted with only his faith intact, Agi Morato's anger fades to anguish and he begins to beg: "Come back, my beloved daughter, come ashore, I forgive everything! Give those men the money, it is already theirs, and come and console your grieving father, who will die on this desolate strand if you leave him!" (I, 41, 363). The despair at losing his daughter, his tragic plea for her return, and his abandonment on the island, portray him as a tragic father, not as the sinful enemy.

The real enemies to Zoraida's quest appear after the ship has left her father behind, and surprisingly these sinful enemies are not Moors, but other Christians. When the Captive continues his tale about what occurred after leaving Zoraida's father, he begins to describe an assault on their ship by French pirates. The ruthlessness presented in the French Christians is juxtaposed with this compassionate portrayal of Agi Morato in the scene before, and frustrates traditional binaries between Muslims and Christians by dividing and splintering the two groups further. The Captive clearly differentiates between Muslims that are Moors and Turks that are Muslim when he describes his time as a soldier. Likewise, the French pirates' attack divides Christianity into groups based on nationality, as the Catholicism in Spain had Moorish influence and the Catholicism of France had Protestant influence. As Carroll B Johnson (1982) suggests, the division of these groups reveal tensions within Spanish society that placed strict binaries between Muslim and Christian:

[The division] reveals a clear intention on Cervantes' part to treat not just the consecrated theme of *moros y cristianos*, but to extend his consideration to all the frontiers on which the official state religion of Spain was in conflict with other systems of belief, of government, of social organization and values. Put another way, the Captain's story offers Cervantes the possibility of engaging in an ironically critical examination of the role of imperial, Catholic Spain in a world becoming increasingly, irredeemably pluralistic. (139-40)

The official state religion of Spain created a rigid dichotomy between Catholics and Moors. However, as Johnson points out, this "consecrated theme" was too limited for understanding real-world relationships. As people encountered more and more people from different ideologies in the increasingly pluralistic society, the more they began to realize cultural stereotypes did not always correctly portray a person's character.

## EMERGING NATIONALISM

The internal colonization required to create a unified national identity created tensions in Spanish society, which only amplified after Philip III expelled Moriscos in 1609, causing old neighbors and friends to become enemies overnight. While the expulsion followed the logical results of a nation founded on chivalric myths of the Reconquista, many Spaniards were confused and frustrated by the new law. On the one hand, the presence of Moors in Spain lingered in Spanish memory causing many to fear Moriscos, afraid they had not really converted to Christianity, and even more afraid they would return Spain to Islamic rule. On the other hand, Moriscos made up a significant portion of the Spanish population, contributed to local economies, and coexisted in communities with their Christian neighbors for years. The tension and confusion in society, along with the process of expulsion, lasted several years, and it was during this time that Cervantes wrote the second part to *Don Quixote*. This “current historical event” of Cervantes’ time clearly shapes his writing as the second part begins and ends with the morisco issue over expulsion.

### ***Section 1: In Which the Mutual Mistrust between Muslims and Catholics are Discussed with Regards to the Historian Cide Benengeli***

Part II of *Don Quixote* was published in 1615, only six years after Philip III’s edict, and begins with a humorous meta-fictional dilemma dealing with cultural discriminations against Muslims. In Chapter 2, Don Quixote and Sancho learn from Sansón Carrasco, their neighbor, a book has been published about their earlier adventures written by a Moor named Cide Hamete Benengeli. Don Quixote quickly expresses the cultural prejudices of the time when he laments “one could not expect truth from the Moors, because all of them are tricksters, liars, and swindlers” (474). While Don Quixote and Sancho only learn of Cide Hamete Benengeli’s role in

the 1615 publication, readers are alerted to this important historian in the Prologue of the 1605 version, when Cervantes famously claims not to be the author, but rather, the step-father of the story. The father of the story is the Moor Benengeli, and is therefore written in Arabic. To further complicate the narrative layering, Cervantes claims to have asked a Morisco to translate the history into Spanish. The translator, who also cannot be trusted as he might secretly be a Moor, questions the veracity of Benengeli's account as he translates for Cervantes. For example, in Chapter 5 of Book II, the narrator says the translator thinks Sancho's interactions with his wife are apocryphal. He claims Sancho "speaks in a manner different from what one might expect of his limited intelligence" (II.V). The translator interjects two more times in this chapter to really emphasize his distrust of this history because it seems too apocryphal. The translator thinks they are "apocryphal" and wants to "pass over" them because he fears people will think he created a bad translation. Instances like these where the translator talks directly to the reader, undermine Cide Hamete Benengeli's ultimate historical account, and provide a glimpse into the cultural stereotypes of the time.

Like the fantastical elements in the chivalric romances, parts of Cide Benengeli's account seem unbelievable, as mentioned by the translator, and thus, he praises and swears religious oaths to prove the veracity of his history. In Chapter 8 of Book II, Benengeli exclaims "Blessed be almighty Allah!" to express his excitement that the knight began his third sally. The passage demonstrates Benengeli's Muslim beliefs. However, in Chapter 27, Benengeli claims he "swears as a Catholic Christian" to the truth of the proceeding chapter. The back-and-forth between Islamic and Christian references not only delegitimizes Benengeli's credibility, but also shows the suspicion many had about Moriscos converting back-and-forth between Islam and



Christianity. The fear of Moriscos converting back to Islam and then reclaiming Spain eventually led to Philip III's Edict of Expulsion in 1609.

***Section 2: Which regards the Costs of Nationalism at the Expense Demonizing Others as Displayed in Ricote's Journey***

Perhaps nowhere better Cervantes reflect a real, historical, current event, than he does as he addresses the ramifications of the Edict in the final chapters of Book II, when readers are introduced to Sancho's old neighbor, Ricote. Ricote, meaning "very rich" in Spanish, is travelling with a group of German pilgrims when he runs into Sancho on the road. He is disguised as a German pilgrim, although he is really a Morisco, returning to Spain to recover the fortune he left behind after the King's edict forced him to leave. Sancho realizes the illegality of Ricote being in Spain and is forced into a dilemma that haunted many Christians in the early seventeenth-century: be loyal to old friends and neighbors or loyal to the realm? Ricote, in "pure" Spanish, without "slipping at all into his Moorish language" defends his return to Spain as necessity:

You know very well, O Sancho Panza, my neighbor and friend, how the proclamation and edict that His Majesty issued against those of my race brought terror and fear to all of us; at least, I was so affected, I think that even before the time granted to us for leaving Spain had expired, I was already imagining that the harsh penalty had been inflicted on me and my children. And so I arranged, as a prudent man, I think, and as one who knows that by a certain date the house where he lives will be taken away and he'll need to have another one to move into, I arranged, as I said, to leave the village alone, without my family, and find a place where I could take them in comfort and without the haste with which others were leaving; because I saw clearly, as did all our elders, that those proclamations were not mere threats, as some were saying, but real laws that would be put into effect at the appointed time; I was forced to believe this truth because I knew the hateful and foolish intentions of our people, and they were such that it seems to me it was divine inspiration that moved His Majesty to put into effect so noble a resolution, not because all of us were guilty, for some were firm and true Christians, though these were so few they could not oppose those who were not, but because it is not a good idea to nurture a snake in your

bosom or shelter enemies in your house. In short, it was just and reasonable for us to be chastised with the punishment of exile: lenient and mild, according to some, but for us it was the most terrible one we could have received. No matter where we are we weep for Spain, for, after all, we were born here and it is our native country; nowhere do we find the haven our misfortune longs for, and in Barbary and all the places in Africa where we hoped to be received, welcomed, and taken in, that is where they most offend and mistreat us. We did not know our good fortune until we lost it, and the greatest desire in almost all of us is to return to Spain; most of those, and there are many of them, who know the language as well as I do, abandon their wives and children and return, so great is the love they have for Spain; and now I know and feel the truth of the saying that it is sweet to love one's country. (II, 54, 813)

Ricote's defense elaborately lays out a balanced view of the Edict and the results of exile on him, his family, and other Moriscos. He claims the Edict brought fear upon his people, but that they understood it as a divine resolution, as some Moriscos were bad, and, as he states, you would not want to "nurture a snake in your bosom." Although Ricote understood that their banishment was the result of a few bad apples within the Morisco population, it did not stop the pain the exile caused. While some people may think exile a lenient punishment, Ricote argues it was "the most terrible one we could have received" and the "greatest desire in almost all of us is to return to Spain."

Ricote puts Sancho in a difficult place, forcing him to decide a moral question that many people faced after the 1609 Edict: be loyal to friends or loyal to the King. However, Ricote's persuasive abilities are powerful as he finishes his speech appealing to his ethos:

Now, Sancho, my intention is to take out the treasure I buried here, and since it's outside the village, I'll be able to do it without danger, and then I'll write to my daughter and wife, or leave from Valencia and go to Algiers, where I know they are, and find a way to take them to a French port, and from there to Germany, where we'll wait for whatever God has in store for us; in short, Sancho, I know for a fact that my daughter, Ricota, and my wife, Francisca Ricota, are true Catholic Christians, and though I'm less of one, I'm still more Christian than Moor, and I always pray that God will open the eyes of my understanding and let me know how I must serve Him. (814)

He tries to persuade Sancho into helping him, even demonstrating his devotion to the Christian God to prove his virtuous intentions, but Sancho fears helping him would be treasonous. As he contemplates helping his old friend, he, Ricote, and the pilgrims get drunk on wine, as they reminisce on events since last seeing each other. Sancho confesses to crying when Ricote's family was forced to leave their village. He also informs Ricote that his daughter, Ana Félix, has found a wealthy Christian suitor named Pedro Gregorio. The two enjoy one another's company and the two demonstrate strong compassion for one another. Sancho ultimately decides that he will neither turn Ricote into the authorities, nor will he help him on his quest. Ricote and the pilgrims therefore continue on their journey and Sancho leaves to rejoin Don Quixote at the Duke's castle.

Several chapters later in Chapter 63, when Don Quixote and Sancho are visiting aboard a galley ship, they encounter Ricote again. This time, however, the circumstances are grimmer as his daughter, Ana Félix, is being sentenced to death for captaining a pirate ship. It happened one afternoon when Don Antonio Moreno, Don Quixote and Sancho's wealthy host in Barcelona, invites the two to see the galleys. The two are amazed at the size of the galleys, but are confused by the mechanics of the ship. When the captain spots pirates off the coast, the galley immediately sets out to apprehend them, which causes loud noises as the sails dropped and as the ship begins its pursuit. The noise and sudden movement struck fear into the two, causing Sancho to remark:

These are the things that really are enchanted, not the ones my master says. What have these unfortunate men done to be whipped in this way, and how does one man, who walks around here whistling, dare to flog so many people? I say this must be hell, or purgatory at least. (II, 63, 877)

Sancho's fears are from the confusion of the situation, only amplified by the enormity of the ship and the sight of so many men being whipped, and acts as a perspective on the size of the growing nation, both at home in Spain, and abroad in the new world. The ships are after the pirates to maintain the law and order of Spain, including its coasts. The enormity of the ships in Sancho's eyes also reflects the enormity of the empire, with the ships being the channel to the new world. Once the pirates are apprehended, however, the situation returns to an issue of nationalism, internal colonialism, and cultural tensions in early seventeenth-century Spain. The captain of the pirates, as mentioned, is none other than Ricote's daughter, Ana Félix. Claiming to be a Catholic, but the daughter of moriscos, Ana Félix returns readers to cultural confusion about the internal colonization caused by Philip III's Edict.

The aim of this chapter has been to address the rhetorical situation of Spain during the time of Don Quixote and Sancho's adventures, which not only provides the impetus for their movement, but also shows the genius behind Cervantes' work. I began with the anecdote of a young Spanish woman in 1605, nibbling on a piece of stale cake and reading the newly published *Don Quixote*. Her story provides an incongruous perspective of the majority of women for the time as there were unequal social standards for women, which is one exigence for Cervantes' rhetorical situation. However, I argued the major rhetorical exigences which Cervantes responds to in *Don Quixote* can be divided into five categories. First, I provided the examples of three important female characters to show the inequalities and marginalization women faced. Dulcinea is idolized as the perfect woman, yet she remains silent throughout both parts. Marcela and Dorotea are powerful rhetors, yet because they are women, their

goals fail. Second, I discussed the letters between the Duchess and Sancho's wife, Teresa, to consider the complications in the restructuring of the social class hierarchies. Whereas the one desires to advance economically, the other desires things to remain the same. Third, I use the prostitutes at the inn, the innkeeper, and Bachelor Sansón Carrasco, to show three different levels of education based on their access to schooling as displayed in these characters. The prostitutes are uneducated both because they are of the lower strata of society and because they are women. The innkeeper has some level of education because he grew up in a city where the Church provided basic education. Finally, Sansón graduated from the University of Salamanca, and represents the narcissism of the educated class. Fourth, I addressed the rhetorical situation regarding religious discrimination and unification through the examples of Quixote's proclaimed chivalric religion and the Captive's Tale. Don Quixote creates a local adaptation of his religious beliefs, which was a great fear of the Church's, by infusing his Catholic upbringing with chivalric virtues. Returning to the Captive's Tale discussed in Chapter 1, I use the Captive's love story to show the conflicts between Christians and Moors. Fifth, I argue that an emerging national identity added to the rhetorical situation of a changing social landscape by first examining the historian, Cide Benengeli, and second, reviewing the story of Ricote, a Morisco who secretly returns to Spain. Spain's rhetorical situation---made up of these five rhetorical exigences---created an environment requiring rhetorical action, which Quixote heroically and tragically confronts (as discussed in the next chapter) and therefore, examining the rhetorical situation was paramount for this study.

### CHAPTER THREE: THE RHETORIC OF DON QUIXOTE

Guided by the force of the wind, the giant's arm swoops down, picking up the knight and his nag, throwing them forcibly to the ground, only to magically turn into a windmill to deprive Don Quixote of any retaliation. This "fearful and never imagined adventure of the windmills" happens on Don Quixotes' first sally with his squire, Sancho Panza, and represents perhaps the most famous scene in the book, graphically embodying Quixote's unique brand of "insanity" that seems to have its own logic and virtue. In his chapter titled "Windmills," Jose Ortega y Gasset (1961) explains our fascination with this scene, which calls into question our own assumption of what it means to be "sane":

It is true that Don Quixote is out of his senses but the problem is not solved by declaring Don Quixote insane. What is abnormal in him has been and will continue to be normal in humanity. Granted that these giants are not giants, but what about the others? I mean, what about giants in general? Where did man get his giants? Because they never existed nor do they exist in reality. Whenever it may have been, the occasion on which man first thought up giants does not differ essentially from the scene in Cervantes' work. There would always be something which was not a giant, but which tended to become one if regarded from its idealistic side. (141)

From this perspective, Quixote's rhetoric has the unique power to transform the ordinary into the extraordinary through the power of eloquent idealism, distorting reality, it is true, but also doing so in a way that makes us reflect upon our own assumptions about what is real and true and good and worth fighting for and against.

The reason I call this encounter with the windmills "rhetorical," then, is clearly not because Quixote has a distorted vision of reality which causes him to do battle with a machine as if it were a giant. It is rhetorical because that encounter is both preceded and followed by speeches in which Quixote defines the situation to his audience (namely, Sancho) and then

afterwards rationalizes his failure in a way that maintains his appearance of sanity and virtue. Quixote's rhetoric has as its goal the persuasion of others to accept his vision of reality and his code of ethics that goes along with that vision, overcoming both the physical constraints of his environment and the psychological constraints of an audience skeptical of his interpretations. Quixote thus represents, in an exaggerated form at least, any rhetor who feels that the primary struggle is to open the eyes of others to a reality, a threat, and a possibility that they heretofore could not see, and to inspire them to accept a mission that to the uninitiated might seem insane.

In the discussion that follows, components of Don Quixote's rhetoric are expressed in detail. Whether regarded as idealistic philosophy, inspiration for action, or simply, eloquent speech, there can be no doubt that Don Quixote embodies an aesthetic conception of rhetoric that synthesizes art with craft. First, his rhetoric demonstrates a heroic ethos and the courage to confront dangerous rhetorical situations. Don Quixote's heroic rhetoric provides visions of utopic possibilities to rally his audiences into overcoming obstacles. Second, his nostalgic attitude for the past gives his speeches a characteristic poetic style as he uses flowery language to describe past virtues in present terms. As the Modern World slipped further away from the ideals of the Golden Age, Don Quixote's rhetoric returns past values to ground action. Third, the knight's strategy of upward transcendence attempts to reconcile apparent contradictions through an idealistic appeal to a higher rationalization which bridges together disparate perspectives to rally collective action. Fourth, Don Quixote frames his worldview tragically to arouse and purge emotions, but also to learn from his mistakes. Combined, the elements of Don Quixote's rhetoric inspire, guide, and teach, to encourage deliberate action.

## HEROISM

When the windmills first come into sight, Don Quixote becomes excited and explains to his new squire his intentions to battle the giant creatures, both demonstrating his heroism and justifying his future action. It is the first adventure for Sancho since signing on as squire, and therefore Don Quixote tries to rally his support into courageous action through heroic discourse that justifies his intentions to battle. He heroically states:

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, for this is righteous warfare, and it is a great service to God to remove so evil a breed from the face of the earth. (I, 8, 58)

Don Quixote demonstrates his heroic ethos in the above scene by proclaiming he will individually overcome the particular obstacles of giants in the name of a vaguely understood ideal that propelled them forward. By heroism, then, I mean an individual's courageous commitment to action against often overwhelming odds for the sake of a good which is more felt than reasoned. Ralph Emerson (1987), for example, suggests "Heroism *feels* and never *reasons* and therefore is always *right*" (italics added, 148). Although *reason* would warn against attacking windmills, Don Quixote *feels* threatened by "so evil a breed" of giants, and therefore, is *right* to battle these large creatures for his "great service to God." What makes Don Quixote's heroism important rhetorically is that his courageousness gives him the ethos of a brave knight and the credibility to follow him into action.

By earning credibility through courageous deeds, heroes are able to provide new principles of action based on their heroic vision that their audiences are willing to follow. The hero travels into the supernatural, mythic, the unknown, to return with new insight for the



future. According to Joseph Campbell (2008), a “hero ventures forth from the world of common day into a region of supernatural wonder: fabulous forces are there encountered and a decisive victory is won: the hero comes back from this mysterious adventure with the power to bestow boons on his fellow man” (23). The “boon” the hero bestows on fellow man is knowledge; knowledge of both an ideal future and also the path to that future. Therefore, heroic rhetoric contains three key ingredients that are essential to its success. First, heroic rhetoric provides a vague but inspiring vision for a better and ideal future. Second, this type of rhetoric shows how particular obstacles can be overcome through new principles of action. Third, heroic rhetoric attempts to rally its audience to collective action and inspire them to do what they might otherwise be afraid or ignorant to do. Together, these three aspects of heroic rhetoric succeed when it rallies its audience to follow the hero’s path to action by providing universal possibilities for the future.

Although heroism provides an ideal course of action for a better future, it is the result of a compulsion by the hero to intervene, and sometimes this intervention goes against conventions and traditions. While providing the benefit of new perspectives, sometimes the hero’s impulses can muck things up where no interference was needed in the first place.

Emerson explains:

Heroism works in contradiction to the voice of mankind and in contradiction, for a time, to the voice of the great and good. Heroism is an obedience to a secret impulse of an individual's character. Now to no other man can its wisdom appear as it does to him, for every man must be supposed to see a little farther on his own proper path, than anyone else. (149)

Don Quixote is obedient to the code of chivalry, which guides his impulses and actions, but oftentimes this obedience stands in contradiction with the “voice of mankind.” While Don

Quixote can see the wisdom in chivalric virtue and believes he is the one to return it to the present age, his heroism can interfere with and harm innocent bystanders where the situation did not need such action. Therefore, his rhetorical strategy for demonstrating his heroic ethos can benefit Don Quixote when it calls his audience to courageous action, but can also fail him when he *feels* the situation wrong and contradicts the “voice of the great and good.”

***Section 1: Regarding the Success of Don Quixote’s Heroic Rhetoric in the Adventure with the King’s Lions***

Much to Sancho’s chagrin, when his master sees a cart transporting two lions headed towards them in Book II, he believes it is the start of a new adventure. To prove his valor as a knight-errant, Don Quixote challenges the lions and insists on having the doors to their cage opened. The lion-keeper responds by claiming they are a present for the King and warns they are the biggest lions in Spain. Don Quixote takes the lion-keeper’s warning as a threat to his heroic character and retorts, “You talk of lions to me? To me you speak of these little lions, and at this hour? Well, by God, those gentlemen who sent them here will see if I am a man who is frightened by lions” (II, 17, 560). When Sancho realizes Don Quixote still plans on battling the lions, he turns to their friend Don Diego, known as the *Knight of the Green Coat*, and begs him to stop the ordeal. Don Diego also believes Don Quixote was in mortal danger, and so pleads, “Señor Knight, knights-errant ought to undertake adventures that promise some hope of success, not those that are completely devoid of hope” (561). For Diego, attacking lions is utterly “devoid of hope,” which gives Don Quixote the ethos of a fool and reduces his heroic honor. However, Don Quixote embodies the essence of heroism, as he has an unyielding self-trust in his own abilities, and therefore, decides to stand his ground and battle the lions.

After further threatening the lion-keeper, who reluctantly opens the cage, Don Quixote dismounts Rocinante, unsheathes his sword, takes up his shield, and with “marvelous courage and a valiant heart,” waits in front of the cage to do battle (563). However, the lions decide not to leave the comforts of their cage, and thereby add credibility to Don Quixote’s bravery and simultaneously spare him any fatal harm. When the lion-keeper relocks the cages, and the others feel it is safe, they return to gather around Don Quixote to hear of his foolish courage. He defends his actions in a lengthy speech full of heroic rhetoric that returns his ethos as knight-errant. Don Quixote begins the speech by addressing the obvious confusion his friends are having about his recent display of bravery:

Who can doubt, Señor Don Diego de Miranda, that in the opinion of your grace I am a foolish and witless man? And it would not be surprising if you did, because my actions do not attest to anything else. Even so, I would like your grace to observe that I am not as mad or as foolish as I must have seemed to you. (565)

Don Quixote addresses the particular problem he wishes Don Diego to overcome in the opening lines of his defense: that he is "not as mad or as foolish" as he must have seemed. The first aspect of Don Quixote’s heroic rhetoric addresses particular conflicts in order to provide an idealistic perspective for understanding the situation. What makes this element important rhetorically is that it provides the exigence for the speech act. Don Quixote explains that he would like Don Diego "to observe," that is, to overcome his present conclusions about his madness.

After addressing particular conflicting perspectives, the second element of Don Quixote’s heroic rhetoric tries to alleviate Don Diego's doubts by morally evaluating the heroism of different types of knights. As Emerson points out, “every heroic act measures itself by its contempt of some external good” (149). Therefore, the employer of heroic rhetoric

evokes terms like good, bad, courageous, virtuous, evil, and the like, to describe moral aspects of the situation. Don Quixote continues his defense describing different knightly vocations with morally-weighted terms to show the virtue of his profession and lend credence to his standing up against the lions:

A gallant knight is pleasing in the eyes of his king when, in the middle of a great plaza, he successfully thrusts his lance into a fierce bull. . . and all those knights who engage in military exercises. . . honor the courts of their princes; but above and beyond all these, the best seems to be the knight errant, who travels wastelands and desolate places, crossroads and forests and mountains, seeking dangerous adventures and attempting to bring them to a happy and fortunate conclusion, his sole purpose being to achieve glorious and lasting fame. The knight errant who helps a widow in some deserted spot, seems better, I say, than a courtier knight flattering a damsel in the city. All knights have their own endeavors: let the courtier serve the ladies. . . . But let the knight errant search all the corners of the world; let him enter into the most intricate labyrinths; attempt the impossible at each step he takes; resist in empty wastelands the burning rays of the sun in summer, and in winter the harsh rigors of freezing winds; let him not be dismayed by lions, or frightened by monsters, or terrified by dragons; searching for these and attacking those and vanquishing them all are his principal and true endeavors. (565-6)

In his defense, Don Quixote explicitly states the virtuous qualities of knights using expressive words like "gallant knight", "successfully thrusts", "is pleasing", and "honor." Furthermore, Don Quixote employs even more morally-weighted terms in regards to knights-errant as virtuous and good. Emerson states, "The essence of greatness is the perception that virtue is enough. Poverty is its ornament. It does not need plenty, and can very well abide its loss" (151). Therefore, in describing the profession of knight-errantry, Don Quixote's heroic rhetoric further alerts Don Diego of his morally-good character with expressive language like "resist in empty wastelands the burning rays of the sun in summer," and mention of not being "dismayed by lions, or frightened by monsters, or terrified by dragons."

However, his lack of being “dismayed by lions,” is not only expressive, it also heroically begins to answer concerns about his chivalric madness. Thus, the third element of Don Quixote’s heroic rhetoric establishes his own virtues by calling attention to himself where other’s may not. Continuing his defense, Don Quixote states:

I, then, since it is my fortune to be counted in the number of knights errant, cannot help but attack all things that seem to me to fall within the jurisdiction of my endeavors; and so, it was my rightful place to attack the lions which I now attacked, although I knew it was exceedingly reckless, because I know very well what valor means; it is a virtue that occupies a place between two wicked extremes, which are cowardice and temerity, but it is better for the valiant man to touch on and climb to the heights of temerity than to touch on and fall to the depths of cowardice; and just as it is easier for the prodigal to be generous than the miser, it is easier for the reckless man to become truly brave than for the coward. (566)

Here, he narcissistically claims the reason for his action against the lions is because he “cannot help but attack all things that seem to [him] to fall within the jurisdiction of [his] endeavors.” In other words, as a hero, he cannot but do what he must, for that is his duty. Emerson states, “Self-trust is the essence of heroism. It is the state of the soul at war, and its ultimate objects are the last defiance of falsehood and wrong, and the power to bear all that can be inflicted by evil agents” (149). Don Quixote’s self-trust is the essence of his heroic rhetoric. His explicit ethos demonstrates he is a man of virtuous action, which begins to absolve him from the insanity that Don Diego “no doubt” originally believed him to have.

Finally, the fourth aspect of Don Quixote’s heroic rhetoric rallies collective action to courageously confront monstrous foes in the pursuit of vague but inspiring ideals. Don Quixote inspires new perspectives for understanding and confronting life by acting as an idealistic, heroic leader. He concludes the speech stating:

[I]n the matter of undertaking adventures, your grace may believe me, Señor Don Diego, it is better to lose with too many cards than too few, because 'This knight is reckless and daring' sounds better to the ear of those who hear it than 'This knight is timid and cowardly.' (566-7)

Don Quixote's enthymeme on how knights should act logically redeems his ethos as hero.

Knights that are "reckless and daring" are better than those that are "timid and cowardly," and therefore syllogistically, Don Quixote stood against the lions because he is not a member of the latter. His conclusion persuades others, namely Don Diego in this case, that he is not insane.

Rather, his honorable courage elicits others into collective action to follow him in search of a better world. Don Quixote's heroism is what inspires Sancho to do things he might not normally do, but also, as in the case regarding Don Diego, inspires him and others to realize that Don Quixote is not a crazy madman, but rather, a noble hero.

***Section 2: Which details the Failure of Don Quixote's Heroic Rhetoric with regard to the Captured Princesses by the Enchanted Friars of St. Benedict***

The day after the windmill incident when the two encounter a group of travelers, Sancho becomes more disturbed by his master's madness for Don Quixote believes "the most famous adventure ever seen" is about to begin (I, 8, 62). The travelers are two Benedict monks accompanying a carriage with a lady and her attendants on their way to Seville. However, Don Quixote imagines the two monks are evil enchanters that have captured defenseless princesses. In the events that follow, Don Quixote heroically defends the honor of these "princesses," but in doing so, wreaks havoc on both them and himself. While Don Quixote's heroic rhetoric can be successful in persuading others to rally behind his courageous action to overcome particular obstacles and provide utopic visions of the future, it can also be the cause his failure. His heroic rhetoric has the potential, as in the case with these travelers, to muck things up by relying too

heavily on ethos and pathos at the expense of logos, thus leading him to break the laws and customs of society in a way that seems irrational and often ruinous.

Don Quixote's heroic rhetoric can go awry when he relies on his own ethos over the logos of other characters. When Sancho questions his conclusion about the group of travelers, even warning "this will be worse than the windmills," Don Quixote reminds him of his lack of knowledge in matters of adventures, and heroically claims "what I say is true" (62). Don Quixote's ethos trumps Sancho's logos, and therefore fearlessly and heroically approaches the group of travelers. As Emerson states:

The hero is a mind of such balance that no disturbances can shake his will, but pleasantly, and, as it were, merrily, he advances to his own music, alike in frightful alarms, and in the tipsy mirth of universal dissoluteness. . . it is the extreme of individual nature. (148)

Sancho's logical disturbances do not shake Don Quixote's will, as he advances "to his own music" failing to realize the risk he could be in for attacking St. Benedict friars.

In addition to an extreme individual nature, Don Quixote's heroic rhetoric can fail him when he relies too heavily on pathos as well. When he rides up and stops in front of the travelers, and begins calling them "wicked and monstrous creatures," demanding that they "instantly unhand" the princesses, he again fails to see the logos in his squire's appeal (62). Christopher Narozny and Diana de Armas Wilson (2009) argue Don Quixote's reliance on pathos "belies a deeper rhetorical crisis" as his "internalization of chivalric discourse" fixes meaning in absolutes where "evil is evil, good is good, and if something is not what it seems, this has nothing to do with an overarching crisis of representation; rather, it is obvious that an evil sorcerer has meddled in human affairs" (144). When the friars respond that neither are they wicked nor monstrous, Don Quixote responds, "I know who you are, perfidious rabble" insisting

they are evil enchanter (62). Don Quixote dismisses their explicit ethos in favor of his own, and defends his demands with pathos, calling them *perfidious rabble*.

Ignoring both Sancho's and the monks' insistence they are not evil, Don Quixote attacks with so much "ferocity and courage" that it scares them and they flee leaving the carriage behind. Satisfied with his victory, Don Quixote eloquently addresses the newly freed princess in a speech with all the trappings of heroic rhetoric:

O beautiful lady, thou canst do with thy person as thou wishest, for the arrogance of thy captors here lieth on the ground, vanquished by this my mighty arm; and so that thou mayest not pine to know the name of thy emancipator, know that I am called Don Quixote of La Mancha, knight errant in search of adventures, and captive of the beautiful and peerless Doña Dulcinea of Toboso, and as recompense for the boon thou hast received from me, I desire only that thou turnest toward Toboso, and on my behalf appearest before this lady and sayest unto her what deeds I have done to gain thy liberty. (63)

His speech, which Grossman translates into Old English to demonstrate the formality expressed in the Spanish *usted* form, is heroic as it provides how he overcame this particular obstacle for their liberty, as well as, provides a glimpse of a future vision with "emancipators" freeing the world of tyranny. He asks a small favor in return for their liberation, and it is this request where his heroic rhetoric ultimately fails. After asking the ladies to return to Toboso to inform Dulcinea of his great honor, one of the squires accompanying the ladies attacks Don Quixote for not letting them continue on their way to Seville.

While the fight ultimately went to Don Quixote's victory, his heroic rhetoric is unsuccessful in persuading the travelers of his ethos. When Sancho is afraid the Holy Brotherhood will arrest them for fighting in the countryside, Don Quixote discounts their significance, failing to feel threatened by their authority. Sancho warns, "By my faith, if they do



[arrest us], before we get out of prison they'll put us through a terrible time" (I, 10, 71).

However, Don Quixote is undeterred by any threat the Brotherhood poses, heroically stating:

Well, do not trouble yourself, my friend . . . for I shall save you from the hands of the Chaldeans, not to mention those of the Brotherhood. But tell me as you value your life: have you ever seen a more valiant knight than I anywhere on the face of the earth? Have you read in histories of another who has, or ever had, more spirit in attacking, more courage in persevering, more dexterity in wounding, or more ingenuity in unhorsing? (71)

Don Quixote's question ignores Spain's laws by reducing the Brotherhood to an afterthought behind the Chaldeans, and, instead, changing the subject to amplify his own heroic ethos. In fact, Sancho is fearsome of the Brotherhood throughout their adventures and continually warns Don Quixote of their danger. However, Don Quixote discounts their significance calling one member of the Brotherhood a "dolt" (I, 17, 117), another "base villain" (I, 45, 393), and others as "lowborn and filthy creatures" (397). Each time, the knight's heroic rhetoric overlooks the situation with a self-assurance that fails to accept contemporary laws being applied to him.

Quixote's heroic rhetoric, like the rhetoric of all heroes, thus walks a fine line between appearing courageous and noble on the one hand, and appearing arrogant and cruel on the other. At all times, Quixote wishes to celebrate himself as a rare individual of virtue and vision, but his actions, due to their intervening character, often bring about effects the opposite of his intention. But this is the way with all heroes, for they feel more than they think and they do more than they reflect, thus barreling into situations that others might wish to avoid. But this is why we also love our heroes, because whether they succeed or fail, whether they bring about good or bad effects, they always make things happen and violate our expectations. And this means, rhetorically, we always want to hear what they have to say before and after the fact to understand the nature of their actions.

## NOSTALGIA

After breaking his lance during the unsuccessful attempt to joust the giants-turned-windmills, Don Quixote draws upon a past that is celebrated in books of chivalry to make sense of his current situation. In fact, Don Quixote continually relies on a nostalgic rhetoric about the chivalric past to guide his present action and to justify future intentions. While riding away "heavyhearted" without his weapon, Don Quixote models a famous Spanish knight of the Golden Era to explain his future course of action to Sancho. He states:

I remember reading that a Spanish knight named Diego Pérez de Vargas, whose sword broke in battle, tore a heavy bough or branch from an oak tree and with it did such great deeds that day, and thrashed so many Moors, that he was called Machuca, the Bruiser, and from that day forward he and his descendants were named Vargas y Machuca. I have told you this because from the first oak that presents itself to me I intend to tear off another branch as good as the one I have in mind, and with it I shall do such great deeds that you will consider yourself fortunate for deserving to see them and for being a witness to things that can hardly be believed. (I, 8, 59-60)

Don Quixote elaborates on the fictional tale of Diego de Vargas losing his weapon as history and example to give meaning to his current situation. He informs Sancho of his intentions to tear off a branch from an oak tree because that is what Don Vargas had done. Don Quixote employs a nostalgic rhetoric that warrants future action based on romanticized values in the books of chivalry, which he believes are true histories of famous knights to be modeled.

Nostalgia often emerges in response to a rapidly changing world as an escape from the stresses brought on by new ways of understanding. Jaksic (1994) claims, "Cervantes illustrates the depth of this transition by creating a character who stumbles into the modern world, and who seeks to impose on it the ethics of a bygone era" (76). Relying on the mythic, the imaginative, the hopeful, the heroic, and the horrific, nostalgic rhetoric embraces an aesthetic

view of life that is value-laden, expressive, and emotionally appealing. It attempts to return the values of the past to free people from the hardships of the present by emotionally appealing to a collective affection for past age. As Northrop Frye (1957) suggests, nostalgia stands at the center of the kind of romances that Quixote so loved to read:

[N]o matter how great a change may take place in society, romance will turn up again, as hungry as ever, looking for new hopes and desires to feed on. The perennially childlike quality of romance is marked by its extraordinarily persistent nostalgia, its search for some kind of imaginative golden age in time or space. (186)

This “perennially childlike quality” of the romances Quixote loved allowed him to escape the contradictions inherent in the transitioning society through a persistent nostalgia, making him a “knight-errant out of context and place” serving “to illustrate the momentous transition from medieval to modern times” (Jaksic, 80). The crudeness of the modern era is replaced with yearning for the medieval era by envisioning a romanticized past in present terms, an effect described at length by Shuger (2012):

One topic from ‘sane’ discourse which often filtered into mad speech, and which is also one of Quixote's pet topics, was a nostalgia for the past. A series of military defeats, internal revolts and economic crises all contributed to what would become a 300-plus year lament over the decline of the Spanish Empire. Medieval reform movements provided a model for critiquing the present by calling for a return to a Golden Age of the early Church or prophesying an apocalyptic future. While most visionary critics were not considered mad, such a public role of irrationality could not but influence those who were already predisposed to paranoia, delusions and other forms of unreason. Nostalgia for a purer age of the church or critique of current corruption was hardly irrational, but, for these predisposed individuals, the topic became an obsession, the cause or symptom of mental disorder. It was, again, the subject lack of control or coherence in expressing it, or the other external behaviors framing the expression, that signaled madness. (52-3)

According to Shuger, Quixote symbolized, in an exaggerated way, movements that were already going on in Spain at the time, and his rhetoric reflected the pervasive nostalgia of his age while also exhibiting its unique power and attraction.

Don Quixote's chivalric vision is articulated with a pervasive nostalgia throughout most of his adventures, which in some cases serves him well, and in others, leads to his failure. His rhetorical strategy to idealize the past allows him to escape contradictions in society, resolve contradicting views from other characters, return past virtues to the present, and collectively unite others with a sense of nationalism. However, his nostalgic rhetoric also has the potential to fail him in cases where he conflates history and fiction together, leading to lofty expectations and misinterpretations of the situation.

***Section 1: In which the Success of Don Quixote's Nostalgic Rhetoric and Notions of Fame are discussed***

At the start of Book II, Don Quixote begins a discussion on the virtue of fame when he learns from Sancho that their previous adventures have been widely published in various languages throughout Spain and the world. Don Quixote argues the "greatest contentment to a virtuous and eminent man is to see, while he is still alive, his good name printed and published in the languages of different peoples" (II, 3, 475). A few chapters later, on their first journey since returning home, Don Quixote brings up the virtue of fame again, referring to heroes of the past as role models in order to warrant his action:

I mean, Sancho, that the desire to achieve fame is extraordinarily active. What do you think made Horatius leap from the bridge, dressed in all his armor, into the depths of the Tiber? What burned the arm and hand of Mutius? What impelled Curtius to throw himself into the deep burning abyss that opened in the center of Rome? What, against all the unfavorable omens that had appeared, drove Caesar to cross the Rubicon? And, with more modern examples, what scuttled the ships and left the valiant Spaniards, led by the gallant Cortés,

stranded and isolated in the New World? All these and many other great feats are, were, and will be the works of fame . . . though we as Christians, Catholics, and knights errant must care more for future glory, eternal in the ethereal and celestial spheres, than for the vanity of the fame achieved in this present and transitory world; this fame, no matter how long it may last, must finally come to an end with the world itself, whose end has been determined. (II, 8, 506)

Don Quixote's speech expresses the nature of nostalgic rhetoric as it embraces honorific, horrific, imaginative, value-laden, and hopeful imagery of the past to warrant courses of action for both the present and future. He imagines a future where he and Sancho may become famous Christian knights based on their present action and exemplars from the past. He honors Roman and Spanish heroes for their great and famous deeds to suggest the courageous and heroic ethos needed to achieve fame. To warrant his leadership to Sancho, Don Quixote warns of horrors like vanity and sin, while simultaneously promoting chivalric and Christian values, and through appealing to a Golden Age, he inspires hope and courage.

Don Quixote's nostalgia also has a very Christian element to it, consistent with the movements in Spain at the time. Quixote juxtaposes chivalry with Christianity to justify his unattainable, yet romantic dream of returning chivalric virtues to Spain. H. G. Schenk (1966) maintains the dream to resolve contradictions between aspiring romantic ideals that are based on nostalgia for the past with the crudeness of the present, is the essence of the romantic hero popular during Cervantes' time:

Utopian dreams for the future side by side with nostalgia for the past; a marked nihilistic mood accompanied by a fervent yearning for faith; serious attempts to bring about a Christian revival followed, in an admittedly marginal case, by the very abandonment of faith on the part of the former apologist; the long tug-of-war between the old religion and the new ideologies—these are some of the unresolved contradictions which lie at the core of the movement. (xxii)

While Schenk is describing the contradictions within the Romantic Movement as a whole, these problems also manifest in the hero's nostalgic rhetoric. Don Quixote's utopia consists of a just world, tempered with Christian ideology, where his chivalric fame will be eternally renowned. His warning to Sancho that their "actions must not go beyond the limits placed by the Christian religion," restricts what things they can and cannot do, contradicting the freedom so glorified by knights-errant.

Don Quixote's lofty expectations allow him to escape the contradictions inherent within the changing state by imagining the nation as it idealistically should be according to the chivalric romances. Don Quixote's nostalgic rhetoric emphasizes a future brotherhood of equals where members of different social classes have the same rights. However, while Don Quixote's nostalgic rhetoric appeals to democratic values, it also paradoxically appeals to past feudal values by venerating a profession reserved solely for nobility: knights. The "tug-of-war" between the old and new ideologies is the heart of Don Quixote's nostalgic rhetoric.

Continuing his soliloquy on the profession of knights, Don Quixote states:

And so, O Sancho, our actions must not go beyond the limits placed there by the Christian religion, which we profess. We must slay pride by slaying giants; slay envy with generosity and a good heart; anger with serene bearing and tranquility of spirit; gluttony and sleep by eating little and watching always; lust and lasciviousness by maintaining our fealty toward those whom we have made mistresses of our thoughts; sloth by wandering everywhere in the world, seeking those occasions when we may become famous knights as well as Christians. Here you see, Sancho, the means by which one attains the highest praise that comes with fame and a good name. (II, 8, 506)

Don Quixote tries to inspire Sancho to virtuous action through the nostalgic rhetoric that conflates the fiction in chivalric romances with Catholic religious doctrine. He wants to slay present Christian sins with chivalric virtues of a romanticized past. Don Quixote's most nostalgic

rhetoric expresses egalitarian and democratic values based on a chivalric code that frees him and others from oppressive hierarchies. His speech emphasizes a future where he and Sancho will be famous knights together in a fraternity venerating not only their friendship, but also equality.

***Section 2: In which the Watermill Adventure is discussed to demonstrate the Dangers in Don Quixote's Nostalgic Rhetoric***

Don Quixote and Sancho come to the Ebro River and find an empty fishing boat pulled on shore, and the events that follow begin the unfortunate adventure with the watermills. When he sees the empty boat, Don Quixote dismounts Rocinante, tethers her to a nearby tree, and excitedly gets in believing it is a sign to assist some troubled knight. When Sancho asks the reason for his sudden dismounting, Don Quixote responds that based on historical references, some knight is in need of help. Sancho never fully trusts Don Quixote's perspective, but he accepts it, and begrudgingly joins his master on the boat. Don Quixote responds to Sancho's hesitation, demonstrating the potentials for his nostalgic rhetoric as it expresses past ideals with present value, creates a sense of nationalism by seeking justice for fellow knights, and frees him from Sancho's contradictions. Don Quixote states:

You must know, Sancho, that this boat clearly and beyond any doubt is calling and inviting me to get in it and sail to assist a knight or some other eminent person in need who must be in grave danger, because in the books of chivalric histories this is what is done by the enchanters who become involved and act in them: when a knight is placed in extreme difficulty and cannot be freed except by the hand of another knight, though the second knight may be at a distance of two or three thousand leagues or even more, either they carry him off on a cloud or provide him with a boat which he enters, and in the blink of an eye they move him through the air or over the sea, wherever they wish and wherever his help is needed; and so, O Sancho, this boat has been placed here for the very same purpose, and this is as true as the fact that it is now day . . . and may the hand of God guide us, for I would not fail to embark even if asked not to by discolored friars. (II, 29, 647-8)

Although he idealizes the past in order to give him meaning in the present, Don Quixote's unwavering devotion to chivalric principles causes him to fail to realize the danger in his actions. As Narozny and Wilson claim, this constant loyalty "leaves him vulnerable to all manner of drubbings and manipulations" (2009, 144). While it may have succeeded in persuading Sancho to get on the boat, Don Quixote's nostalgic rhetoric creates lofty expectations, mixing fiction with history that cause him to misinterpret situations, and can ultimately lead to calamitous consequences, which is the case following their departure from shore.

Don Quixote believes the boat will take them to some troubled knight "in the blink of an eye," based on *historical* example, and therefore, heroically claims nothing can stop him, not even "discalced friars."<sup>5</sup> Mary Malcolm Gaylord (2007) describes Don Quixote as a creator of "imaginary stories and serious history," composing "genealogies of other knights, historical accounts from the lives of heroes and saints, off-color anecdotes and the once and future history of his own career" (80). He ignores Sancho's concerns that the boat was left there for other reasons, and assumes it was left for him to assist a knight, "because in the books of chivalric histories this is what is done."

Don Quixote loftily expects to find a troubled knight in need of his assistance, and therefore, when their boat starts to drift towards two water-powered grain mills, he believes they have arrived at their destination. He exclaims to Sancho, "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" (649).

---

<sup>5</sup> The Discalced Franciscans of Spain went without footwear of any kind.



Similar to the windmill incident, Sancho is astonished that his master believes the watermills are something they are not. Like windmills, water-powered grain mills were relatively new in early modern Spain and had no equivalence in chivalric romance. Therefore, Don Quixote ignores Sancho's contradictions, returning to his favorite trope that "enchantments change and alter all things from their natural state" (650). As Jaksic (1994) explains:

The romances of chivalry had taught Don Quixote that an entire substratum of meaning existed under the crude manifestations of reality. A clever hero in such literature could maintain his integrity and determination by decoding such manifestations in order to reveal a deeper world of meaning and reality. Don Quixote attempts to engage in such decoding, but increasingly finds himself unable to translate technological artifacts into the world of chivalry. (80)

Modern machinery has no easily translatable meaning for Don Quixote's chivalric vision; instead, he decodes their reality as manifestations of enchantment. As he explains earlier, "Sancho, my friend, know that I was born, by the will of heaven, in this our age of iron, to revive the one of gold, or the Golden Age, as it is called" (I, 20, 142). While he realizes he lives in the modern Iron Age, he romanticizes the Golden Age, loftily expecting he is the one to return the past virtues to the present. Jaksic continues, "Machines cannot be readily understood from the perspective of chivalry, and any attempt to subsume them under the categories and values of the past ends in failure" (80). As in the case of the windmills, Don Quixote's translations of the watermills into chivalric enchantments uses past ideal to interpret the present (he must help defend against such ruthless magic), but ultimately this is nostalgia leads to his own failure.

As their boat heads towards the rushing torrent of the wheels, mill workers rush out to try and help them avoid impending harm. Giving validity to his nostalgic vision, the millers are covered in flour-dust making their appearance look ghostly, which Don Quixote takes to mean they are wicked monsters who seek to obstruct him from assisting his fellow knight. Their

appearances justify what Don Quixote already suspected, and so, despite the imminent danger of the watermills, he heroically proclaims:

Well, now you will see, you villains! . . . Wicked and ill-advised rabble, set free and release the person, high-born or low-, no matter his estate or quality, whom you hold captive in your fortress or prison, for I am Don Quixote of La Mancha, also known as the Knight of the Lions, for whom, by order of the heavens on high, the successful conclusion of this adventure has been reserved. (651)

According to Don Quixote, heaven ordains this adventure against the flour-covered monsters and has already decided its victor. Not surprisingly, the millworkers are confused by his declaration, but they care more for his impending doom than his nostalgic rhetoric. Despite Don Quixote's threats and name-calling, as the boat reaches the mills' wheels, some of the millers begin frantically trying to save the two from certain death.

When they finally reach the watermill the boat is destroyed by the force of the wheels, tossing Don Quixote and Sancho into the river. The millworkers jump into the river and save the two from nearly drowning, and yet, Don Quixote still refuses to accept their reality. Even in the face of death, Don Quixote heroically stays true to his nostalgic ideals. He lives in a world he does not recognize, but armed with chivalric virtues and faith in himself, he seeks to transform it back to the days of the nostalgic past. He believed the empty boat was a sign of trouble for a fellow knight that needed his assistance, and persuades both Sancho and himself, there can be no other reason for its existence.

Although in some cases Don Quixote's nostalgic rhetoric succeeds in persuading others of his virtuous intentions, freeing him from contradictions, and allowing him to pursue his dreams, his nostalgic rhetoric can also lead to his failure, like the failed adventure with the watermills. His nostalgic rhetoric justified his course of action, but ultimately led to disastrous

consequences. Not only did he fail to save a knight, lamenting to his fellow knight to “forgive me; to my misfortune, and yours, I cannot free you from your travail,” but he also destroyed a fisherman’s boat (I, 25, 362). The fisherman demands Don Quixote pay for his smashed boat, and they agree on a hefty amount. He and Sancho are injured, nearly drowned, forced to pay money, and fail to rescue the troubled knight. Therefore, Don Quixote’s nostalgic rhetoric fails as it raises his expectations based on a mixture of history and fiction as he fails to understand the transitioning society of Spain in the seventeenth century.

### **UPWARD TRANSCENDENCE**

When Sancho reveals he is confused by his master’s description of the windmills as giants, Don Quixote resolves the apparent disparity in their perception by assuming his squire is afraid of giants and coming up with excuses. Don Quixote's motives seem insane to his squire as they go against his conventional senses, but by transcending upwards to a higher plane of interpretation that makes Quixote's actions seem noble and the squire's interpretations ignorant, cowardly, or deceived, the knight is able to maintain his heroic ethos enough to persuade Sancho to continue assisting him. In fact, Don Quixote's most fundamental rhetorical strategy throughout the novel is his ability to resolve apparent contradictions by showing how everything can be reconciled by making the situation seem grander, more threatening, and nobler than most people realize. In response to Sancho’s confusion, Don Quixote claims: “It seems clear to me, 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” (I, 8, 58). To help Sancho understand his motives, Don Quixote shows how the fact that giants now appear as windmills can be explained by the deceptive enchantments

by his nemesis Frestón the Wise. Although this rhetorical strategy sometimes fails him, Don Quixote's use of transcendence justifies his motives, redeems his character, and, most importantly, liberates the disenfranchised through appeal to a chivalric fantasy of equality, justice, and virtue.

The exigence for rhetorical transcendence arises when a rhetorical bridge is required to reconcile contradictions or differing interpretations of phenomena that have a bearing on judgment and action. Transcendence, in other words, is required when collective action requires all parties to reinterpret the situation according to some higher perspective by which all used in the reconciled and all facts explained. As Kenneth Burke (1984) explains, “We mean by ‘transcendence’ the adoption of another point of view from which they [opposing points of view] cease to be opposites” (336). For instance, Burke shows how the terms 'near' and 'far' are opposites until unified under the principle of 'distance' or violence and cruelty can be reconciled with love and justice by recourse to “the greater glory of God.” Similarly, attacking windmills and being sane initially appear as opposites of someone like Sancho until Don Quixote offers a perspective that reconcile this contradiction at the same time that it makes the participants seem greater and nobler than they did previously.

By calling the strategy of Quixote's rhetoric transcendence “upwards” since he acknowledges that transcendence can go two ways. Transcendence in general works by placing different aspects and perspectives in a hierarchy and then promoting the important characteristics by amplifying certain elements and dissolving others. However, to transcend upwards means to resolve a contradiction through a higher, nobler ideal or vision, while to transcend downwards means to resolve that same contradiction through appeal to a more

base, materialistic, or trivial explanation. For instance, while Don Quixote transcend upwards when he interprets the windmills as mighty enemies which makes him seem like a great hero, whereas Sancho transcend downwards when he resolves that same contradiction by accusing Quixote of simply being crazy. Burke thus calls the process "transcendence upwards" for redeeming the noble aspects and "transcendence downwards" for highlighting the negative aspects. He states:

The whole matter is related to the scholastic distinction between 'essence' and 'existence.' A thing has many aspects, good, bad, indifferent. You 'transcend' this confusion when, by secular prayer, you 'vote' that *one* of these aspects is the *essence* of the lot. For instance, you may vote that the essence of man is 'the way in which he is like a god'; or you may vote that his essence is 'the way in which he is like an animal.' When you have, by an 'act of will' (a 'moral' choice) completed your balloting, the attributes that do not confirm your choice of 'essence' are labeled 'accidents.' (273)

Voting a person's essence with "like a god," is a transcendence upwards insofar as this interpretation forgives or explained away any apparent negative qualities (such as cruelty), whereas these negative quality can be just as easily explained by voting the person's essence to "like an animal," which thereby explains cruelty because it is simply animal nature. Or to use an example closer to Quixote, Burke (1969) discusses the complex motivations of a soldier as an example of how transcendence can be applied:

A soldier may be *nationally* motivated to kill the enemies of his country, whereas *individually* he is motivated by a horror of killing his own enemies. Or conversely, as a patriot he may act by the motive of sacrifice in behalf of his country, but as an individual he may want to profit. (37)

In short, transcendence upwards occurs when we take an apparent contradiction and interpreted in a way that makes the participants seem more nobler than they were previously (as when we give a medal of honor to a soldier who may have violently killed dozens of young

men in different uniforms) whereas transcendence downwards occurs when a contradiction makes the participants seem more diminished (embodied in the phrase “war is hell”).

It is the particular characteristics of Quixote's rhetoric to almost always transcend upwards. Don Quixote may be virtuously motivated to defeat enemies in the name of justice, whereas individually he is motivated by a desire to personify books of chivalry. Or conversely, as a chivalric knight he may be willing to sacrifice himself for the greater good, but as an individual he may want the everlasting fame given to heroes for fighting monsters. At least for Sancho, Don Quixote is able to maintain his ethos throughout their journey by continually reconciling the differences between his speeches and actions on the one hand and the appearance of the real world on the other. Without the rhetorical skill to transcend the situation, Don Quixote may have felt defeated and returned home before his adventures even really began. Fortunately, in the windmill episode and elsewhere, Don Quixote is able to persuade Sancho and others of his virtuous intentions throughout the novel by using his rhetorical strategy of transcendence.

***Section 1: Which recounts Benefits for the Rhetorical Strategy to use Transcendence Upwards and the Case of High-Born Prostitutes at the First Inn***

Don Quixote's rhetorical strategy for transcending situations through appeal to some chivalric ideal succeeds in helping him reconcile differences with other characters. When individual interests collide, Don Quixote provides a glorious chivalric interpretation of the situation that unifies the interests together. Based on the books of chivalry, these interests emphasize protecting the weak, idealizing women, enfranchising the lower class, and remaining virtuous, all while wandering around as a celebrated knight. Playing out these age-old, melodramatic stories requires that Don Quixote be able to transcend any situation by

reinterpreting contradictory aspects of his actions and speeches through appeal to the realm of chivalric fantasy at any moment.

One of the reasons that Don Quixote is so loved as a character is that many times his acts of rhetorical transcendence serve to inspire the people around him. For instance, throughout his journeys, Don Quixote liberates women from their regulated social roles by substituting their character with chivalric ideals for women. Most notably, Don Quixote transforms Dulcinea from the daughter of a peasant farmer into the most beautiful maiden by re-describing her in terms of the ideal perfection of a woman. In fact, when Sancho learns of Dulcinea's true identity as Aldonza Lorenzo, he is confused by the incongruous perspective of her as Don Quixote's idealized love. In response, Don Quixote uses the strategy of upward transcendence to show how Sancho's eyes are deceiving him: "Two things inspire love more than any other; they are great beauty and a good name, and these two things reach their consummation in Dulcinea" (I, 25, 201). Aldonza Lorenzo, the homely daughter of peasant farmers, becomes Dulcinea, the beautiful maiden from the Kingdom of Toboso.

Similarly, when Don Quixote encounters the two prostitutes at the first inn, he substitutes their profession by giving them more honorable titles. His substitution promotes their status to "high-born maidens" and liberates them rhetorically through empowering them to see themselves in a new way. In fact, Burke (1989) claims substitution creates the circumstances for transcendence to occur:

Substitution sets the condition for 'transcendence,' since there is a technical sense in which the name for a thing can be said to 'transcend' the thing named (by making for a kind of 'ascent' from the realm of motion and matter to the realm of essence and spirit). The subterfuges of euphemism can carry this process still further, culminating in the resources of idealization that Plato perfected through his dialectic of the Upward Way and Downward Way. (62)

Like Dulcinea's idealization, the prostitutes are transcended in the "Upward Way" to noble status, through Don Quixote's rhetorical substitution. Their profession is ignored as the ideal characteristics of their femininity are highlighted by Quixote's speech. His rhetorical transcendence empowers the two prostitutes to see themselves in a new light:

Don Quixote asked her name, so that he might know from that day forth to whom he was obliged for the benison he had received, for he desired to offer her some part of the honor he would gain by the valor of his arm. She answered very humbly that her name was Tolosa, and that she was the daughter of a cobbler from Toledo who lived near the stalls of the Sancho Bienaya market, and no matter where she might be she would serve him and consider him her master. Don Quixote replied that for the sake of his love, would she have the kindness to henceforth ennoble herself and call herself Doña Tolosa. She promised she would, and the other girl accoutred him with his knightly spurs, and he had almost the same conversation with her as with the one who girded on his sword. He asked her name, and she said she was called Molinera, the miller's girl, and that she was the daughter of an honorable miller from Antequera, and Don Quixote also implored her to ennoble herself and call herself Doña Molinera, offering her more services and good turns. (I, 3, 34-35)

Don Quixote empowers the two women by transforming their status as prostitutes into honorable ladies. Their humble births as daughters of a cobbler and miller are excused as he elevates their status to nobility by addressing them with the honorific title of Doña. He also insists they "ennoble" themselves with the title. Similar with Dulcinea, Don Quixote transforms the prostitutes' identity from the matters and motions of their profession to the essence of their feminine character, thus lifting the "upwards" into a higher realm of interpretation.

In addition to empowering women, Don Quixote's transcendence alerts his listeners and readers to the inequalities within the Spanish class hierarchy, which helps develop a class consciousness that people are more than their stereotypes. Early modern Spain was a time of intense confusion about social identity. At a time when an emerging middle-class and the



aristocracy were battling for control, Don Quixote offers an ideal vision where people of all social statuses can establish a collective bond. Drawing on the books of chivalry, Don Quixote provides a space where a peasant, like Sancho, can assume the identity of nobility by becoming the governor of an *ínsula*. Don Quixote's transcendence is egalitarian in the sense that it symbolically levels aristocratic notions of hierarchy and status. However, it also develops a class consciousness that the within the very fabric of Spanish identity there exist contradictions between the state, the church, and the people.

Throughout the novel Don Quixote transcends the contradictory elements of Spanish life by interpreting all of these contradictions according to the ideals from the books of chivalry. He continually argues that virtue is earned, not granted, and therefore, a person's merits should outshine their lineage. In a modernizing Spain, social hierarchies based on birthright were threatened by the power of the rising middle class, but Don Quixote transcends this tension by interpreting all of the characters he meets into the same chivalric vision. At one point, while defending and defining chivalry to Sancho, he explains:

Sancho . . . there are two kinds of lineage in the world: some who trace and derive their ancestry from princes and monarchs, which time has gradually undone, and in the end they finish in a point, like a pyramid turned upside down; others have their origin in lowborn people, and they rise by degrees until they become great lords. Which means that the difference between them is that some were and no longer are, and others are what they once were not. (I, 21, 161)

According to Don Quixote, time gradually undoes the virtue of lineage and shows how lowborn people can work to rise in status, and, as Burke states, "Any improvement in social status is a kind of transcendence" (1989, 201). Although Don Quixote's reliance on transcendence as a

rhetorical strategy serves him well in most cases, it has the potential to betray his understanding all of the perplexities of a given situation.

***Section 2: Regarding the drawbacks of Don Quixote's Rhetorical Strategy of Transcendence Upwards and the Incident involving the Unjust Punishment of Andrés***

While transcendence typically aids Don Quixote in accomplishing his goals by providing newer perspectives to persuade others, occasionally it betrays him by excusing details, reducing the scope of an issue, and denying contradictions. Chapter 4, where he encounters the servant being whipped and subsequently intervenes, illustrates how these three transcendental failures can sometimes betray the knight. Thus, transcendence ultimately fails Don Quixote as he completely misreads the situation and makes matters even worse. By attempting to interpret all apparent contradictions within his chivalric ideal, he often overlooks necessary facts, explains away the suffering of others, and failed to take account of his own mistakes.

After successfully being dubbed a knight by the innkeeper in the previous chapter, Don Quixote's chivalric obligation is to assist and help those in need and he believes the boy's cries are a sign from heaven that he must get involved. He pulls on Rocinante's reigns directing her into the woods to discover the cries come from a shirtless servant boy named Andrés, who is tied to an oak tree and being whipped by his master. Don Quixote is astonished at the sight of such injustice, for "it is not right to do battle with one who cannot defend himself" (36). Aligning with his chivalric worldview, Don Quixote elevates the social class of Andrés' master to knighthood, telling him to mount his horse, take up his lance, and prepare to joust over the injustice. However, like the innkeeper before, the man realizes Don Quixote's madness and goes along with his chivalric rhetoric to manipulate the knight into leaving them alone. Andrés counters the man's manipulation with many excuses and begs the knight not to leave, but Don

Quixote's transformation of his master into a fellow knight of virtue and honor debunks his pleas. Don Quixote's perspective of the man as a knight highlights both its success and failure as a rhetorical strategy as it provides a collective vision for equality at the expense of details and examples of inequality.

The contradiction that then calls forth the conscious act of rhetorical transcendence occurs when Andrés argues that his master is not bound by the order of chivalry because he is a farmer named Juan Haldudo. In typical fashion, whenever Quixote is challenged by an appeal to incurable fact, he immediately reconciles the contradiction through upward transcendence. Consequently, although Don Quixote acknowledges the social class of the farmer, he nonetheless counters that knighthood can be based on merit instead of on social class. He explains to Andrés that "there can be knights among Haldudos, especially since each man is the child of his deeds" (37). In other words, Quixote resolves the apparent contradiction of a farmer being called a knight by saying that knighthood is something you earn through deeds, thus allowing the farmer to simultaneously be a knight as well.

The problem, however, is that although Quixote has symbolically resolved the contradiction, he has not fixed the problem in reality. As Burke states, this is a common problem, "since the transcendence of conflicts is here contrived by purely *symbolic* mergers, the actual conflict may remain" (n. 180). In fact, after having resolved the situation to his satisfaction, Don Quixote sets off and leaves the conflict between Andrés and his master. Readers are alerted that after leaving the pair, Juan Haldudo seizes Andrés by the arm, ties him to the tree again, and gives him "so many lashes that he left him half-dead;" meanwhile, Don Quixote believes he has righted a wrong and therefore professes:

Well mayest thou call thyself the most fortunate of ladies in the world today, O most beauteous of all the beauteous, Dulcinea of Toboso! For it is thy portion to have as vassal and servant to thy entire will and disposition so valiant and renowned a knight as Don Quixote of La Mancha is and will be, for he, as all men know, received the order of chivalry yesterday and today he has righted the greatest wrong and injustice that iniquity e'er devised and cruelty e'er committed: today he removed the whip from the hand of a merciless enemy who, without reason, did flog that delicate child. (I, 4, 38)

Don Quixote's intrapersonal declaration amplifies Andres' punishment to the greatest "iniquity ever devised" to justify his own intervention in the matter. However, by also elevating the farmer into a noble knight, Don Quixote excuses important details, reduces the scope of key elements, denies simple contradictions, and culminates in him failing to realize the harm he caused. Andrés was being whipped for not attending to his job properly, but Don Quixote excuses this detail claiming he was whipped "without reason." Andres is also reduced to the description of a "delicate child," which denies him of any responsibility. Although readers know the dissolution of these details betray his understanding of the situation, Don Quixote is unaware that his rhetoric ultimately failed him.

### **TRAGEDY**

In order to persuade his squire that tilting at windmills was not some insane act, Don Quixote uses tragic rhetoric to justify the suffering caused by his heroic action by arguing that there is nobility to fighting and struggling even if one loses. Sancho obviously knows nothing about this, according to Quixote, and thus the knight provides a lesson for learning how to interpret present and future action. Don Quixote claims:

Matters of war, more than any others, are subject to continual change; moreover, I think, and therefore it is true, that the same Frestón the Wise who stole my room and my books has turned these giants into windmills in order to deprive me of the glory of defeating them: such is the enmity he feels for me;

but in the end, his evil arts will not prevail against the power of my virtuous sword. (I, 8, 59)

Don Quixote's defense demonstrates his ability to rationalize the appearance of irrational behavior by using tragedy to turn suffering into a learning opportunity. Tragedy is the imitation of action in moments where seeking happiness is met with failure, but in the failure finding new meanings in life. Tragedy works by providing experiences that arouse and then purge emotions, and thus teach how to exercise control balancing the contradictions inherent in discovering life. Miguel de Unamuno suggests "the most tragic problem of philosophy is to reconcile intellectual necessities with the necessities of the heart and the will" (10). Don Quixote's defense reflects a tragic rhetoric that rationalizes the *necessities of his heart and will* by making his defeat a matter of enchantment—claiming Frestón the Wise was to blame—in order to reconcile his *intellectual necessities* in regards to his chivalric understanding of the world.

The purpose of tragedy is not to show any particular instance of a person's misfortune; rather, it is designed to depict a heroic character standing for possibilities in action that ultimately fail, but learn something in the failure. In *Poetics*, Aristotle claims the audience of tragedy goes through a process of *catharsis* teaching them how to exercise control over their tragic emotions. Its main goal is to illustrate moments in life where fervent passions take over the human soul leading to dire consequences, which can be later reviewed for purposes of learning. In order to gain knowledge from the situation, Aristotle claims the audience must be able to identify with the hero's actions, and therefore the hero of tragedy must be admirable revealing "a certain moral purpose; and a good element of character" (1454a18). The tragic hero emerges as exemplar of choices-gone-wrong to evoke pity for underserved misfortune

and fear for the possibility of falling into similar circumstances. Tragedy's purpose is not wallowing in the misery of the hero's misfortune, but rather how to be cathartic by helping purge excess tragic emotions. Those whom connect with the tragic hero are able to purge their emotions, learning empathy for others and control over excess emotions.

As scientific developments like windmills make him question his understanding of the world, Don Quixote is forced to tragically interpret his sufferings and failures in order to maintain his heroic ethos. In *The Life of Don Quixote and Sancho*, Unamuno argues the tragedy in Don Quixote is "the expression of a conflict between what the world appears scientifically to be and what we want the world to be in accord with the faith of our religion" (1905, 348). Unamuno claims this science/faith conflict is the essence of Spanish and Catholic culture with Don Quixote being the messiah-like hero that solves the dichotomy in his madness. Don Quixote may seem irrational to others, but it is exactly because "Quixotic madness does not admit of scientific knowledge" (321). In other words, Don Quixote despises the logos of the era as it mocks his chivalric and Christian faith and contradicts conventional truths in Spanish culture. Quixote is a tragic figure because he is fighting a losing battle, but it is a battle he is willing to fight for the nobility of the cause. According to Jose Ortega y Gasset (1961), this is what makes Don Quixote a tragic hero, as he is "a man who wants to reform reality" by suffering in the name of some willed ideal (152). He suffers tragically so that by means of his very suffering, the real world might be transformed into the utopic world of the romanticized past. He does so, by employing a tragic rhetoric that educates others of different perspectives and alerts them to the struggles between the ideal and its clash with the reality they

understand. In other words, tragedy and Don Quixote's idealistic and value-laden rhetoric go hand and hand.

Instead of lamenting and wallowing in pity from suffering, Don Quixote's rhetoric reflects upon the unfortunate past in order to obtain a better understanding of the nature of things to teach him how to respond in future action. Kenneth Burke (1969) distinguishes between a tragic destiny and sheer victimization, stating:

It is deplorable, but not tragic, simply to be a victim of circumstance...Sheer victimization is not an assertion—and it naturally makes not for vision but for frustration. The victimizing circumstances, or accidents, seem arbitrary and exorbitant, even silly. (39)

Demonstrating he is not a victim, Don Quixote constantly overcomes his failures and sufferings with tragic rhetoric that inspire and interpret new meanings in past events. Weaver (1985) points out that "without rhetoric there seems no possibility of tragedy, and in turn, without the sense of tragedy, no possibility of taking an elevated view of life" (23). Don Quixote provides understanding for the choices he makes by reinterpreting victimizing circumstances through his tragic rhetoric with visions for 'an elevated view of life.' This tragic rhetoric reveals universal meaning out of particular suffering by reflecting upon past pain. His universal ideals for life are presented not through laments of particular victimization, but through tragic rhetoric of vision.

Therefore, the mark of Don Quixote's character is not the amount of suffering he endures, but what he takes away from that suffering as he expresses through tragic rhetoric. Don Quixote's tragic rhetorical strategy consists of four parts that culminate to justify particular moments of suffering. First, his tragic rhetoric starts by glorifying the past to express the lacking virtues in contemporary society. Second, he explains how these notions clash with the world around him. As Unamuno claims, the world is a place in which values are rationally and

justifiably sought, but are not necessarily found. Therefore, the third part of his tragic rhetoric demonstrates the struggle, but ultimate choice on how to act. Finally, its fourth part provides lessons to be learned from the tragedy. Together, these four parts create a tragic rhetoric that transcends moments of Don Quixote's suffering into moments for learning.

Don Quixote rationalizes that true happiness can be found in imitating knights-errant, but his imitation only leads to misery, which he transcends using tragic rhetoric. Don Quixote's tragic rhetoric emerges to alert others of the universal meanings to be found in particular incidents where the rational and irrational collide. At times, this rhetorical strategy succeeds by defending his heroic ethos; other times, however, it fails by causing needless suffering and false expectations. Regardless, Don Quixote's tragic rhetoric transcends particular misfortunes of the real world by asking them to see universal ideals in the face of contradictory realism. The virtue of Don Quixote's tragic rhetoric is that it seeks universal wisdom from particular moments of suffering to inspire hope for present and future action.

***Section 1: Regarding Don Quixote's Defense for Loving Dulcinea as Example to the Successes of his Tragic Rhetoric***

When Sancho learns of Dulcinea's real identity midway through their adventures in Book 1, it forces Don Quixote to resolve the apparent contradiction between her image and her reality which displays the essential function of tragic rhetoric. Sancho questions the incongruity in the plain-looking peasant, Aldonza Lorenzo, being the beautiful princess, Dulcinea. He states logically that if those he vanquishes are sent to her to kneel before her, they might not find her, "because it might be that when they arrive she's out raking flax, or on the threshing floor, and they'll run away when they see her, and she'll laugh and get angry at the present" (I, 25, 200). Sancho's description of the things Aldonza Lorenzo would be doing are



incongruous with the things princesses would do, and therefore, he questions his master as to both why he longs for her and why he has suffered so much in her name. Don Quixote begins his defense by telling a story of an old widow who is questioned for being in love with a young boy, so that Sancho can see the foolishness in his questions. Don Quixote's parable serves to justify and explain his love for Dulcinea, even before ever seeing her or knowing if she truly exists:

Once there was a widow who was beautiful, free, rich, and above all, easy in her ways, and she fell in love with a lay brother, a sturdy, good-looking boy; his superior learned of this, and one day he said to the good widow, in fraternal reprimand: 'I am amazed, Señora, and with reason, that a woman as distinguished, as beautiful, and as rich as your grace has fallen in love with a man as crude, as base, and as stupid as he, when there are in this house so many masters, so many scholars, so many theologians, among whom your grace could make a selection as if you were choosing pears, saying, I want this one but not the other.' But she responded with a good deal of wit and verve: 'Your grace, Señor, is very much mistaken, and you are thinking in an old-fashioned way if you think I have chosen badly, no matter how stupid he may seem to you; because considering the reason I love and want him, he knows as much philosophy as Aristotle, and even more.' (I, 25, 200-201)

Don Quixote's lengthy defense begins by reflecting upon past pain to make sense of his romantic suffering to reveal the essence of ideal love. This speech has all the trappings of Don Quixote's tragic rhetoric as it glorifies a past era with idealistic nostalgia, reveals the clash between this nostalgic image of the past with the realism of the present, shows a struggle over choosing how to interpret the clash, and finally, reviews what lessons can be learned.

The first element of Don Quixote's tragic rhetoric looks to examples from a glorified past to help ground understanding in the present situation. He starts with a story of two incongruous lovers whose love was based on something greater than social class and age. This parable demonstrates "in the same way" that Don Quixote's love for Dulcinea is also greater

than their social differences. His parable romanticizes the virtue of love from a chivalric perspective, and gives meaning to his own love. Before Sancho can further question this meaning of love, Don Quixote's next tragic rhetorical element addresses conflicts in this idealistic view.

The second part of tragic rhetoric examines the conflict between the ideals found in a romanticized past with the realism of the present situation. Continuing his defense for loving Dulcinea, he states:

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. Do you think the Amaryllises, Phyllises, Sylvias, Dianas, Galateas, Alidas, and all the rest that fill books, ballads, barbershops, and theaters are really ladies of flesh and blood who belong to those who celebrate them? No, of course not, for most are imagined in order to provide a subject for their verses, and so that people will think of them as lovers and as men who have the capacity to be lovers. 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. Because you should know, Sancho, if you do not know already, that two things inspire love more than any other; they are great beauty and a good name, and these two things reach their consummation in Dulcinea, for in beauty, no one is her equal, and as for a good name, few can approach her. And to conclude, I 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 in beauty and in distinction, and Helen cannot approach her, Lucretia cannot match her, nor can any of the other famous women of past ages, Greek, barbarian, or Latin. Let each man say what he chooses; if because of this I am criticized by the ignorant, I shall not be chastised by the learned. (I, 25, 201)

Don Quixote addresses Sancho's concern that the real Aldonza Lorenzo conflicts with his ideal image of her as Dulcinea del Toboso by transcending the conflict through appeal to chivalric tradition. When he agrees that "yes, not every poet who praises a lady, calling her by another name, really has one," he alerts Sancho to the triviality of her realism. He asks Sancho if he

thought the ladies celebrated in so many stories were "really ladies of flesh and blood," and then answers the rhetorical question with a resounding "No, of course not." Reflecting upon past examples to address the conflicting views, the second part of Don Quixote's tragic rhetoric begins to shed light on the suffering he has endured in her honor.

The third tragic element of Don Quixote's rhetoric reviews decisions on how to act in response to the struggles between ideals and the contradicting reality around them. After giving examples of chivalric lovers that have struggled with similar philosophical issues, Don Quixote justifies his choice to love Dulcinea based on these glorified past examples. Don Quixote bases his choice on his will to always look for the ideal as displayed in the books of chivalry. For Ortega (1961), someone's *will* is "that paradoxical object which begins in reality and ends in the ideal, since one only wants what is not" (152). The struggle in *willing* to love these romanticized women—whether real or not—is mostly "imagined in order to provide a subject for their verses," or "imagined" in order to appear to have the "capacity to be lovers." What is important is not whether Don Quixote acknowledges the reality of these women or not; what is important is that he acts as if their reality is irrelevant. Therefore, in the struggle to understand the dichotomous relationship between the realism of Aldonza Lorenzo and the idealism of Dulcinea, Don Quixote chooses to transform her identity into a romanticized personification of chivalric love.

The fourth and final element of Don Quixote's tragic rhetoric is its cathartic ability to provide meaning for individual suffering as opportunity for universal knowledge. Unamuno (1905) claims the tragic vision never stops heroically answering these contradictions, for "many of the greatest heroes, perhaps the greatest of all, have been men of despair and that by

despair they have accomplished their mighty works” (82). After reviewing the virtuous ideals of the past that clash with the present situation, Don Quixote chooses to confront the situation by reinterpreting its meaning according to chivalric ideal, thus providing new understandings for interpretation. This new understanding is the product of catharsis, which can only be produced after the pity for Dulcinea’s realism and fear of her not really existing, is replaced by a more expansive wisdom that comes with reflection on the meaning of chivalric love.

In case Sancho has not been persuaded by the logos and pathos of his master’s tragic rhetorical defense, Don Quixote concludes by appealing with his own ethos. Staying true to himself and his chivalric faith, Don Quixote reconciles any further conflicting perspectives, by stating, "I imagine that everything I say is true." Unamuno (1905) claims, to "ceaselessly and heroically" *stay true to oneself* in the face of great opposition is the ultimate goal of the tragic hero (328). However, while such *hubris* can help Don Quixote accomplish great deeds, it can also create an overconfidence that blinds reasoning and opens the door for him to fall victim to his own fate.

## ***Section 2: In which the Intervention with the Galley Slaves is reviewed as Example of Don Quixote’s Tragic Rhetoric’s Potential for Failure***

According to Unamuno, Don Quixote’s most redeemable virtue is his insistent and fearless attitude, which he retains throughout his adventures despite others’ opinions and ridicule. Don Quixote is the heroic manifestation of the wish to overcome one’s destiny. He has the recourse “to learn how to face ridicule and overcome it” determined by a faith in himself against the world (328). However, sometimes his self-faith is taken to the extreme as his pride and arrogance leads to his own failure. In Greek tragedy, this excessive pride is known as *hubris*, meaning a false consciousness about one’s self. For Aristotle, hubris is the fatal flaw in

tragic heroes that can create an illusion so profound it lacks reason and denies them from realizing who they actually are and what they can actually do. While Don Quixote's hubris can cause him to act courageously in the presence of danger, it can also cause him to look ridiculous, force him to make unnecessary decisions, create false expectations, and suffer needlessly.

For instance, when he and Sancho discover a group of criminals being sent to the galleys for their crime, Don Quixote incorrectly believes it is chivalric duty to intervene, and his argument for their release shows how his hubris leads to his own failure:

From everything you have said to me, dear brothers, I deduce that although you are being punished for your faults . . . you go to them unwillingly and involuntarily; . . . All of which is pictured in my mind, and is telling, persuading, and even compelling me to show to all of you the reason that heaven put me in the world and made me profess the order of chivalry, which I do profess, and take the vow I took to favor those in need and those oppressed by the powerful. . . . I want to ask these gentlemen, the guards and the commissary, to be so good as to unchain you and let you go in peace; there will be no lack of other men to serve the king under better circumstances, for to me it seems harsh to make slaves of those whom God and nature made free. Furthermore, these poor wretches have done nothing against you gentlemen. Each man must bear his own sin; there is a God in heaven who does not fail to punish the wicked or reward the good, and it is not right for honorable men to persecute other men who have not harmed them. I ask this quietly and calmly because if you comply, I shall have reason to thank you, and if you do not comply willingly, this lance and this sword, and the valor of this my arm, will force you to comply against your will. (I, 22, 169-170)

Don Quixote provides a tragic defense for why the prisoners should be released based on the chivalric virtue of justice and based on his own character as liberator for the oppressed. Don Quixote's hubris makes him look absurd as he acknowledges they "are being punished for [their own] faults," but because this punishment is not to their liking, they should be freed. His tragic rhetoric reflects upon their past pain to make sense of their particular situation by revealing a

more universal meaning: his vow “to favor those in need and those oppressed by the powerful.” In the particular situation regarding the galley slaves, Don Quixote’s tragic rhetoric fails him as his over-inflated hubris makes him look utterly absurd to Sancho, the guards, and even the prisoners he is freeing.

In addition to his hubris, Don Quixote’s tragic rhetoric can fail him by forcing decisions to be made based on misinterpretations of the situation where no actual conflict ever existed. The only conflict that exists in the case of the galley slaves is Don Quixote’s intervention. His misinterpreting of their imprisonment is what is “telling, persuading, and even compelling” him to become involved. He asks the guards to “be so good as to unchain” the prisoners, but when they refuse, he charges at them to force them to comply. Don Quixote’s tragic interpretation of the situation forces him to make this absurd decision.

The decisions Don Quixote makes based on misinterpretations, lead to false expectations, and further fail him as a rhetorical strategy. On the one hand, he expects these criminals should be set free based solely on his own ethos as it is the “reason that heaven put me in the world.” On the other hand, he expects these criminals should be set free because it “seems harsh” to make, what he mistakenly believes to be innocent men, into slaves. In addition to these two false expectations, Don Quixote falsely believes the prisoners will do as he commands after successfully freeing them. He eloquently demands of the newly freed men:

It is customary for wellborn people to give thanks for the benefits they receive, and one of the sins that most offends God is ingratitude. I say this, Señores, because you have already seen and had manifest proof of what you have received from me, and in payment it is my wish and desire that, bearing the chain which I removed from your necks, you immediately set out for the city of Toboso, and there appear before the lady Dulcinea of Toboso, and say that her knight, he of the Sorrowful Face, commends himself to her, and you will tell her, point by point, every detail of this famous adventure, up to the moment when

you achieved your desired freedom; having done this, you may go wherever you wish, and may good fortune go with you. (I, 22, 171)

Don Quixote's hubris fails him again in this rhetorically tragic demand of the prisoners. He reinterprets them as "wellborn people," reflecting the virtues of chivalry, but also making him look foolish to these base criminals. He shows how he, *Knight of the Sorrowful Face*, alone ended their unjust captivity, and therefore, he wrongly expects them to commend themselves to his love, Dulcinea. Instead, the former galley slaves begin to throw rocks at Don Quixote and Sancho, and leave him grief-stricken as they flee into the woods.

The tragic rhetoric in his speech to the galley slaves fails Don Quixote because his hubris gets in the way of correctly interpreting the situation, leading to his own tragedy as his false expectations create his unnecessary suffering. However, this tragic circle is not complete until the following chapter, where Don Quixote learns from his mistake by reflecting upon the tragedy. He explains, "I have always heard, Sancho, that doing good to the lowborn is throwing water into the sea. 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" (I, 23, 173). In a complete reversal, he now transcends the criminals' identity to "lowborn" to give new meaning to these enemies and to redeem his tragic decision. Most importantly, however, is that he expresses the essence of tragedy by cathartically stating: "let it be a lesson for the future."

This chapter examined the elements of Don Quixote's speech-patterns to develop a conceptualization of quixotic rhetoric based on the speaker's ethos, attitude, strategy, and worldview. As shown, quixotic rhetoric demonstrates heroic ethos with nostalgic virtues from the past to overcome present suffering through the upwards transcendence of any rhetorical

incongruities and tragically believes it can be the great bringer of social change. I began with examples of Quixote's heroic rhetoric and examined instances of its success and failures. Quixote successfully persuades others of his heroic ethos with his glorified speech about challenging the king's lions. However, he fails to persuade the St. Benedict friars of his heroic ethos and therefore, gets attacked. Ultimately, Quixote's heroic rhetoric is successful as it encourages others to rally around his cause. Next, I examined Quixote's nostalgic longings for the Golden Age, which ground his attitudes and understanding of the world around him. In the instances where he defends chivalric virtue, Quixote's nostalgic rhetoric succeeds in persuading others of his just cause. However, other instances, like the adventure with the watermills, his nostalgic rhetoric fails to consider the dangers in new technologies and understandings. I then addressed his strategy of upwards transcendence, in which he reconciles contradictory perspectives by bridging them together with higher, more ideal views. Quixote's strategy is successful at times, as seen when he calls the prostitutes high-born maidens, and unsuccessful at other times, like his intervention with the young Andres. Finally, I examined the tragic elements of Quixote's rhetoric to demonstrate quixotic rhetoric is concerned with learning from past example. Like the other elements, Quixote's tragic rhetoric is successful at times, like in the instances where he defends Dulcinea's, and unsuccessful at other times, like when he misinterprets the situation with the Galley Slaves. Taken together, these four elements make up the essence of quixotic rhetoric. Thus, the quixotic rhetoric demonstrates heroic ethos through the upward transcendence of rhetorical obstacles by tragically pushing forward with nostalgic longings for past ideals.



Analyzing Don Quixote's speech patterns throughout the novel, demonstrates a rhetorical model for confronting impiety of a changing society. It is not the rhetoric of a follower or social critic; rather, it is the rhetoric of a leader, visionary, of a social actor against impious changes in society. This model shows that the leader is heroic, nostalgic, tragic, and through upwards transcendence creates possibilities for a better a world. While the quixotic leader's heroic rhetoric may seem foolish to some, it has the possibility to rally audiences into collective action. The quixotic leader confronts the impieties of newness and replaces it with virtues of a nostalgic past. Through upwards transcendence the quixotic leader reveals newer and more ideal perspectives. Finally, the quixotic leader teaches us not to dwell on past tragedy, but to learn from it, and sally forth. However, the quixotic leader would be nothing without his Sancho counterpart to continually question, reaffirm, and address their movement's purpose. Therefore, the following chapter examines the rhetorical strategies of Sancho Panza to reveal the characteristics of a type of follower's rhetoric, I call sanchian rhetoric.

## CHAPTER FOUR: THE RHETORIC OF SANCHO PANZA

When Cervantes introduces Sancho in Chapter 7, readers become acquainted with one of the most notable literary sidekicks of all time. In Sancho, Cervantes initially gives us the court jester out of his element, a “simpleton” trying to make sense of the world around him. However, as he progresses through the story, his comic perspective and prudent attitude quickly prove he is much more than a simpleton. Readers likely relate to his prudent observations in the first adventure he and Don Quixote experience—the windmills. However, the fact that Sancho's warnings and arguments fail to prevent Don Quixote's tilting at windmills, would seem to reveal the squire having weak rhetorical skills that make him less than ideal case study for rhetorical prowess. However, his initial failure as a rhetor only occurs because Sancho has yet to learn the proper rhetorical strategies capable of influencing a person like Quixote. For as the book demonstrates, the more experiences that Sancho has on his adventures, the more adept he becomes at imitating the various rhetorical styles of his environment and crafting his own unique form of persuasion. In fact, Quixote's own survival and occasional successes are in many ways due to Sancho's own rhetorical development, as this chapter shall demonstrate. Time after time, Sancho overcomes constraints and ends up proving himself a formidable orator in spite of his humble appearance.

What makes Sancho worthy of rhetorical study, then, is that he represents a form of rhetoric that is often employed by followers rather than leaders, by individuals who take the role of counselor and critic rather than that of visionary and hero, and who exert their power from the sidelines where they can adapt to the nuances of situations that are often missed by those who prefer to look only ahead of them. Although often awkward in the spotlight and

comic in appearance, Sancho proves himself a reservoir of practical wisdom and loyal counsel which often serves to correct or at least remediate many of Quixote's judgments. In short, without Sancho's rhetorical development, Quixote's own rhetoric would be rendered largely powerless and short-lived. Furthermore, as Sancho develops his rhetorical skills, he shows that he can begin to operate independently of Quixote until the moment where he becomes "governor" and shows that he now has the skills to be a leader himself. If we see in Quixote the rhetoric of many idealistic leaders, we find in Sancho the less visible but equally important rhetoric of their followers which exists as a necessary counterpart in any rhetorical movement.

In the following discussion, components of Sancho's rhetoric are reviewed in detail. First, his rhetoric demonstrates an imitative style that picks up strategies from others and employs them in impractical situations in order to learn them and master them. Sancho's imitative rhetoric provides the resources for his rhetorical invention, and demonstrates his learning capabilities. Second, his prudent attitude is displayed in his rhetoric as a strategy for understanding the world around him and for basing his argument on *real* possibilities and not *ideal* visions. Third, Sancho's rhetorical strategy to use downward transcendence to account for contradictions provides a necessary critical counterpoint to his master's tendency to always magnify situations out of proportion. Fourth, Sancho interprets situations with a comic perspective that often attempts, when possible, to humbly point out and admit errors of judgment in himself and others in order to make the best of a situation even if that means exposing oneself to ridicule. These elements combine to allow Sancho to grow and adapt to situations, and to serve as a corrective to his master's delusional demands.

## IMITATION

In Chapter 13 of Part 2, the Squire of the Woods ironically compliments Sancho's daughter by calling her "whoreson" as the two discuss their lives as squires, and while at first insulted, Sancho learns the phrase is a compliment, which he then adapts and imitates it in different situations. The scene begins a chapter earlier when Quixote and Sancho meet the Knight and Squire of the Wood, and then pair off to discuss the virtues of their own chivalry in the case of the knights, and to eat, drink, and be merry in the case of the squires. When Sancho brings up his family, and describes his daughter as "tall as a lance" and as "strong as a laborer," the Squire of the Wood replies, "O whoreson, but that damned little whore must be strong!" (II, 13, 534). In the original Spanish, the Squire of the Wood uses the word "hideputa" ("hijo de puta" or "son of a bitch"), which reveals more clearly the humor behind his double entendre. The Squire of the Wood justifies, "when anybody does anything well, commoners always say: 'Oh whoreson, but that damned little whoreson did that well!'" (535). Sancho, trying to incorporate the new meaning, humorously replies, "[I]n that sense and for that reason your grace could dump a whole whorehouse on me and my children and my wife, because everything they do and say deserves the best compliments" (535). A few moments later, in response to the Squire of the Wood placing a full wineskin in his hands, Sancho again imitates the phrase to compliment the wine.

Sancho imitates the Squire of the Wood's phrase throughout the rest of his journeys with Quixote to enthusiastically compliment someone or something. For instance, when describing the beauty of Quiteria's hair, Sancho states, "And damn me again for a whoreson, but what hair! If it's not a wig, I've never seen hair longer or blonder in my whole life!" (II, 21,

591). In another example, when describing Quixote's ability to turn down the affection of Altisidora, the Duchess' beautiful maiden, Sancho claims, "I can say that at her smallest word of love I'd surrender and submit. Whoreson, what a heart of marble you have, and a will of bronze, and a soul of mortar" (II, 58, 836). In each instance, Sancho's rhetorical strategy for expressing his enthusiastic appreciation is through imitating the phrase he learned from the Squire of the Wood.

Imitative rhetoric borrows the style and language of others and uses them as models for rhetorical invention in new situations. This rhetorical strategy provides adaptability and allows one to learn how to respond to varying circumstances by imitating the rhetorical responses of others in similar situations. Importantly, imitative rhetoric does not imply that the speaker does not know what they are doing or lacks creativity or intelligence. In the first case, imitation is simply a natural psychological process that is integral to any process of learning. John Dewey (1916) states, "What is called the effect of imitation is mainly the product of conscious instruction and of the selective influence exercised by the unconscious confirmations and ratifications of those with whom one associates" (35). We learn to adapt to new situations by seeing what others do and integrating these forms of behavior into our own skills and attitudes. In the second case, imitation clearly occurs at all levels of education, indicated by the fact that Don Quixote, despite his massive library, nonetheless chooses to imitate only a single genre of literature in his own speech patterns. The fact that Sancho begins his journey as an illiterate peasant does not mean he is any more or less imitative than his master.

Lastly, by characterizing Sancho's rhetoric as imitative does not mean that he is imitated whereas Don Quixote is not; rather, it is meant to emphasize that Sancho more fully embodies

the original pedagogical method of *imitatio* whereby students were encouraged not to simply imitate a single model (like Quixote) but to constantly draw from multiple text in order to adapt to changing circumstances. As Nathan Crick (2010) argues, "*imitatio* encourages respect for and consideration of inherited wisdom as a precondition for wise judgment in the face of a contingency" (35). Michal Leff gives a more lengthy account, notably contrasting the original spirit of *imitatio* it with how imitation was defined after the Romantic Movement:

In classical rhetoric, the doctrine of *imitatio* marked the most obvious intersection between the reading of texts and the production of persuasive discourse. Although this doctrine held a prominent and persistent place in traditional rhetoric, modern scholars have only begun to give it serious attention, and it is sometimes badly misunderstood because of the aversion to "imitation" that we have inherited from the Romantic movement. *Imitatio* was not the mere repetition or mechanistic reproduction of something found in an existing text. It was a complex process that allowed historical texts to serve as resources for invention. (97)

Of course, in the case of the illiterate Sancho, the sources for imitation would not literally be texts, as they were for Quixote. Sancho imitated the various speech patterns he heard around him, including those of Quixote, in order to develop his own expanded repertoire of rhetoric both to influence his master and to adapt to the contingencies they found along the road. As Howard Mancing (2005) points out, "Although he has had no formal training in oratory, Sancho has a good ear for style and a natural ability to mimic speech patterns" (28). Sancho's imitative style mimics the rhetorical strategies of the people around him and acts as an educational tool for learning how to communicate more effectively.

Sancho's imitative rhetoric is the product of invention based on a three step process of identification, interpretation, and performance. First, Sancho identifies rhetorical strategies that are utilized by other characters around him. Second, he interprets the success of these strategies in regards to a particular situation. Third, Sancho performs these rhetorical

strategies in new situations to advance his own goals. Sancho's prudent perspective of the world and his persuasive capabilities are articulated with an imitative rhetoric throughout their adventures, which in some cases serves him well, and in others, leads to his failure. On the one hand, the rhetorical strategy to imitate others' speech patterns allows Sancho to achieve his goals as it is highly adaptable to new situations and teaches him how to speak and persuade others. On the other hand, his imitative rhetoric, when done poorly, makes him appear as a "simpleton" who is merely mimicking words that he doesn't understand in order to make himself seem more educated or more important than he might be.

***Section 1: Regarding the Successes of Sancho's Imitative Rhetoric and the Encounter with the Enchanted Dulcinea***

In Book I, Quixote gives a letter to Sancho to deliver to Dulcinea, believing that Sancho knows and is acquainted with the beautiful object of his affections. However, Sancho only pretends to deliver the letter, knowing it to be total fantasy, and instead simply fabricates a story about meeting her that satisfies his master for the time being. Unfortunately for Sancho, in Book II, Quixote demands that Sancho introduce them when they are near her town, forcing Sancho to wander off reflecting on what he should do. In his meditations to himself, he displays the pattern of speech he had learned in the oral culture of his village, heavily laden with the proverbs which served as resources for invention for thought and action:

Well now: everything has a remedy except death, under whose yoke we all have to pass, even if we don't want to, when our life ends. I've seen a thousand signs in this master of mine that he's crazy enough to be tied up, and I'm not far behind, I'm as much a fool as he is because I follow and serve him, if that old saying is true: 'Tell me who your friends are and I'll tell you who you are,' and that other one that says, 'Birds of a feather flock together.' Then, being crazy, which is what he is, with the kind of craziness that most of the time takes one thing for another, and thinks white is black and black is white, like the time he said that the windmills were giants, and the friars' mules dromedaries, and the

flocks of sheep enemy armies, and many other things of that nature, it won't be very hard to make him believe that a peasant girl, the first one I run into here, is the lady Dulcinea; and if he doesn't believe it, I'll swear it's true . . . or maybe he'll believe, which is what I think will happen, that one of those evil enchanters he says are his enemies changed her appearance to hurt him and do him harm. (II, 10, 515-16)

Sancho's here uses a kind of imitation of proverbial speech patterns to help him discover a plan of action. First, the string of proverbs ground an understanding of his own foolishness, reminding himself that *birds of a feather flock together*. Second, by realizing his own madness, Sancho justifies lying to his master. Third, Sancho constructs a lie to resolve his predicament of having to find Dulcinea. Finally, Sancho plans to use Don Quixote's own rhetorical strategy for dealing with difficult issues by imitating chivalric notions of enchantment. He is forced to create another lie to cover the first, but this time he constructs a lie more carefully so that his master will believe him by now imitating both Don Quixote's flowery language as well as his justification for almost anything being unpleasant as enchanted.

Sancho's true talent for rhetorical imitation, however, only becomes clear when his plans come to fruition when he sees three women riding in the direction of Don Quixote, and decides to run back to his master to announce his lady is on her way. Don Quixote is astonished by the promptness in Sancho's return and at first believes he is being deceived. However, Sancho quickly tries to persuade him otherwise, stating:

What good would it do me to deceive your grace . . . especially since you're so close to discovering that what I say is true? Use your spurs, Señor, and come with me, and you'll see the princess riding toward us, our mistress, all dressed and adorned, like the person she is. She and her damsels are all shining gold, all strands of pearls, all diamonds, all rubies, all brocade cloth ten levels high, their hair, hanging loose down their backs, is like rays of the sun dancing in the wind; best of all, they're riding three piebald pilfers, the prettiest sight you'll ever see. (II, 10, 516-17)



Discarding his earlier reliance on Proverbs, Sancho's response now imitates the flowery language of Don Quixote while describing Dulcinea's appearance in an attempt to manipulate him into believing she was approaching. Although Don Quixote corrects his word choice of *pilfers* with *palfreys*, signaling perhaps that Sancho might not know exactly what you're talking about, Sancho does well enough to keep his master curious about what is going on.

Consequently, when Don Quixote only sees three peasant girls riding towards them on donkeys, and not his beautiful Dulcinea, Sancho continues to persuade him with more of his imitative rhetoric. Sancho responds to the confusion with chivalric language imitative of his master's speech: "Is it possible that three snow white palfreys, or whatever they're called, look like donkeys to your grace?" Using the correct word this time, Sancho successfully imitates his master's tendency to transform common appearances into grand chivalric visions, thus turning donkeys into white *palfreys*. Committing further to his deception, Sancho then rides up to receive the ladies, and falling to his knees, proclaims to one:

Queen and princess and duchess of beauty, may your high mightiness be pleased to receive into your good graces and disposition your captive knight, who is there, turned into marble, confused and struck dumb at finding himself in your magnificent presence. I am Sancho Panza, his squire, and he is the much traveled Don Quixote of La Mancha, also called *The Knight of the Sorrowful Face*. (II, 10, 518)

Sancho's greeting imitates Don Quixote's flowery language and decorum, as he reinterprets the peasant girl as a princess and flatters her beauty. Although the girls are irritated and confused by his sudden greeting, Sancho's imitative rhetoric successfully works on Don Quixote.

Believing his ruse, Don Quixote declares the "wicked enchanter who pursueth me" has placed "cataracts" over his eyes to rob him from seeing her true beauty. Much to Sancho's relief, Don

Quixote tells him to get up as he allows the ladies to pass. Therefore, Sancho effectively persuades Don Quixote of his lie by successfully imitating Quixote's own rhetorical style.

***Section 2: Regarding Sancho's Unsuccessful Attempts at Persuasion through the Imitation of Others Characters' Rhetoric***

At the start of Book II, Sancho discusses plans to rejoin Don Quixote with his wife, Teresa, but their conversation continually gets held up as Teresa cannot understand her husband's new way of speaking. Teresa interjects throughout their discussion that she cannot understand him. In fact, Sancho speaks so differently than he did before his time with Quixote that the chapter has a disclaimer, warning readers Sancho's rhetoric "was apocryphal, because in it Sancho Panza speaks in a manner different from what one might expect of his limited intelligence" (II, 5, 485). Teresa confirms the apocryphal nature in Sancho's speaking, stating that "ever since you became a knight errant's servant your talk is so roundabout nobody can understand you" (486). A few pages later, she continues her attack against his new speech patterns: "I don't understand you . . . so do what you want and don't give me any more headaches with your long speeches and fine words. And if you're revolved to do what you say—" (490). However, at this point Sancho interrupts his wife to correct her word choice, "*Resolved* is what you should say, Teresa . . . not *revolved*." Sancho's imitative rhetorical style teaches him new ways of speaking and understanding, which he tries to use on other characters, and, as the case regarding his wife demonstrates, he often fails to successfully communicate with them.

Perhaps, the most tragic instance of Sancho's use of imitative rhetoric comes when he attempts to imitate Quixote's chivalric ethos as they leave an inn without paying. When Don Quixote learns he is in an inn, and not a castle, he leaves believing he has been deceived and

refuses to pay based on his chivalric status as a knight-errant. The historian, Cide Benengeli explains:

The innkeeper, who saw him leave without paying, turned for payment to Sancho Panza, who said that since his master had not wanted to pay, he would not pay, either, for as the squire of a knight errant, the same rule and law applied to him as to his master with regard to not paying anything in hostelries and inns. This greatly displeased the innkeeper, who warned him that if he did not pay, he would collect his money in a way Sancho would regret. To which Sancho replied that by the law of chivalry his master had received, he would not pay a *coronado* even if it cost him his life; for the virtuous and ancient customs of knights errants would not be brought down by him, nor would the squires of future knights have reason to complain of him or reproach him for breaking so just a law. (I, 17, 121-22)

With Don Quixote already outside and gone, Sancho tries to take on the chivalric world all alone. If his master did not have to pay based on chivalric virtue, then it is only prudent that he plays the chivalry card as well. In addition to justifying his refusal for payment, Sancho's defiant response shows a gradual adaptation of Don Quixote's rhetoric.

Unfortunately, his imitation of Quixote's law of chivalry has no effect on the innkeeper, and therefore a group of rogues capture Sancho and toss him in a blanket, "as if he were a dog at Carnival" (122). Don Quixote never comes to Sancho's aid, believing his predicament is the work of enchantment, and, like the promise of an *ínsula*, this incident becomes a rhetorical contention the two discuss and debate several times throughout the rest of their adventures. While his imitation of Quixote's chivalric rhetoric shows Sancho's growth as a rhetor, he fails in his persuasive goals to not pay.

## PRUDENCE

In Book II, Sancho is finally awarded the governorship of his own *ínsula* by the Duke and Duchess. However, prior to leaving for his new governorship, Sancho deliberates with his

master over the merits of this new position. When Don Quixote argues it seems inappropriate for a governor to be illiterate and a shame he had not taught Sancho to at least sign his own name, Sancho prudently explains through a string of proverbs how he will get by as the new governor:

I know how to sign my name very well . . . because when I was steward of a brotherhood in my village, I learned to make some letters like the marks on bundles, and they told me that they said my name; better yet, I'll pretend that my right hand has been hurt, and I'll have somebody else sign for me; there's a remedy for everything except death, and since I'll be in charge of everything, I can do whatever I want; then, too, when your father's the magistrate.... And being a governor, which is more than being a magistrate, just let them come and they'll see what happens! No, let them make fun of me and speak ill of me: they'll come for wool and go home shorn; and when God loves you, your house knows it; and the rich man's folly passes for good judgment in the world; and since that's what I'll be, being a governor and a very generous one, which is what I plan to be, nobody will notice any faults in me. No, just be like honey and the flies will go after you; you're only worth as much as you have, my grandmother used to say; and you won't get revenge on a well-established man. (II, 43, 735)

Using the proverb *there's a remedy for everything except death*, Sancho prudently explains how he will overcome Don Quixote's worry by intending to lie that he broke his hand, requiring someone else to write for him. As R. M. Flores (1982) states, "If one follows Sancho's train of thought, one soon sees that any one of the proverbs or sayings of a particular series is perfectly appropriate to convey Sancho's reaction and answer to whatever has provoked it" (118).

Sancho even tries to persuade his master by creating an enthymeme with one of the proverbs (*When your father's the magistrate...*), forcing Don Quixote to syllogistically fill in the missing premise (*...you're safe when you go to trial*) to conclude as governor, "which is more than a magistrate," he will be able to do whatever he wants to do. Such proverbs display Sancho's rhetorical prudent attitude and ability as they help him understand and make judgments in difficult decisions.

By examining the practical outcomes of a situation, Sancho's prudence warns of impending difficulties and provides how to act accordingly. In *Prudence: Classical Virtue, Postmodern Practice*, edited by Robert Hariman, Stephen Browne (2003) claims prudence is "not a set of principles to be availed of, but a performative modality, a way of thinking, being, and acting in the world" (141). And Robert Hariman (2003) states, "Prudence refers at once to a type of knowledge and a type of doing; it is expressed as a way of acting in time, acting, that is, in knowledge of history to know and act is to understand the moral order of things and the conduct appropriate to their sustenance and growth" (6). As a performative model, prudence refers to an attitude based on both knowledge of and appropriate action for a given situation. Therefore, prudent rhetoric emerges to secure one's well-being in response to appearances in current and difficult situations. Relying on previously-tested modes of action that are appropriate for a given situation, prudent rhetoric embraces a common sense and practical understanding of the world. Prudent action is determined by the taken for granted facts and appearances of a situation or event, and prudent rhetoric is that which encourages prudent action by showing how the most available means are most suitable to attaining reasonable ends. Prudent rhetoric is not a technique that can be practiced; instead, it is an ingrained attitude on appropriate action learned through experience and is dictated through persuasive speaking.

Sancho's prudence is articulated through a rhetoric that sizes up the practicalities of the situation and voices his opinions and warns others of impractical behaviors. This rhetorical attitude allows him to accomplish certain goals by relying on practical, real observations over possible, ideal interpretations. His imitative rhetorical style is the result of this prudent attitude

as it teaches him a means for achieving his own ends. Sancho may not understand the *essence* of the means others employ, but he will use them rhetorically so long he sees their *practicality* in achieving certain goals. For instance, realizing the practical advantages of lying, occasionally Sancho manipulates Don Quixote into believing things are enchanted to secure his own well-being. Whether Sancho understands the nature of enchantment or believes it to be all fantasy, he nevertheless, prudently utilizes the chivalric notion to persuade Don Quixote to follow certain courses of action. However, sometimes his prudence makes him appear as a coward and a simpleton incapable of understanding or appreciating higher ideals.

***Section 1: In which the Benefits of Sancho's Prudent Rhetoric regarding Proverbs and his New Governorship are addressed***

From the beginning, Sancho consistently relies on the proverbial wisdom of his oral culture (as opposed to Quixote's literate fantasies) to prudently serve as resources for rhetorical invention. In his article, "The Idealism of Sancho Panza," John A. Moore (1958) addresses proverbs in regards to Sancho and members of his class, suggesting, "When they used their imagination and their intelligence together, the result was the multitude of proverbs that have made them seem so practical to us" (73). So it is when Sancho takes on his role of governor and immediately participates in a deceptive game on the part of the Duke and Duchess in which she displays surprising prudence in his strategies for adjudicating law and order. Everyone—from the townspeople of the *ínsula*, to the Duke and Duchess, to even the translator of the novel—is surprised by the simple, yet effective nature of Sancho's prudence. Sancho's prudent attitude reveals what he believes to be just and appropriate conduct, which serves him well in administering justice on his *ínsula* when dealing with practical affairs rather than idealistic fantasies.

Almost immediately upon arriving to Ínsula Barataria, Sancho is brought to the town's judicial building where he is forced to decide the verdict on several fictional cases created specifically to amplify his foolishness and exploit his simple nature. However, much to everyone's astonishment, he does not appear simple or foolish as the prudence in his judgments actually warrants his ethos as governor. For instance, when two men argue over the repayment of a loan, Sancho responds like an intelligent governor by deciding a fair judgment for their case. Since the old man gave the cane to his adversary before swearing an oath that he had already repaid the money, but upon claiming the walking stick back, his adversary still begs injustice, Sancho deduces "that the money he was being asked for was inside the cane" (II, 45, 750). Sancho's prudent attitude quickly understands the situation and when his verdict reveals the truth behind the old man's deception, everyone admires the prudence of their new governor. Similarly, Sancho's prudent decisions continue to amaze onlookers when he passes judgment on two other cases with similar silly riddles.

However, in addition to helping pass verdicts, Sancho's prudence alerts him to the idea that there is a time and place for everything. Therefore, when a farmer petitions the new governor at an inappropriate hour, Sancho's ethos goes from being a just governor to that of a wrathful private citizen. After hearing the farmer's petition, Sancho angrily responds:

I swear, Don Crass and Crude, if you don't leave and get out of my sight right now, I'll break and crack your head open with this chair! Scoundrel and whoreson, the demon's own painter, is this the right time to come and ask me for six hundred *ducados*? Where would I have them, you unbearable pest? And why would I give them to you if I did have them, you shifty fool? And what do I care about Miguel Turra and the lineage of the Perlerín? Get away from me, I say, or by the life of my lord the duke, I'll do what I said! You can't be from Miguel Turra, you must be some sly devil sent here from hell to tempt me. Tell me, you merciless man, I haven't had the governorship for a day and a half yet, and you want me to have six hundred *ducados*? (II, 47, 764)

Sancho's anger results from the farmer's lack of prudence in realizing the appropriate means for his end. Emerson (1987) claims, "Prudence is the virtue of the senses. It is the science of appearances. It is the outmost action of the inward life. . . . It is content to seek health of body by complying with physical conditions, and health of mind by the laws of the intellect" (131).

The farmer does not comply with *physical conditions* of the moment like the late hour, nor does he comply with *laws of the intellect* like business hours, and therefore, it is this lack of prudence that greatly angers the new governor. Ironically, the anger over the farmer's lack of prudence is emphasized with Sancho's own prudent rhetoric, which much to the surprise of others, successfully guides his actions as governor.

***Section 2: Regarding Instances in which Sancho's Prudent Rhetoric Fails him as in the Case with the Beautiful Princess Micomicona***

Although Sancho's proverbs are prudent in helping make decisions and imitative in reflecting the rhetorical strategies of his oral culture, Don Quixote typically grows angry with their usage. He pays no attention to the relevance and prudence of Sancho's proverbs, and instead bemoans:

O, may you be accursed, Sancho! . . . May sixty thousand devils take you and your proverbs! For the past hour you have been stringing them together and with each one giving me a cruel taste of torment. I assure you that one day these proverbs will lead you to the gallows. (II, 43, 735)

Don Quixote's frustration with his squire's rhetoric has reached its limits and his angry response both demonizes Sancho's proverbs and belittles his intelligence. For him, Sancho's proverbs are akin to what Emerson calls "base prudence" which ignores the higher things in life. Emerson (1987) claims that "The world is filled with the proverbs and acts and winkings of a base prudence, which is a devotion to matter, as if we possessed no other faculties than the palate,



the nose, the touch, the eye and ear; a prudence which . . . asks but one question of any project, — Will it bake bread?" While Sancho's "base prudence" includes a heavy focus on the material world (*you're only worth as much as you have*), it still prudently serves as a guiding force for knowing and doing (*be like honey and the flies will go after you*) as it shows, so to speak, the means and ends for *baking bread*. Therefore, Sancho prudently retorts:

By God, my lord and master . . . your grace complains about very small things. Why the devil does it trouble you when I make use of my fortune, when I have no other, and no other wealth except proverbs and more proverbs? And right now four have come to mind that are a perfect fit, like pears in a wicker basket, but I won't say them, because golden silence is what they call Sancho. (II, 43, 736)

Sancho's defense is practical as he defends his own understanding in using proverbs. Emerson (1987) claims, "Prudence is the virtue of the senses. It is the science of appearances. It is the outmost action of the inward life . . . it is content to seek health of body by complying with physical conditions, and health of mind by the laws of the intellect" (131). But for some of my Quixote, who cares little for appearances and cares only for the laws of nobility and virtue come what may, Sancho often strikes him as a kind of Philistine.

For instance, in Chapter 29, the knight and squire meet the distressed Princess Micomicona, and much to Sancho's pleasure, Don Quixote agrees not to assist anyone else until he has successfully helped her defeat the giant in her kingdom. Don Quixote's intentions please Sancho very much because he believes he will finally get his governorship for assisting him in such a feat. The princess tells of her kingdom being under attack by a giant in a highly poetic style appropriate of chivalric romance. Although the priest has to help and correct her narrative several times, Don Quixote and Sancho believe her tale. She claims she will marry

Don Quixote when he has successfully vanquished the giant. Don Quixote, however, refuses out of his love for Dulcinea, which greatly upsets Sancho. Sancho prudently states:

I vow and I swear, Señor Don Quixote, that your grace is not in your right mind. How can your grace have any doubts about marrying a princess as noble as this one? Does your grace think fate will offer you good fortune like this around every corner? Is my lady Dulcinea, by some chance, more beautiful? No, certainly not, not even by half, and I'd go so far as to say she can't even touch the shoes of the lady we have before us. So woe is me, I'll never get the rank I'm hoping for if your grace goes around asking for the moon. Marry, marry right now, Satan take you, and take the kingdom that has dropped into your hands without you lifting a finger, and when you're king make me a marquis or a governor, and then the devil can make off with all the rest. (I, 30, 254-55)

The prudence in Sancho's statement is revealed through his pragmatic weighing of means and ends with regards to possible benefits received through such a marriage. On the one hand, Sancho knows Dulcinea is really Aldonza Lorenzo, a plain-looking peasant girl with no chance of giving him an *ínsula* to govern. On the other hand, he believes Princess Micomicona is a real and beautiful princess that has plenty of governorships to give away. Sancho weighs the means of getting a kingdom for Don Quixote and a governorship for himself and prudently decides the best course of action to achieve such ends is to marry the princess. However, Sancho's prudent attitude towards marriage counters the chivalric virtue of idealized love and in doing so, insults Dulcinea's ethos, which infuriates his master. Hearing such blasphemies against his lady love, Don Quixote strikes Sancho twice on the head with his lance with such force it nearly kills him. Thus, Sancho's attitude towards Don Quixote's plans for marriage reveals a drawback to his prudence.

Although Sancho is badly beaten after his statements regarding Dulcinea, his prudent attitude ignores Don Quixote's idealism, and he continues to believe the right course of action is for his master to marry Princess Micomicona. According to Emerson (1991), prudence

"designates the capacity" for responding effectively to new and contingent situations. He states, "It arises in deliberation, requires implicit understanding of the possible, the probable, and the appropriate within a specific community" (26). For Sancho, the *possibility* of receiving favors from Don Quixote is more *probable* if he were to marry Princess Micomicona, and thus, his prudent conclusion that they should marry was *appropriate*. Therefore, even though he just received nearly-fatal blows from his master, Sancho continues defending his prudent attitude towards the situation:

Tell me, Señor: if your grace is determined not to marry this great princess, it's clear the kingdom won't be yours; and if it isn't, what favors can you do for me? That's what I'm complaining about; your grace should marry this queen for now, when we have her here like a gift from heaven, and afterwards you can go back to my lady Dulcinea; there must have been kings in the world who lived with their mistresses. As for beauty, I won't get involved in that; if truth be told, they both seem fine to me, though I've never seen the lady Dulcinea. (I, 30, 255)

Sancho prudently deduces if Don Quixote does not marry Princess Micomicona, he will not be granted a kingdom, and if Don Quixote is not granted a kingdom, he will not be able to give favors to Sancho. Therefore, Don Quixote should marry the princess and keep Dulcinea as a mistress if he so chooses. However, Sancho's prudent attitude, which justifies lying to get one ahead, makes him slip up as he claims to have never seen Dulcinea. Earlier, when Sancho returned to Don Quixote doing penance in the mountains, he lied to his master about meeting Dulcinea, saying she wants him to return home (I, 27). Don Quixote instantly catches the mistake, stating, "What do you mean, you have not seen her, you blasphemous traitor? . . . Have you not just brought me a message from her?" (I, 30, 255). Sancho redeems himself by quickly backtracking, but regardless, his stubborn call for Don Quixote's action to marry Princess Micomicona shows that prudence is not always a welcome attitude for idealists

However, regardless of the fact that Sancho's proverbs are prudent in helping make decisions and imitative in reflecting the rhetorical strategies of his oral culture, Don Quixote typically grows angry with their usage. He pays no attention to the relevance and prudence of Sancho's proverbs, and instead bemoans:

O, may you be accursed, Sancho! . . . May sixty thousand devils take you and your proverbs! For the past hour you have been stringing them together and with each one giving me a cruel taste of torment. I assure you that one day these proverbs will lead you to the gallows. (II, 43, 735)

Don Quixote's frustration with his squire's rhetoric has reached its limits and his angry response both demonizes Sancho's proverbs and belittles his intelligence. While Sancho's "base prudence" includes a heavy focus on the material world (*you're only worth as much as you have*), it still prudently serves as a guiding force for knowing and doing (*be like honey and the flies will go after you*) as it shows, so to speak, the means and ends for *baking bread*. Therefore, Sancho prudently retorts:

By God, my lord and master . . . your grace complains about very small things. Why the devil does it trouble you when I make use of my fortune, when I have no other, and no other wealth except proverbs and more proverbs? And right now four have come to mind that are a perfect fit, like pears in a wicker basket, but I won't say them, because golden silence is what they call Sancho. (II, 43, 736)

Sancho's defense is practical as he defends his own understanding in using proverbs. Emerson (1987) claims, "Prudence is the virtue of the senses. It is the science of appearances. It is the outmost action of the inward life . . . it is content to seek health of body by complying with physical conditions, and health of mind by the laws of the intellect" (131). Sancho's string of proverbs complies with his understanding of time and seeks to remedy undeserved pain caused in falsely relying on predictions of future events. Although he ultimately fails in getting his

point across to Don Quixote, in no way does this diminish the prudence of his speech. In fact, the wisdom in Sancho's prudence is never fully recognized until he leaves Don Quixote's side to govern his new *ínsula* and begins administering law.

### **TRANSCENDENCE DOWNWARDS**

When the two first come to the windmills in Chapter 8, Sancho is astonished by his master's declaration about the windmills appearing to be giants and responds by debunking his master's perspective with an inverted transcendence showing the reality of the situation. Sancho counters Don Quixote's perspective by prudently addressing the characteristics of the windmill, stating, "Look, your grace . . . 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"(I, 8, 58). Sancho's warning prudently accepts appearances as they are and takes it for granted that one should respond to them in a way that avoids needless pain and/or achieves immediate, tangible goals. So when Quixote, in fact, does the opposite and instead declares windmills to be giants and attack them, Sancho must somehow resolve this paradox and reconcile a conflict of perspectives and appearances. However, whereas his master explains his defeat by saying an enchanter deceived him in order to defeat his valiant arm, Sancho offers a different explanation for Quixote's failure to understand that windmills were simply machines for grinding grain: that "only somebody whose head was full of them wouldn't know that" (I, 8, 59). When faced with the same paradox, Don Quixote thus looks to a higher explanation that makes them appear nobler whereas Sancho looks to a lower explanation that makes him appear simply mad.

What we see in the encounter with the windmill is perhaps the core rhetorical tension between Don Quixote and Sancho that continues throughout the novel—the tension between a preference for transcending upwards and a preference for transcending downwards when faced with a contradiction, paradox, or tension. By transcendence downwards, we mean something akin to what Burke (1984) calls “debunking,” or the assumption that the grand motives and ideals that people use to rationalize their behavior is largely just a superficial act of covering some simpler, base motives (338). As he explains, the assumption that “a human act 'is done purely for gravy,' is the simplest example of 'transcendence downwards'" (338). For example, an outlaw like Roque might claim that he kills and feels for the sake of the greater good in order to resolve the contradiction between being noble and being a killer. Transcendence downwards simply approaches that same contradiction and says that all of his actions are done “purely for the gravy,” which explains not only his killing and stealing but also his lying about his own “noble” motives.

What makes the rhetorical interplay between Don Quixote and Sancho so interesting, then, is how they negotiate their competing interpretive preferences with one another as they encounter people and events along their journeys. For sometimes Quixote’s upward transcendence produces surprisingly positive results, particularly when more sympathetic parties seen in him an opportunity to challenge, alter, or play around with their situation through his fantastic interpretations. In other times, Sancho's downward transcendence helps Don Quixote avoid disaster and to make decisions based on “base prudence,” such as saving their necks or using the bathroom or getting something to eat. And almost all the time, their differences in interpretation always produced lively conversation as they go back and forth with

one another attempting to come up with a unified interpretation of the situation that satisfies both parties, or failing to do so simply leave both in frustrated silence. Either way, Sancho's constant attempts to debunk Don Quixote's interpretations of appearances for their own good is one of the most essential points of the plot and one of his most important functions as a rhetorical participant in their journeys together.

***Section 1: Regarding Sancho's Successful Rhetorical Strategy to Persuade Don Quixote through a Transcendence Downwards that his Enchanted Captivity is all a Deception***

In the concluding chapters of Book 1, hoping Don Quixote's sanity would be restored if he properly rested, the priest and barber devise a plan to capture the mad knight and return him home. Their plan consists of the barber dressing up like a powerful sage and, in front of Don Quixote, predicting his valorous return to La Mancha where it is ordained he will marry Dulcinea. Their plan works, tricking Don Quixote to believe he is enchanted, and thus, he accepts being placed in an oxcart cage. And the fact that Quixote is satisfied with this plan shows how powerful is his preference for upward transcendence, for he resolves this paradox of a man riding in an oxcart cage by assuming that he is so powerful that he had to be enchanted and bound by ropes in order to constrain him.

However, Sancho is not deceived and tries to persuade Don Quixote he is not enchanted by transcending his current conditions into matters regarding smells, appearances, and biological needs. Beginning in Chapter 47, Sancho claims his master is not enchanted as he concludes enchanterers are demons: "People say all demons stink of sulfur and brimstone and other bad odors, but this one smells of ambergris from half a league away" (406). Don Quixote agrees that demons stink, but discounts Sancho's argument saying, "Either you are mistaken, or he wants to deceive you by making you think he is not a demon" (406). In Chapter 48, Sancho

tries convincing Don Quixote of the priest's and barber's deception by debunking their appearance as enchanters with deceitful people in costume. However, Don Quixote again discredits the squire and his lack of knowledge in regards to enchantment. In Chapter 49, Sancho finally succeeds in convincing Don Quixote to exit the oxcart cage by transcending his enchantment into a matter of biological needs:

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, and who drink when someone hands them water, and eat when there's food to be had, and answer every question that's asked of them.  
(421)

The evidence for Sancho's claim explains that if Don Quixote has to use the restroom and enchanted people are not afflicted with such bodily concern, he must not be enchanted. Although he continues to insist that Sancho is "mistaken" in understanding the current situation, Don Quixote is finally persuaded to leave the cage to use the restroom.

Prior to convincing his master to get out of the cart, however, Sancho reveals in a lengthy, proverb-filled defense that he has caught on to the priest's deception. Sancho's use of proverbs is a rhetorical strategy of inverted transcendence revealing apparent lies and contradictions to reality. Turning to the priest Sancho declares:

Ah Señor Priest, Señor Priest! Did your grace think I didn't know you? Can you think I don't understand and guess where these new enchantments are heading? Well, you should know that I recognize you no matter how you cover your face and understand you no matter how you hide your lies. In short, where envy rules, virtue cannot survive, and generosity cannot live with miserliness. Devil confound it, if it wasn't for your reverence, my master would be married by now to Princess Micomicona and I'd be a count at least, because I expected nothing less from the goodness of my master, the Knight of the Sorrowful Face, and from the greatness of my services! But now I see that what they say is true: the wheel of fortune turns faster than a water wheel, and those who only yesterday were on top of the world today are down on the ground. I grieve for my children and my wife, for when they could and should have expected to see their father come



through the door as a governor or viceroy of some ínsula or kingdom, they'll see him come in a stableboy. I've said all this, Señor Priest, just to urge your fathership to take into account the bad treatment my master is receiving, and to be careful that God doesn't demand an accounting from you in the next life for my master's imprisonment, and make you responsible for all the boons and mercies my master, Don Quixote, can't do while he's in the cage. (I, 47, 410)

Sancho tries to deflate the priest's intentions by debunking the claim of enchantment as a cruel deception. He believes the priest's behaviors go against the moral order of how members of clergy should act and is therefore wrong. In order to refute the claim of the priest's deceptive enchantment, Sancho relies on his favorite rhetorical style as he strings together maxims (*where envy rules, virtue cannot survive*) and proverbs (*the wheel of fortune turns faster than a water wheel*) to reinterpret the situation in a way that makes the journey of stages, heroes, and enchanters into a simple case of well-meaning people from the village carrying on insane old man back to his home in an oxcart.

In each of the cases, Sancho tries to reconcile a contradiction in perspective and appearances through transcendence downwards. Notably, the audience for this type of rhetoric is almost exclusively Don Quixote, who often does not share in his squire's deviation from chivalric ideals. Instead, Sancho's rhetorical strategy employs transcendence downwards which debunks Don Quixote's perspective by pitting his master's idealistic private impulses against the common sense realities of Spanish society. And in this case, this strategy serves to emancipate Don Quixote from his confinement and liberate him from his self-deceptions. In other words, without Sancho's competing transcendent rhetorical preferences, Quixote would have arrived home bound like a madman in a cart meant for an animal.

## ***Section 2: Which details the Rhetorical Strategies in Sancho's Downwards Transcendence of the Princess Micomicona***

In Chapter 36, Part 1, Dorotea reunites with her finance, Don Fernando, and while everyone present begins to weep with joy over their romantic reunion, Sancho begins to cry over the discovery that Dorotea is not the Princess Micomicona. As mentioned earlier, Sancho's prudent sensibility got him into trouble when he suggested his master replace Dulcinea with Princess Micomicona for his lover. For Sancho, the materialistic benefits marrying the princess far outweighed the idealistic benefits of loving some enchanted peasant. However, when Sancho sees Micomicona kissing Don Fernando, he realizes she is no princess. He further deduces, if she is no princess, she has no territory to defend, which means he and Don Quixote will not be avenging her, and most importantly, she will not be rewarding them with noble titles.

For Sancho, the princess' impious behaviors with Don Fernando at the inn created a rhetorical exigence that he has to address by warning his master. While everyone seems to think she is the princess of some far off land, Sancho now believes she is deceiving them. To reconcile the incongruity between her behavior with Don Fernando and the behavior a princess ought to have; Sancho creates a transcendent category that dissolves the contradiction:

That's not it, sinner that I am in the sight of God!" responded Sancho. "It's just that I'm absolutely certain and positive that this lady who says she's the queen of the great kingdom of Micomicón is no more a queen than my mother, because if she was who she says she is, she wouldn't go around hugging and kissing one of the men here at the inn, behind every door and every chance she gets. (I, 46, 401)

Sancho categorizes Princess Micomicona's noble status with his mother's peasant status to debunk her noble identity down to a base reality. Burke (1984) states, "The 'debunking' frame

of interpretation becomes a colossal enterprise in 'transcendence downwards' that is good for polemical, *disintegrative* purposes" (original italics, 92-93). Sancho's passionate and controversial declaration *disintegrates* her supposed-royal identity. Dorotea turns bright red out of embarrassment for being caught in her deception and is unable to respond, thus Sancho continues:

I'm saying this, Señor, because if after having traveled so many highways and byways, and gone through so many bad nights and worse days, the fruit of our labors is being plucked by someone taking his ease in this inn, then there's no reason for me to hurry and saddle Rocinante, and harness the donkey, and prepare the palfrey, because we'd be better off sitting still and doing nothing: let each whore tend to her spinning, and we'll eat. (401)

After Sancho has discounted her identity through a downwards transcendence, he then argues there is no need to hurry and avenge her. He attempt to warn Don Quixote of her deception because he believes the "fruit of [their] labors is being plucked" away from them by Don Fernando. Sancho substitutes Dorotea's noble essence as a princess with the base motions of a whore. For Burke, "Substitution sets the condition for 'transcendence,' since there is a technical sense in which the name for a thing can be said to 'transcend' the thing named" (1989, 62). Whereas Quixote typically substitutes base realities into euphemistic ideals, Sancho provides counterarguments that debunk these ideals back to base realities. However, this time his debasement goes too far and Quixote's anger erupts:

Oh, base, lowborn, wretched, rude, ignorant, foul-mouthed, ill-spoken, slanderous, insolent varlet! You have dared to speak such words in my presence and in the presence of these distinguished ladies, dared to fill your befuddled imagination with such vileness and effrontery? Leave my presence, unholy monster, repository of lies, stronghold of falsehoods, storehouse of deceits, inventor of iniquities, promulgator of insolence, enemy of the decorum owed to these royal persons. Go, do not appear before me under pain of my wrath! (401)

Embarrassed by his squire's debasement of Princess Micomicona, Quixote begins scowling with "signs of the great anger raging in his heart" (401). Not only does he insult Sancho's character with such heinous descriptions like "foul-mouthed" and "slandorous," but his anger also terrifies Sancho to the point that "he would have been overjoyed if the earth had opened up and swallowed him" (401). Sancho leaves the presence of his enraged master and fails to persuade anyone of his prudent observation.

While Sancho's rhetorical strategy to debunk idealistic perspectives through a downwards transcendence successfully persuades Don Quixote to get out of the oxcart mentioned earlier, this strategy fails him in the instance regarding Dorotea's deception. In both cases, Sancho sees a contradiction between what people say is happening versus what he sees happening, and tries to reconcile the difference through transcendence downwards. While Sancho's observations are true with regards to Princess Micomicona, his rhetorical strategy fails to liberate Don Quixote from the deception. Don Quixote's rhetorical ascent to the realm of chivalric ideals overcomes Sancho's rhetorical descent to the realm of base reality. However, as with the oxcart incident, this is not always the case. Although not always successful, Don Quixote and Sancho's back-and-forth transcendent rhetoric serves an important function in that it helps them both realize broader and different perspectives than they originally realized.

### **COMEDY**

After tilting at windmills and losing, Don Quixote's actions seem absurd to Sancho, and though he hesitantly accepts his master's conclusions about enchantment, he begins to realize the extent of his madness. Not only does the knight attack windmills, he also attacks Sancho's prudent understanding of the world. To reconcile their different opinions without diminishing

Don Quixote's authority, Sancho responds with comic rhetoric to ease his own tensions. Revealing his comic view on life, Sancho claims to accept his master's interpretation of the windmills, but using simple wordplay, reminds him of the tragic results: "It's in God's hands . . . I believe everything your grace says, but sit a little straighter, it looks like you're tilting, it must be from the battering you took when you fell" (I, 8, 60). Sancho uses the double-meaning of *tilting* to remind Don Quixote of his foolish *jousting*, but also to describe his current *leaning* position. Although he claims to believe everything Don Quixote says, Sancho's comic response allows room for interpretation while simultaneously not debunking his master's reasoning overtly, thus leaving room for laughter, both at oneself and others.

According to Burke, the comic frame is very different from the humorous frame of burlesque. The comic frame is "neither wholly euphemistic, nor wholly debunking—hence it provides the *charitable* attitude towards people that is required for purposes of persuasion and co-operation" (original italics, 166). Burke viewed the comic frame as the most civilized of the poetic categories because this acceptance frame expresses humility and allows for the most comprehensive understanding of a situation. However, laughing *at* someone opposed to *with* someone leaves the realm of the comic perspective and crosses over into burlesque territory. Burke states, "The writer of burlesque makes no attempt to get inside the psyche of his victim. Instead, he is content to select the externals of behavior, driving them to a 'logical conclusion' that becomes their 'reduction to absurdity'" (54). That is, the burlesque rhetor is uninterested in a person's motivation, and instead, is interested in caricaturing the person.

Thus, the comic frame does not replace or discredit a situation totally; rather, it creates a sphere conducive for deliberating perspectives. Comedy is thus effective in rhetoric as a way

of easing tensions and reconciling differences by admitting mutual fallibility and appealing to common humility. Farrell, for instance, says that “comedy is the most characteristic deliberative orientation of rhetoric” (118). Whereas tragedy is often useful for rally encouraged to overcome obstacles or embrace suffering, comedy is often used for proverbially “breaking the ice” so that people can actually talk with one another despite their differences. Farrell continues:

After all, it is common discourse that is immersed in the crowd, with persons not much better, and perhaps a bit worse, than ourselves. It is concerned with chance and fortune, good and bad moral luck, things that could turn out any number of different ways for no definitively good reason. The audience of for such rhetoric would be an imaginative sort of agency/witness, and the audience's wishes, fears, and hopes would be formative ingredients of the plot... Like comedic discourse in general, rhetorical discourse is concerned with contingency and possibility. Its limits are those of any hopeful action that rests on the reliability of an other. (133)

In rhetoric, then, comedy is often used as a way of resolving disputes, easing tensions, and giving people broader perspective on issues through a combination of witty observations and enlightened interpretations. In comedy, one does not laugh at others but with them, often concerning foibles for which he or she is responsible. Rhetorically, Burke argues, thus “provides the charitable attitude towards people that is required for purposes of persuasion and co-operation” (166). Sancho's response to Don Quixote's transcendence of the windmills illustrates his charitable attitude as he both claims to accept his master's reasoning, but also, comically reminds him of the results from the situation using the double-meaning of tilting.

Sancho's particular brand of comedy often comes from his apparent simplemindedness, a quality that often produces laughter in others and frequently easing tensions and gains affection from others. Anthony Close (1973) states, "The essence of Sancho Panza's character is comic *simpleza* or *necedad*---simple-mindedness" (344). He is a "natural fool," an innocent half-

wit that responds to situations around him with comic explanations often resulting in laughter from other characters. For example, Don Quixote “could not help laughing at his squire’s simplemindedness” after Sancho states he would cry and complain freely if he were in as much pain as his master for battling windmills (60). In Book II, the Duchess becomes “weak with laughter when she heard Sancho speak, and in her opinion he was more amusing and even crazier than his master, an opinion held by many at the time” (II, 32, 66). According to Mikhail Bakhtin, laughter is above all an assertion of freedom; its function is to bring about a “temporary liberation from the prevailing truth and from the established order” (10). Not being restricted to a certain group or class of people, laughter provides freedom as it temporarily erases social hierarchies to create opportunities for equal deliberation.

And the book itself is comic beyond Sancho himself, of course. Laughter provides the basis for Bakhtin’s concept of carnival, which he claims *Don Quixote* to be “one of the greatest and at the same time most carnivalistic novels of world literature” (1984, 128). For Bakhtin, *carnival* creates a realm geared towards joyful relativity where things become unstable and grotesque, where there are reversed hierarchies, belly laughter, an emphasis on orifices, and where there is a renewal of death and birth. For example, in Chapter 19, Sancho comically refers to Don Quixote’s grotesque appearance, naming him *the Knight of the Sorrowful Face*. Although originally said as a sarcastic comment, Don Quixote approves the appellation, and therefore, Sancho refers to his master with this grotesque, yet splendid title, throughout the rest of their adventures. Perhaps more importantly, comedy was a way that Cervantes was able to raise so many contentious and touchy issues in Spanish society and get away with it. People were laughing too hard to judge him too harshly. And so too with Sancho.

### ***Section 1: Regarding Sancho's Successful Comic Rhetoric in the Retelling of his Meeting with Dulcinea***

In Chapter 30, Don Quixote turns to Sancho and inquires about his encounter with Dulcinea. Sancho confesses to misplacing his master's original letter, but claims he was still able to deliver a letter to her because he made a sacristan transcribe a new copy based on his perfect memory of when Don Quixote read it to him originally. When Don Quixote asks if he still had the letter committed to memory, Sancho humorously replies:

No, Señor . . . because after I told it to him [a sacristan transcriber], and had no more use for it, I set about forgetting it; if I do remember anything, it's that part about *sullied*, I mean *sovereign lady*, and the last part: *Thine until death, the Knight of the Sorrowful Face*. And between these two things, I put in more than three hundred *souls*, and *lives*, and *eyes of mine*. (I, 30, 258)

Sancho's prudent attitude justifies lying to Don Quixote, as he sees lies as a means to an end for not upsetting his master. Sancho's rhetoric is imitative of Don Quixote's speech patterns as he claims to have put the correct ingredients (*souls, lives, eyes of mine*) in his letter to Dulcinea. He purposely and comically misuses the words he imitates from Don Quixote, as when he calls Dulcinea *sullied* and then quickly corrects his grotesque mistake with *sovereign lady*.

Don Quixote continues his examination by asking Sancho what Dulcinea was doing when he arrived. Don Quixote romanticizes an ideal image of her behavior, believing she is "stringing pearls" or "embroidering some heraldic device in gold thread for this her captive knight" (I, 31, 258). However, Sancho responds with the incongruous perspective of her "winnowing two *fanegas* [approximately three bushels] of wheat in a corral of her house" (258). For Burke, a perspective by incongruity "makes for a dramatic vocabulary, with weighting and counter-weighting" by linking different concepts together giving a new perspective on something (311).



Sancho subtly mocks the ideal qualities he knows Don Quixote believes Dulcinea possess, like her noble status, to create a humorous, incongruent perspective of her doing peasant work. However, Don Quixote transcends Sancho's statement saying, the wheat "touched by her hands" were pearls, and then questions whether it was white wheat or ordinary spring wheat. Sancho responds by comically answers: "buckwheat." In each of these interactions, Sancho, whether intentionally or not, pokes fun at his master in a lighthearted way, showing on the one hand that his interpretations are completely false, yet on the other hand being courteous enough not to directly challenge his opinions but merely give answers capable of bringing about a smile of recognition and possible humility.

Continuing his fabrication, Sancho claims that when he arrived to give her Don Quixote's letter, she was too busy to receive him. He claims "she was in the middle of shaking a good part of the wheat that she had in the sieve, and she said to me: 'Friend, put the letter on that sack; I can't read it until I finish sifting everything I have here'" (I, 31, 259). Personifying her response with carnivalesque incongruity, Sancho again humorously debunks her noble status by giving her a peasant mentality focused on work, not chivalric decorum. According to Bakhtin, *a carnival sense of life* celebrates mismatches and incongruous perspectives, and in doing so, it "brings together, unifies, weds, and combines the sacred with the profane, the lofty with the low, the great with the insignificant, the wise with the stupid" (2009, 123). Sancho eliminates social hierarchy, and provides a perspective with a "sense of the gay relativity of prevailing truths" (1984, 11). Again, however, Don Quixote justifies her not reading it immediately by agreeing that the behavior is one of a "wise lady." He assures himself that she will read his letter when she has the time to give it the full attention it deserves. In this case, Sancho's comic

rhetoric does not produce the desired effect of self-recognition on Don Quixote, but it also does not instigate getting cracked on his skull with his master's lance.

While Don Quixote ignores every incongruous description of her, his persistence in his romantic allusions only increase Sancho's desire to describe her with more grotesque detail for comic effect. When Don Quixote blesses his fate for making him worthy of "loving so high a lady as Dulcinea of Toboso," Sancho comically responds with grotesque humor by using a different denotative meaning for *high* (259). While Don Quixote refers to her as being *highly* regarded in noble status, Sancho comically states, "She's so high . . . that by my faith she's a whole span taller than I am" (259). Focusing on her physical attributes reveals the realism and materialism for how Sancho understands life. Bakhtin claims Sancho's grotesque humor helps provide a corrective to Don Quixote's ideal expectations:

Sancho's materialism, his potbelly, appetite, his abundant defecation, are on the absolute lower level of grotesque realism of the gay bodily grave (belly, bowels, earth) which has been dug for Don Quixote's abstract and deadened idealism. . . . Moreover, it is the popular corrective of laughter applied to the narrow-minded seriousness of the spiritual pretense. (22)

For Bakhtin, focusing on the body is a grotesque attribute of the carnivalesque spirit. He claims the "essence of the grotesque is precisely to present a contradictory and double-faced fullness of life" (62). While not debunking Don Quixote's statement about her high noble status, Sancho provides her height to reveal a real, material body against his ideal, mythic conception.

A more successful episode of his comic rhetoric is his encounter with the Duchess. Duchess is the epitome of the burlesque rhetor, always trying to amuse herself at the expense of others. For instance, when the Duchess is "convulsed with laughter" (II, 33, 675) over Sancho's words, and when she can "no longer control her laughter" (680) over his proverbs, she

is not laughing *with* him, but *at* him. When she learns Sancho invented Dulcinea's enchantment, the Duchess suggests her enchantment is real in order to trick Sancho into believing his own deception. In response to her suggestion, he comically states:

If my lady Dulcinea of Toboso is enchanted, so much the worse for her, but I, I don't have to take on my master's enemies, and there must be a lot, all of them very wicked. It may be true that the woman I saw was a peasant, and I thought she was a peasant, and judged her to be a peasant; if that was Dulcinea, I'm not to blame, and nobody should hold me responsible; we'll see about that. Picking fights with me all the time: 'Sancho said this, Sancho did that, Sancho turned around, and Sancho went back,' as if Sancho Panza were just anybody and not the same Sancho Panza who's wandering the world now in books, which is what Sansón Carrasco told me, and he's nothing less than a bachelor from Salamanca, and people like him can't lie except if they feel like it or it's very convenient; and so nobody should blame me, and since I have a good reputation, and I've heard my master say that a good name's worth more than great wealth, just let them pass this governorship on to me and they'll see marvels, because whoever's been a good squire will be a good governor. (II, 33, 681-82)

Sancho realizes that he will be calling the Duchess a liar if he insists that Dulcinea's enchantment was alone his invention. If she is truly enchanted, Sancho should not be held responsible. The comic elements in his address are apparent as he concedes to something he knows is false by warranting it with the honesty of graduates from Salamanca, like Sansón Carrasco, who "can't lie except if they feel like it." Sancho's comic rhetoric renews the Duchess's "laughter and delight" (683). By using comedy, Sancho is not able to achieve his goal of pleasing his audience and gaining his governorship.

***Section 2: In which the Unsuccessful Results of Sancho's Comic Rhetoric is discussed in regards to the Fulling Hammers Episode & His Discussions with the Duchess***

In Chapter 20, striking fear into them both, Don Quixote and Sancho hear a scary pounding noise while wandering around in the late hours of the night. The noise frightens Sancho to the point that he defecates in his pants, whereas Don Quixote shows little fear.

However, when they discover the scary sounds are coming from six wooden fulling hammers, their roles reverse and Don Quixote becomes the frightened one. Seeing his master so frightened at such benign machines, Sancho bursts into laughter. Realizing they were not in danger, Don Quixote joins in and the “floodgates open” to the point that “four times his laughter returned as powerfully as before” (I, 20, 150). Bakhtin (1984) points out laughter “overcomes fear, for it knows no inhibitions, no limitations. Its idiom is never used by violence and authority” (90). To continue the laughter, Sancho mimics his master’s bravado while restating one of Don Quixote’s earlier speeches on the Golden Age. Impersonating Don Quixote, Sancho jokes, “Sancho my friend, know that I was born, by the will of heaven, in this our iron age, to revive the one of gold, or the Golden Age. I am he for whom are reserved dangers, great deeds, valiant feats” (150). However, Don Quixote takes this imitation as mockery and becomes extremely angry, which thus reveals one of the drawbacks to Sancho’s comic rhetoric—its interpretation as being insulting or ignorant.

In this case, Don Quixote becomes so angry “that he raised his lance and struck him twice” (150). Sancho’s comic rhetoric is therefore unsuccessful because it was interpreted as something less than charitable. Realizing the anger rising in his master, then, Sancho asks Don Quixote to calm down and defends his comic impersonation as merely a joke. However, Don Quixote responds seriously: “Well, you may be joking, but I am not” (150). Grossman points out in a footnote, “Don Quixote uses a more formal mode of address (a change which cannot be rendered in modern English) to indicate extreme displeasure and his desire for distance between them” (150, n4). Don Quixote’s displeasure with the imitation is apparent as he both

verbally and stylistically changes demeanor. Wanting to resolve the situation quickly, Sancho humbly responds:

I confess that I have gone a little too far with my joking. But tell me, your grace, now that we're at peace (and may God bring you as safe and sound through all the adventures you have as He has brought you through this one), wasn't it laughable how frightened we were, and wouldn't it make a good story? At least, how frightened I was, for I already know that your grace doesn't know what fright is or understand the meaning of fear or terror. (I, 20, 151)

What is noteworthy in this passage is Sancho continues his comic rhetoric through self-defeating humor to rekindle his bond with Don Quixote. Although there are obvious sarcastic undertones, Sancho apologizes for going a little too far and takes full ownership of being the one that was scared and, thus, the butt of their laughter. However, Sancho's comic confession is not enough; Don Quixote replies:

The dice may fall . . . so that everything you say turns out to be true; forgive what happened, for you are clever and know that first impulses are not ours to control, but be advised of one thing: from now on you are to refrain and abstain from speaking too much to me, for in all the books of chivalry I have read, which are infinite in number, I have never found any squire who talks as much with his master as you do with yours. In truth I consider it a great fault, both on your part and on mine: on yours, because you do not have a high opinion of me; on mine, because I do not allow a higher opinion. (I, 20, 151)

Although Sancho tries to reconcile their argument, Don Quixote brushes over his comic apology and imposes a new rule of no talking. For the talkative Sancho, this is a cruel punishment. Sancho's comic rhetoric in the case of the fulling hammers is unsuccessful, and for the next five chapters, Don Quixote imposes a code of silence on him. This is the price of a failed comic rhetoric, particularly by a follower to a leader—a code of silence as the price of insolence.

The aim of this chapter has been to examine the elements of Sancho's rhetorical strategies in order to construct a model for sanchian rhetoric. Sanchian rhetoric is the rhetoric of a follower, a critic, and a counselor. It demonstrates an imitative quality that draws on the speech-patterns of others as resources for invention. This form of rhetoric uses downwards transcendence to deflate unrealistic ideals with grotesque realities, but does so with a comic sensibility. I began with examples of Sancho's imitative rhetoric and examined instances of its success (as in the case when he persuades Don Quixote of Dulcinea's enchantment) and failure (as when it results in him being tossed in a blanket). Next, I looked into Sancho's prudent rhetorical attitude with regards to his use of proverbs and successful time as governor. Sanchian prudence can have negative consequences, as when he insults Dulcinea by favoring the Princess Micomicona. I then turned to Sancho's rhetorical strategy of downwards transcendence, showing instances where he transforms quixotic ideals into base realities (like with the enchanted oxcart and Dorotea's deception). Finally, I examined Sancho's successful and unsuccessful attempts to resolve disputes, ease tensions, and provide broader perspectives through his comic rhetoric. Taken as a whole, these components make up the sanchian rhetoric. Accordingly, the sanchian rhetoric demonstrates a comic sensibility that prudently imitates others, while debunking idealistic dreams through downwards transcendence in order to show alternative perspectives.

Examining the major components of Sancho's rhetorical strategies reveals a model for followers of a quixotic movement confronting impious changes within society. The sanchian follower compliments the quixotic leader, for the heroism, nostalgia, and tragedy in the one is buffered by the imitation, prudence, and comic sensibilities in the other. Whereas Quixote

elevates sanchian reality through upwards transcendence, Sancho deflates quixotic ideals through downwards transcendence. Thus, the following chapter synthesizes the quixotic rhetorical strategies discussed in Chapter 3, with the sanchian rhetorical strategies of this chapter, to discover a rhetorical model for quixotic leaders and sanchian followers in movements against the impieties of social change.

## CONCLUSION

Señor, I don't know why your grace wants to embark on this fearful adventure; it's night, nobody can see us here, we can turn around and get away from the danger, even if we don't drink anything for three days, and since there's nobody here to see us, there's nobody to call us cowards; besides, I've heard the sermons of our village priest, and your grace knows him very well, and he says that whoever goes looking for danger perishes; so it isn't a good idea to tempt God by undertaking something so terrible that you can't get out of it except through some miracle, and heaven has done enough of them for your grace, letting you escape being tossed in the blanket, like I was, and letting you come out victorious, free, and unharmed, over so many enemies who were escorting the dead man. (I, 20, 142-43)

In chapter 20 of Book 1, Sancho and Quixote find themselves lost in a dark forest, the sound of water and rhythmic loud hammering surrounding them. Quixote, convinced this is yet another challenge to inspire heroic acts of his mighty arm, prepares himself for venturing forth in the darkness to do battle. Sancho, however, is terrified. Coupled with the fact that nobody is around to call them cowards, the darkness of the night makes Sancho demand they not seek adventures at such an hour. Rallying all of his rhetorical resources, he constructs his best rhetorical argument, appealing to the advice of the village priest, which Sancho interprets as a warning for Quixote to not tempt fate with his own *hubris* lest God thinks him ungrateful for having saved him through so many adventures. Furthermore, Sancho appeals to Quixote's sympathies by reminding him of the suffering they have received for doing such action, such as when he was tossed in the blanket. Continuing his appeal, Sancho states:

And if all this doesn't touch or soften your hard heart, let it be moved by thinking and believing that as soon as your grace has left this place, fear will make me give up my soul to anybody who wants to take it. I left my home and my children and my wife to serve your grace, thinking I would be better off, not worse; but just as greed makes the sack burst, it has torn my hopes apart when they were brightest for getting that wretched, ill-starred *ínsula* your grace has promised me so often; I see that as payment and reward you want to leave me now in a



desolate place far from all other human beings. By the One God, Señor, you must not wrong me so, and if your grace absolutely refuses to think again about embarking on this deed, at least put it off until morning. (143)

Sancho prudently expresses the need to wait until morning as they do not know what is causing the fearful sound. From his perspective, until one has clear visible evidence of what is happening around him, one should not venture into the unknown simply out of a vague commitment to heroic duty.

However, he fails to persuade Don Quixote of the dangers. Instead, Don Quixote heroically overrides his squire's cautioning:

However long it may be [until daylight] . . . let no one say of me, now or ever, that tears and pleas turned me from doing what I, as a knight, was obliged to do; and so I beg you, Sancho, to be quiet, for God, who has placed in my heart the desire to embark on this incomparable and most fearsome adventure, will surely look after my well-being and console you in your grief. What you must do is tighten Rocinante's cinches and remain here; I shall soon return, either alive or dead. (143)

As usual, Don Quixote ignores Sancho's advice and instead appeals to a higher purpose (being ordained by God). In addition to being heroic, Quixote's response shows his emphasis on nostalgic virtues (a knight's obligation) and his tragic perspective (which embraces suffering as necessary). Although Sancho's advice may seem sensible, for Don Quixote it speaks of cowardice, which goes against his chivalric ethos.

Sancho's rhetoric fails to persuade Quixote, but that does not mean his rhetorical resources are at an end. In the dark, he decides to tie Rocinante's and his donkey's legs together so that Don Quixote is unable to move further. When Quixote realizes something is wrong with his nag's legs, Sancho cleverly imitates Quixote's own rhetorical style and says: "Oh, Señor, heaven, moved by my tears and prayers, has willed Rocinante not to move, and if you

persist, and spur and urge him out, that will anger Fortune, and it will be, as they say, like kicking at thorns” (144). When this reasoning confronts the material constraint of not being able to move, Quixote relents and decides to wait until morning, a choice that likely prevented him from being injured or killed by what turned out to be the working of fulling hammers.

This scene demonstrates one of the central arguments of the dissertation, which is that Quixote and Sancho are best understood rhetorically as two halves of a whole symbol rather than two distinct individuals. As we see in this example, in contrast to the heroism of Don Quixote, Sancho constructs a case for prudent action based on the materials around him. Whereas Quixote is prepared to venture forth in the pitch dark to confront an enemy he does not even see based on a virtuous code of chivalry that commands, Sancho sizes up the practicalities of the immediate situation to calculate the pleasures and pains, the profits and losses, that result from one or another decision. Most importantly, however, this example shows that it is the interplay between these two forms of rhetorical reasoning that often produces the unique form of action that Quixote and Sancho follow. Without Quixote, Sancho would have remained just another illiterate Spanish peasant; but without Sancho, Quixote would just be an insane old man incapable of surviving in the Spanish countryside for more than a day without being arrested or killed. It is only because the two characters function together that Quixote is able to survive and that Sancho is not only able to endure but also enrich himself and his family in the process.

In the introduction of this dissertation, I considered five questions: What biographical and historical knowledge is required for understanding Cervantes’ *Don Quixote*? What was the rhetorical situation in which the novel was written? What are the strategies of the quixotic

rhetoric? What are the strategies of the sanchian rhetoric? And finally, what rhetorical model forms through the interactions of Quixote and Sancho, that is, leader and follower, and how does this model help us rhetorically? Throughout this dissertation I hope to have addressed the first four questions, as they provide the pertinent groundwork for examining the fifth and final question addressed in this conclusion. I began by exploring both Cervantes' biography and Spanish history to trace the rhetorical background of *Don Quixote* and reveal aspects that influenced its creation. Understanding the biographical and historical background sheds light on the rhetorical genius behind Cervantes' characters. Cervantes uses his own life to draw on the resources for their invention. As discussed in Chapter 2, the most poignant example comes in the Captive's Tale, which mirrors the haunting history of Cervantes' own imprisonment.

Following the discussion on this background information, I examined elements of the rhetorical situation that Cervantes responds to and critiques in the novel to address my second question. I claim five major impious changes in Spain are the elements which created the rhetorical situation. First, archaic understandings of the role of women became a rhetorical issue as various women from diverse social classes and religions had different social expectations. Second, a middle class began to emerge as the Crown began rewarding loyalty over birthright. Third, access to education in larger cities created a new literate population that could obtain the better paying professions which required the ability to read, such as lawyers or accountants. Fourth, racial and religious discrimination steadily increased, culminating with the expulsion of Jews and Muslims, as the Crown mandated the Catholic religion. Fifth, with a sense of nationalism emerging across the country, thanks in part to the discovery of the New World, old aristocratic identities were threatened. Together, these five impious changes

created a very unstable Spanish society and created a rhetorical exigency that required a response. Cervantes delivers just that with the creation of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza.

The third and fourth chapters focus on the rhetorical strategies of Don Quixote and Sancho respectively. In these two chapters, I examined instances when Quixote and Sancho rhetorically respond to different situations to discover the qualities of quixotic and sanchian rhetoric. Broadly defined, quixotic rhetoric heroically overcomes conflicted situations through upwards transcendence and motivates listeners by drawing on nostalgic ideals from the past. Conversely, Sanchian rhetoric prudently draws upon the resources of others' speech patterns through imitation and comically reduces the high-fluent rhetoric of idealistic others. However, while each rhetoric can be analyzed on its own, they must be taken together to understand the form of action, or what Burke called a "pattern of experience," that results. The rest of this conclusion will explore the implications of this claim.

### **THE RHETORICAL MOVEMENT**

In Cervantes' novel, two symbols are born representing a pattern of experience for dealing with exigencies that arise within the rhetorical situation of a changing society. Specifically, Quixote and Sancho emerge to present two rhetorical styles for adapting to impious times. Unfortunately, their symbolic importance together is often overlooked by scholars, when, in fact, it is their rhetoric in relationship that allows the progression of their journey to continue. The one heroically fights to restore nostalgic past virtues by tragically pushing forward no matter the cost. The other prudently sits back, imitating the speech patterns around him, to comically reveal different perspectives in order to produce the best practical outcome. Separately, Quixote becomes a symbol for either an idealistic fool or a

tragic hero, while Sancho becomes a symbol for either a pragmatic realist or a comic buffoon. Together however, they create an interpretative model for understanding the dynamic rhetorical relationship between leader(s) and follower(s) within social movements confronting impious times. Therefore, we can look at Quixote and Sancho in relationship as symbols for ways to rhetorically manage and overcome problems and obstacles within social movements.

Although this is only a tentative inquiry, we can get a sense of the possibilities of looking at Quixote and Sancho as symbols for rhetorical movements by analyzing them according to the three categories of Leland Griffin's famous 1950 essay, "The Rhetoric of Historical Movements." There, he argues that "as students of rhetoric our concern is obviously with those efforts which attempt to effectuate change, not through the forces of wealth or arms, but through the force of persuasion" (184). Quixote, of course, would bristle at the notion that the force of arms is not worthy of rhetorical study, but the clear fact of the book is that he never affects any genuine change except by his own language. It is his symbolic significance that matters to those around him, not that he wields a lance. Also, since Sancho is an integral part of his interactions with others, they merit inquiry as a unit, not just as separate entities. Furthermore, when looked at as a total symbol of persuasion, they clearly represent a relationship between leaders and followers in any movement that seeks to affect change in society. Analyzing them in this way thus provides a unique literary perspective on the nature of the rhetoric of social movements that may provide a resource for invention and analysis when combined with more contemporary and rigorous empirical studies. As sociologist James Jasper argues, "literature has often been better than social science at capturing the nuances of human action and displaying them for the reader" (214).

From Griffin's perspective, there are three stages of a rhetorical social movement: inception, rhetorical crisis, and consummation. The period of inception is "a time when the roots of a pre-existing sentiment, nourished by interested rhetoricians, begin to flower into public notice, or when some striking event occurs which immediately creates a host of aggressor rhetoricians and is itself sufficient to initiate the movement" (186). In the novel, this is clearly the time of Cervantes's Spain, and his character in Don Quixote represents that "aggressor rhetorician" who initiates a movement (however small) when he sees an idealistic vision and recruits Sancho to his side. The period of inception is followed by a period of rhetorical crisis, "a time when one of the opposing groups of rhetoricians (perhaps through the forsaking of trite or ineffective appeals, the initiation of new arguments, the employment of additional channels of propagation, or merely through the flooding of existing channels with a moving tide of discourse) succeeds in irrevocably disturbing that balance between the groups which had existed in the mind of the collective audience" (186). For Don Quixote, this represents when he and Sancho evolve together over time, adapting to their own spreading fame and altering their messages for changing situations. Finally, there is a period of consummation, "a time when the great proportion of aggressor rhetoricians abandon their efforts, either because they are convinced that perseverance is useless, or merely because they meet the press of new interests" (186). This is the time when Quixote finally abandons his quest to return home, while Sancho embarks on his own new challenges having gone through experiences he would have never before thought possible.

In analyzing this movement, we can also draw from the work of Jasper who uses the categories of culture, biography, strategy, and resources to interpret social movements. First,

arguments of resources focus on the material required for their movement to progress.

Second, arguments of biography establish the abilities and potentials of the individual members within the movement. Third, arguments of culture remind members of their common identity and their overarching purpose to strive for a utopic future. Fourth, arguments of strategies help the movement by rhetorically examining the possible courses of future action. For Jasper, these four categories all answer different questions and explain how social movements evolve, change, succeed, or fail. He explains:

What makes for successful mobilization of a movement sometimes has little to do with what helps that movement attain its goals. Resources, strategies, biography, and culture, in various mixtures, help explain all forms of success. Resources are perhaps most important for influencing the courts and state agencies, and least important for changing movement members. Strategies may be most important in interactions with opponents, and perhaps potential allies. Culture probably has its greatest causal effect in determining whether a movement's own members, the bystander public, and perhaps the media are moved in desired ways. Biography helps explain the responses of key decision-makers, but all four are at work in all the arenas. (319)

In the case of *Don Quixote*, we see, for instance, that Quixote and Sancho have very minimal resources at hand and often make do with whatever they can find on the road. Biography is continually appealed to in explaining Sancho's actions and Quixote's madness. Strategies are often determined through interplay of both characters as they negotiate what is the best course of action, while culture determines how they are received by the people they encounter and is often the factor which determines whether they get attacked, ridiculed, or praised.

### ***Section 1: Regarding the Inception Phase of the Quixotic and Sanchian Rhetorical Movement***

The inception phase of his movement starts with Quixote's realization that past virtues need restoring in the present, which he bases on the famous Spanish chivalric romance, *Amadís de Gaula*. Amadís, a virtuous and Christian knight-errant, dares to heroically challenge villainous

monsters in the name of his love, Orliana. Amadís' story helped to form an idealized Spanish identity incongruous to the reality of the time. It is a fantastical story, and although human, Amadís has super human strength to defeat any evil enchanter or monster that stands in his way. His undying love for Princess Orliana, heiress to the throne of Great Britain, serves as his impetus for action. He attacks and defeats evil monsters on different islands, spreads virtue and purity wherever he goes, trusts in free love, and constantly struggles for what he believes is right. Reflecting a time when Spain confronted a non-Christian enemy both abroad and at home, *Amadís* served as a symbol of Spain virtuously spreading Catholicism and Spanish influence throughout the New World.

This chivalric adventure highlights the rhetorical situation surrounding Quixote's madness by launching a desire within him to return the virtues of a nostalgic past displayed in Amadís' history. By rhetorical situation I mean a context in which a problem has become so significant to a people that an immediate response from a speaker becomes necessary. In Chapter 2 of this research, I addressed the rhetorical situation of Cervantes' era to provide the five major exigencies inspiring his knight's adventures: the marginalization of women, the restructuring of social classes, the new accessibility to education in cities, the unification of a Christian religion, and an emerging sense of nationalism. In Early Modern Spain, the dramatic disintegration of past identities into one Spanish identity left a confused Spanish public.

In response to this rhetorical situation of impious change, Don Quixote ventures out idealizing a nation similar to the world of his role-model, Amadís. The following passages describe his initial course of action and highlight the beginning of his rhetorical social movement:



And the first thing he did was to attempt to clean some armor that had belonged to his great-grandfathers and, stained with rust and covered with mildew, had spent many long years stored and forgotten in a corner. He did the best he could to clean and repair it, but he saw that it had a great defect, which was that instead of a full sallet helmet with an attached neckguard, there was only a simple headpiece; but he compensated for this with his industry, and out of pasteboard he fashioned a kind of half-helmet . . . . Then he went to look at his nag, and . . . spent four days thinking about the name he would give it . . . [F]inally [deciding] to call the horse Rocinante . . . . Having given a name, and one so much to his liking, to his horse, he wanted to give one to himself, and he spent another eight days pondering this . . . and called himself Don Quixote of La Mancha, thereby, to his mind, clearly stating his lineage and country and honoring it by making it part of his title. . . . Having cleaned his armor and made a full helmet out of a simple headpiece, and having given a name to his horse and decided on one for himself, he realized that the only thing left for him to do was to find a lady to love; for the knight errant without a lady-love was a tree without leaves or fruit, a body without a soul. . . . Remembering a peasant girl in a nearby village, Quixote declares Aldonza Lorenzo his lady, and decides to call her Dulcinea of Toboso to imply she is a princess or great lady. . . . And so, having completed these preparations, he did not wish to wait any longer to put his thought into effect, impelled by the great need in the world that he believed was caused by his delay, for there were evils to undo, wrongs to right, injustices to correct, abuses to ameliorate, and offenses to rectify. (I, 2, 22-24)

These passages demonstrate the initial stages of Quixote's plans as they display his beliefs for the social movement's purpose through internal arguments over resources, biography, culture, and strategies. First, Quixote reconciles the internal argument over resources by modeling the necessities of knights-errant on the needs he read Amadís required. Second, he answers the argument over biography by honoring his lineage and country with the inclusion "of La Mancha" to his name. Third, he demonstrates his argument for culture through his desire to return past virtues to the present. Fourth, he strategizes to follow Amadís' example, and therefore, heroically challenges any obstacle in his way. However, in each of the cases, Quixote's intrapersonal discussion relies on his own knowledge and his own ability. Therefore, before his movement can even truly begin, it ends. In isolation, Quixote fails to achieve his

idealistic dreams as they are not molded by any practical sensibility. He is unable to accomplish his goals precisely because he is alone.

Before sallying forth on his next adventure, Quixote recruits his neighbor, Sancho Panza, to join his movement. He persuades Sancho to join with the promise of someday governing an *ínsula*. For Sancho, a governorship is a real and profitable reward for playing the part of a squire. In fact, Howard Young (2000) argues, "What is brought to being in Chapter Seven, Part One, with the introduction of Sancho is one of the longest conversations in all of literature, initiated by Sancho's reminder about the Island he may govern" (378). Sancho never forgets this promise and it continually serves as exigency for many of their discussion throughout their travels.

Recruitment for social movements varies depending on the fluidity of the recruit and the motivations to join. According to Joseph Gusfield (1981), recruitment fluidity is the ability for members to continually negotiate and reaffirm their purpose within the movement (324). It begins when members in a movement approach possible individuals to join for specific reasons. However, as the movement continues and the recruits begin to participate in the construction of the group's identity, their motivation for joining may change. In *Permanence and Change* Burke contends that humans "are not moved by the reality of a cause but by our interpretation of it" (151). Through their many dialectical exchanges, Sancho begins to identify with Don Quixote and starts to interpret his motives for joining in new light. For instance, when Sancho learns in Part 2 that the history of their adventures in Part 1 has been published, he switches roles from recruit to recruiter, and convinces Don Quixote to join him on another adventure. He argues:

Let this Moorish gentleman, or whatever he is, pay attention to what he's doing; my master and I will give him such an abundance of adventures and so many different deeds that he'll be able to write not just a second part, but a hundred more parts. No doubt about it, the good man must think we're asleep here; well, just let him try to shoe us, and he'll know if we're lame or not. What I can say is that if my master would take my advice, we'd already be out in those fields righting wrongs and undoing injustices, which is the habit and custom of good knights errant. (II, 4, 482)

Although Sancho still desires his promised *ínsula*, it no longer serves as the primary reason for joining their rhetorical movement. Instead, he claims their purpose is to right wrongs and undo injustices. It is important to note, however, Sancho has not lost his prudent sensibility, and still sees the materialistic benefits in joining the cause. Namely, in their first adventures together he got to experience a world outside of La Mancha and also has become famous thanks to the "Moorish gentleman," Cide Benengeli. Sancho's initial recruitment was based on rational, materialistic interest, but now, through the fluidity of his recruitment, he identifies with Don Quixote's purpose.

### ***Section 2: In which the Rhetorical Crisis phase is examined***

In this stage of rhetorical crisis, members debate and reevaluate their purpose through arguments surrounding the fundamental aspects of the movement. The discussions that continually shapes Quixote and Sancho's movement and helps them progress forward are arguments over resources, biography, culture, and strategies. Whereas Don Quixote argues over idealistic resources he believes are fundamental to their movement, Sancho argues over the practical needs for them to continue. The continual arguments over resources are essential to their movement as Quixote's vision is only possible through the pragmatic sensibilities of Sancho to obtain realistic resources.

Arguments over resources are debated throughout their adventures together. Don Quixote, concerned with chivalric resources similar to those depicted in the histories of Amadís, worries little for the practical resources which Sancho finds essential. For instance, Quixote will fight for the Helmet of Mambrino, as an important resource for his knight-errant identity, but he seldom worries about practical resources like money or food. However, Sancho cares little for idealistic resources unless they have practical value. When Sancho realizes the helmet is nothing more than a barber's basin, he comically mocks Quixote's idealistic perspective by stating its little monetary worth.

However, it is the relationship that develops between the two of them that becomes their most valuable resource for dealing with the rhetorical situation of a changing society. Their discussion regarding their identities as both Christian and chivalric instigators for change in Chapter 8 of Book 2, illustrates their rhetorical approaches to understanding their movement's own purpose. Quixote begins their discussion with a claim that provides solutions for the rhetorical crisis:

Sancho, our actions must not go beyond the limits placed there by the Christian religion, which we profess. We must slay pride by slaying giants; slay envy with generosity and a good heart; anger with serene bearing and tranquility of spirit; gluttony and sleep by eating little and watching always; lust and lasciviousness by maintaining our fealty toward those whom we have made mistresses of our thoughts; sloth by wandering everywhere in the world, seeking those occasions when we may become famous knights as well as Christians. Here you see, Sancho, the means by which one attains the highest praise that comes with fame and a good name (II, 8, 506).

Quixote begins by addressing the rhetorical situation of a mandated Catholic religion, claiming they are restricted not to go “beyond the limits *placed* there by the Christian religion.” Quixote resolves the constraints *placed* by the Church by combatting Christian sins with chivalric virtues.

In doing so, he provides his arguments of biography, culture, resources, and strategies. First, he argues his perspective over their biography by reaffirming their group identity with the inclusive pronoun “we.” Second, he provides his perspective over their culture by negotiating a path that works within the confines “placed” by their religion. Third, he alludes to an argument over resources with an insistence that they only need be virtuous and the rest will work itself out. Fourth, his argument for a strategy combats Christian sins with chivalric virtues.

Consistent with his rhetorical strategies discussed in Chapter 4, Quixote’s speech provides idealistic answers to the four arguments over purpose within the rhetorical crisis of their movement.

Sancho, however, argues a different strategy for achieving their goals, which highlights his symbolic importance in the story as their discussion helps them to better realize their own purpose. Using simple deductive reasoning, Sancho concludes there is a better path for achieving ever-lasting fame. He asks Quixote which he believes to be a greater deed: resurrecting the dead or killing a giant. Quixote responds that the former is the greater, to which Sancho replies:

Then I’ve got you . . . The fame of those who raise the dead, give sight to the blind, heal the lame, and cure the sick, and whose tombs have lamps burning in front of them, and whose chapels are filled with devout people who adore the relics on their knees, that would be a better fame, in this world and the next, than the fame left behind by all the gentile emperors and knights errant who ever lived... I mean . . . that we should begin to be saints, and then we’ll win the fame we want in a much shorter time; . . . And so, Señor, it’s better to be a humble friar, in any order at all, than a valiant knight errant; two dozen lashings with a scourge have more effect on God than two thousand thrusts with a lance, whether they’re aimed at giants, or monsters, or dragons. (507-8)

In true Sanchian spirit, he comically reinterprets Quixote’s claims to show a more prudent solution to their rhetorical crisis. If their movement’s true purpose is to achieve fame, then

Sancho has a better solution. His response demonstrates the importance of the leader/follower relationship as their interactions help shape the movement's purpose and goals. If their purpose is to achieve everlasting fame, which many saints and few knights possess, then according to Sancho, they "should begin to be saints." However, through their discussion they realize the purpose of their movement is not only to achieve fame, but to achieve a certain type of fame. Rather than being renowned for performing miracles based on religious faith, their purpose is to become renowned for acting heroically based on chivalric virtue.

Rhetorical crisis also ensues in their interactions with characters, particularly in the second part of the novel. The chapters involving the Duchess' deceptive joke for Sancho to whip himself in order to save Dulcinea from her enchantment serve as illustration for how the two manage rhetorical crises within their movement. Similar to their encounters with other female characters (as discussed in Chapter 2 with regards to Marcela and Dorotea), the Duchess and Dulcinea provide alternative perspectives on women in a time confused by overt gender inequalities. Whereas the one is silent, absent, beautiful, and perfect, the other is aggressive, witty, malicious, and powerful. However, in both cases, Quixote displays his rhetorical response to the changing times by constantly speaking chivalrously to and about the female characters he meets. Although Dulcinea has no voice and is never seen, Quixote empowers the peasant girl by giving her a title that alludes to her being a princess or high-born maiden. Although malicious, the Duchess shows the ability for women to be witty, intelligent, authoritative, and rhetorically powerful. Therefore, the Duchess maliciously uses the enchantment of Quixote's princess to cause rhetorical friction between the two.

Having read the published history of their first sally, the Duchess is aware of Sancho's lie regarding the time he met with Dulcinea. She therefore maliciously crafts a crude joke that creates exigency for the two to debate throughout the rest of the novel. In Chapter 35, the Duchess has a servant dress as the great enchanter, Merlin, who appears before knight and squire and claims Sancho must whip himself three thousand and three hundred times to disenchant Dulcinea. As Sancho is more concerned with his own body than he is for the "enchanted" Dulcinea, he obstinately refuses. As Quixote is more concerned with chivalric honor than he is with Sancho's pain, he angrily disagrees. Sancho's martyrdom for Dulcinea's disenchantment becomes a rhetorical crisis that disturbs the balance between the two of them for the rest of their adventures together.

For Quixote, the rhetorical crisis begins when Sancho prudently claims he believes his martyrdom will have little effect on Dulcinea. Sancho's refusal to martyr himself in order to emancipate Dulcinea from her enchantment astonishes Don Quixote. Quixote believes they have the proper resources to progress their virtuous intentions forwards, but Sancho refuses to sacrifice himself. Insulted by Sancho's lack of heroism, Quixote responds with threatening retaliation:

Don Peasant, you churl stuffed with garlic, and I shall tie you to a tree as naked as the day you were born, and I shall give you not three thousand and three hundred, but six thousand and six hundred lashes, and they will go so deep that they will not come off even if you pull them three thousand and three hundred times. And if you say a word to me, I shall tear out your soul. (II, 35, 692)

Quixote debases Sancho's identity with insults to his class and his essence and threatens to the lashing himself. However, Quixote's threat is stopped by Merlin who claims Sancho's sacrifice "must be by his own will and not by force" (692). While Merlin's condition for the

disenchantment stops Quixote from immediately attacking Sancho, the Duchess' plans succeed in disturbing their balance as knight and squire, and the two continue to argue over this rhetorical crisis for the rest of their journey.

While Merlin's condition that Sancho must whip himself stops Quixote from attacking the squire immediately, several chapters later, he decides he is tired of waiting. When he approaches Sancho to administer the lashing, Sancho responds prudently, claiming, "The lashes I promised to give myself must be voluntary, not given by force, and now I don't feel like lashing myself" (II, 60, 851). However, Quixote cares little for Sancho's cowardliness and continues preparing to whip him. Although incongruous with his passive character, Sancho responds by rushing at his master, tripping him, and placing his knee on Quixote's chest "not allowing him to move and barely permitting him to breathe," and forcefully demanding Quixote not threaten him again (851).

The rhetorical crisis has reached its boiling point thanks to the Duchess' deceptive requirement for Sancho to whip himself. The rhetorical crisis created by the Duchess marks the beginning of the end for the knight and squire's adventures as she creates a nonnegotiable rift between them. Furthermore, the Duchess alerts the Knight of the White Moon to Don Quixote and Sancho's whereabouts, and as shown in the section, adds a final blow to their movement from which they are never able to recover.

### ***Section 3: Regarding the Consummation of their Rhetorical Movement***

Despite their best efforts, the knight and squire's rhetorical movement consummates with the Knight of the White Moon's victory over Don Quixote in Chapter 70 of Part 2. The Historian Cide Benengeli explains the Knight of the White Moon's identity is none other than



Sansón Carrasco. Having been defeated by Don Quixote already—under the identity as Knight of the Mirrors—Sansón’s own sanity becomes questionable as he spends his days trying to end Quixote’s madness. Regardless, he successfully defeats Don Quixote and forces him to give up chivalry for at least one year. Don Quixote has no other recourse but to end their movement and return home. Shortly after he and Sancho arrive back in La Mancha, Don Quixote falls tremendously ill. When Sancho comes to visit him on his deathbed, the loyal squire laments:

Don’t die, Señor; your grace should take my advice and live for many years, because the greatest madness a man can commit in this life is to let himself die, just like that, without anybody killing him or any other hands ending his life except those of melancholy. Look, don’t be lazy, but get up from that bed and let’s go to the countryside dressed as shepherds, just like we arranged: maybe behind some bush we’ll find Señora Doña Dulcinea disenchanted, as pretty as you please. If you’re dying of sorrow over being defeated, blame me for that and say you were toppled because I didn’t tighten Rocinante’s cinches; besides, your grace must have seen in your books of chivalry that it’s a very common thing for one knight to topple another, and for the one who’s vanquished today to be the victor tomorrow. (II, 74, 937)

Sancho’s final speech in the novel is perhaps his most sincere and heartfelt. Full of tragic pathos, Sancho still remains loyal to his symbolic character: he pleads for them to go imitate the shepherd, shows the prudence in living, makes Quixote’s illness seem more like laziness, and finally, with a comic sensibility, he brings up possibilities of a disenchanted Dulcinea hiding behind a bush. Ultimately, Sancho’s impossible plea fails, and our beloved knight dies.

Although tragic, the end of their rhetorical movement should not be seen as a failure; both Don Quixote and Sancho get something they would have never had otherwise— the experience of a lifetime. In addition, Don Quixote receives the accolades he so desired as his history is celebrated centuries later making him one of the most famous knights across the world. Sancho, too, benefits from their quest as he not only learns through his experiences

new rhetorical strategies, new ways of thinking, and new technologies (like windmills, watermills, ports, and ships), but he also receives the governorship of an *ínsula* he was originally promised. Furthermore, prior to his death, Don Quixote wills to Sancho:

Item: it is my will that with regard to certain monies held by Sancho Panza, whom, in my madness, I made my squire, because between him and me there were certain accounts and debts and payments, and I do not want him held responsible for them, nor should any accounting be demanded of him, but if anything is left over after he has taken what I owe him, the remainder, which will not amount to much, should be his, and may it do him good; and if, when I was mad, I was party to giving him the governorship of the *ínsula*, now, when I am sane, if I could give him the governorship of a kingdom, I would, because the simplicity of his nature and the fidelity of his actions deserve it. (937)

Although Sancho's simplicity and fidelity could be questioned by some, Don Quixote's final remarks about his squire's character highlight the relationship the two formed and the importance Don Quixote places on Sancho. Without Sancho, Don Quixote's rhetorical movement to confront societal impieties and restore nostalgic virtues would have been impossible.

Although their original movement ends with Don Quixote's defeat by the Knight of the White Moon, prior to regaining his sanity and dying, Don Quixote discusses possible adaptation methods for their future endeavors with Sancho. With the cycle nearly completed, Don Quixote begins by suggesting that they might participate in the inception phase of a new movement. He states:

I should like, O Sancho, for us to become shepherds, at least for the time I must be retired. I shall buy some sheep, and all the other things needed for the pastoral exercise, and my name will be *Shepherd Quixotiz* and yours *Shepherd Pancino*, and we shall roam the mountains, the woods, and the meadows, singing here, lamenting there, drinking the liquid crystal of the fountains, or the limpid streams, or the rushing rivers. (II, 67, 899)

As with the inception of his chivalric movement, Quixote begins by providing names that are more suited for their future roles. *Shepherd Quixotiz* and *Shepherd Pancino* will adapt to their movement's end by personifying the characteristics of another model based on literature, pastoral poetry. Pastoral poetry exaggerates the complexities of life by romanticizing the simple lives of shepherds. Based on this new model, instead of fighting monsters, they will roam mountains singing and lamenting over love. Remaining loyal to the quixotic dream, pastoral literature draws on the nostalgic past of the Golden Age and idealizes conceptions of nature, love, and virtue. As chivalric heroes, their movement has reached its consummation and they are forced to adapt to a new movement.

This new simple lifestyle seems perfect for Sancho and instead of debunking his master's idealistic dreams, he joins them; that is, he has been recruited. Sancho adds to their pastoral future by including their friends, claiming "they'll want to lead that life and become shepherds along with us" (900). Quixote agrees and begins giving appropriate pastoral-sounding names to their friends: Sansón Carrasco becomes either *Shepherd Sansonino* or *Shepherd Carrascón* and Barber Nicolás becomes *Miculoso* (900). After naming their friends, Quixote continues their discussion by naming the ladies they love:

As for the shepherdesses whose lovers we shall be, we can choose their names as if we were picking pears, and since my lady's fits a shepherdess as well as a princess, there is no reason for me to try to find another that would be more suitable; you, Sancho, can call yours whatever you like. (900)

True to his symbolic character, Quixote speaks with the eloquence of a learned rhetor, poetically declaring they should choose their lover's name similar to picking pears. For Quixote, Dulcinea fits both her identity as a highborn maiden, as well as, her identity as a shepherdess. He then tells Sancho he may call his lover whatever he wishes, to which Sancho responds:

I don't plan . . . to give her any name but Teresona, which will suit her plumpness and the name she already has, which is Teresa; besides, I'll celebrate her in my verses and reveal my chaste desires, for I don't plan to go looking for trouble in other men's houses. It won't be good for the priest to have a shepherdess, because he ought to set a good example, but if the bachelor wants to have one, his soul is his own business. (900)

Sancho's response demonstrates his symbolic rhetorical style as he comically pulls back from Quixote's idealistic expectations, and at the same time, maintains his persuasive appeal by imitating the language of Quixote and expressing the prudence in being shepherds. First, he responds to the suggestion to give his wife a pastoral-sounding name by challenging Quixote's idealistic view of her as a shepherdess. Second, he comically states he will name her "Teresona," for "-ona" is an augmented ending to emphasize her large size, and is incongruous with the beauty associated in pastoral poetry. Third, he displays his understanding of the pastoral life by imitating Quixote's language ("celebrate her in my verses and reveal my chaste desires"). Fourth, Sancho's response shows his understanding of the prudence in being a shepherd, for unlike their time as knight and squire, they will not go looking for trouble.

Although Quixote and Sancho plan to continue their social movement through the adaptation of the pastoral life, they never make the change for Quixote becomes ill and dies. Thus, the consummation phase of their movement ends and Sancho is left to confront the world alone. Either he will pick up the torch to continue a new movement, recruiting his own followers, or he will return to the life of a peasant farmer and the movement officially terminates. Regardless of their successes and failures in individual instances, their rhetorical movement as whole, changed the world.

## EL FIN

*So we left La Mancha  
Headed out for higher plains  
Me and Sancho Panza*

*Looking for adventure  
Rocinante at the reins  
To the windmills answer (. . .)*

*Oh when the world,  
When the world just seems, a little bit too cruel  
Gonna leave it better  
Make one better*

Although written four centuries ago, Cervantes' *Don Quixote* continues to be glorified today as seen in the above lyrics to Coldplay's song, "Spanish Rain." Stanza three encapsulates the essence of Quixote and Sancho's rhetorical movement: "When the world just seems a little bit too cruel / Gonna leave it better / Make one better." Coldplay's song serves as an example of Don Quixote and Sancho's continued importance today as symbolic characters for change. Furthermore, their song continues a long history of drawing upon Cervantes' famous work for inspiration.

Similarly to how Don Quixote relied on *Amadís de Gaula* for experience, we can rely on *Don Quixote*. For located within the pages of *Don Quixote* rests rhetorical experiences for confronting a myriad of situations. The knight and squire have inspired thousands of artists, musicians, authors, and poets, as well as, politicians, theologians, and scientists. For instance, E. C. Riley (1988) suggests:

*Don Quixote* has been continued, translated, imitated and adapted within its own genre, in other genres, and in other media, such as film. It has inspired poets and dramatists, provided material for scores of composers of orchestral music and opera, for choreographers of ballet and dance, for countless

illustrators, painters, sculptors and weavers of tapestries. The Knight and the Squire have become a part of civic decoration. (105)

As part of civic decoration, the quixotic and sanchian symbols are enshrined in cultures around the world and remind audiences of their movement's importance. Don Quixote and Sancho rise up as the polestars for confronting times when national interests supersede individual interests. They remind audiences to courageously challenge impieties in society.

To students of literature, history, politics, and rhetoric, Cervantes' *Don Quixote* provides an abundance of wealth. The rhetorical lessons exercised throughout the pages provide excellent mental practice for even the most astute reader. Future rhetorical research into Cervantes' masterpiece will provide fruitful recipes for rhetorical purposes. My projects examined the rhetoric of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza almost exclusively, whereas Cervantes introduces many characters, each with their own strategies, which could be studied. Thomas Hart and Steven Rendall (1978) began such approaches in their article, "Rhetoric and Persuasion in Marcela's Address to the Shepherds." Other possible areas for further research include investigating and critiquing world political leaders to search for Don Quixote-like or Sancho-like rhetoric, and discover the successes and failures of their own strategies.

Analyzing Don Quixote's and Sancho's rhetoric warrants the continued success of the novel for the past four hundred years. Between their many conversations, the two discuss, argue, fight, laugh, and philosophize about nearly all aspects of life in Early Modern Spain. The rhetorical situations which created the inspirations for Cervantes' invention, however, are still present in today's society. They have evolved with different names, but still continue to shape culture, creating exigencies for Cervantes' work to be read again and again.

## REFERENCES

- Allen, John Jay. (2008). *Don Quixote: Hero or Fool?: Remixed*. Newark, DE: Juan de la Cuesta.
- Ariosto, Ludovico. (1974). *Orlando Furioso*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Aristotle. (1984). *The Rhetoric and the Poetics of Aristotle* (W. Rhys Roberts & Ingram Bywater, Trans. Modern Library College ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail. (1981). Forms of time and of the chronotope in the novel: Notes toward a historical poetics (Caryl Emerson & Michael Holquist, Trans.). In Michael Holquist (Ed.), *The Dialogic Imagination*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail. (1984). *Rabelais and His World* (Helene Iswolsky, Trans.). Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail. (2009). Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics (Caryl Emerson, Trans.). In Caryl Emerson (Ed.), *Theory and History of Literature* (Vol. 8). Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Barbagallo, Antonio. (1995). Sancho no es, se hace. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America*, 15(1), 46-59.
- Betley, Ian. (2010, Feb. 28). All about Don Quixote - Coldplay's new song Retrieved Nov. 28, 2011, from <http://www.coldplaying.com/index.php?name=News&file=article&sid=7021>
- Bitzer, Lloyd. (1992). The rhetorical situation. *Philosophy and Rhetoric*(Supplementary Issue).
- Bloom, Harold. (2010). *Bloom's Modern Critical Interpretations: Don Quixote* (New ed.). New York: Bloom's Literary Criticism.
- Brenan, Gerald. (1969). Cervantes. In Jr. Lowry Nelson (Ed.), *Cervantes: A Collection of Critical Essays*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Browne, Stephen H. (2003). Edmund Burke's *Letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol* and the Texture of Prudence. In Robert Hariman (Ed.), *Prudence: Classical Virtue, Postmodern Practice* (pp. 127-144). University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State Press.
- Burke, Kenneth. (1966). I, Eye, Ay: Concerning Emerson's Early Essay on 'Nature' and the Machinery of Transcendence *Language as Symbolic Action: Essays on Life, Literature, and Method* (pp. 186-200). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Burke, Kenneth. (1968). *Counter-Statement*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Burke, Kenneth. (1989). *On Symbols and Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Campbell, Joseph. (2008). *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Cervantes, Miguel de. (2003). *Don Quixote* (Edith Grossman, Trans.). New York: Ecco.
- Christian, William A. (1989). *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Close, A. J. (1973). Sancho Panza: Wise Fool. *The Modern Language Review*, 68(2), 344-357.
- Coldplay. (2010). Spanish Rain (Don Quixote)
- Condit, Celeste. (1990). Rhetorical criticism and audiences: The extremes of McGee and Leff. *Western Journal of Speech Communication*, 54, 330-345.
- Crick, Nathan. (2010). The Sophistical attitude and the invention of rhetoric. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 96(1), 25-45.
- Crick, Nathan. (2011). *Rhetorical Public Speaking* (2nd ed.). Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University.
- Cruz, Anne J. (2002). Psyche and gender in Cervantes. In Anthony J. Cascardi (Ed.), *Cambridge Companion to Cervantes* (pp. 186-205). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dewey, John. (1916). *Democracy and Education*. Middlesex: Echo Library.
- Durán, Manuel. (2005). Cervantes' Harassed and Vagabond Life. In Roberto González Echevarría (Ed.), *Cervantes' Don Quixote: A Casebook*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Echegaray, Eduardo de. (1887). *Diccionario general etimologico de la lengua española*. Madrid: Faquineto.
- Echevarría, Roberto González. (1999). Cervantes and the Modern Latin American Narrative 1. Retrieved 10 Feb 2011, from <http://www.lehman.cuny.edu/ciberletras/>
- Eisenberg, Daniel. (1984). Teaching Don Quixote as a funny book. In Richard Bjornson (Ed.), *Approaches to Teaching Don Quixote* (pp. 62-68). New York: Modern Language Association of America.
- Elliot, J. H. (1963). *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716*. London: Edward Arnold, LTD.
- Emerson, Ralph Waldo. (1987a). Heroism. In Alfred R. Ferguson & Jean F. Carr (Eds.), *The Essays of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (pp. 145-156). Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press.
- Emerson, Ralph Waldo. (1987b). Prudence. In Alfred R. Ferguson & Jean F. Carr (Eds.), *The Essays of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (pp. 131-141). Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press.



- Farrell, Thomas B. (1993). *Norms of Rhetorical Culture*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Farriss, Nancy M. (1984). *Maya Society Under Colonial Rule: The Collective Enterprise of Survival*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Flores, R. M. (1982). *Sancho Panza through Three Hundred Seventy-five Years of Continuations, Imitations, and Criticism, 1605-1980*. Newark, DE: Hispanic Monographs.
- Frye, Northrop. (1973). *The Anatomy of Criticism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Furst, Lilian R. (1976). The Romantic Hero, Or is He an Anti-Hero? (Vol. 9, pp. 53). Atlanta, GA: Georgia State University.
- Gasta, Chad M. (2011). Cervantes's Theory of Relativity in *Don Quixote*. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America*, 31(1), 51-82.
- Gaylord, Mary Malcolm. (1998). Pulling strings with Master Peter's puppets: Fiction and history in *Don Quixote*. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America*, 18(2), 117-147.
- Gaylord, Mary Malcolm. (2002). Cervantes' other fiction. In Anthony J. Cascardi (Ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Cervantes* (pp. 100-130). Cambridge: Cambridge University.
- Gaylord, Mary Malcolm. (2007). *Don Quixote's New World of language*. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America*, 27(1), 71-94.
- Gibson, Joan. (1989). Educating For Silence: Renaissance Women and the Language Arts. [Article]. *Hypatia*, 4(1), 9.
- Grey, Stephanie Houston. (2009). Conceptually-oriented criticism. In Jim A. Kuypers (Ed.), *Rhetorical Criticism: Perspectives in Action* (pp. 341-362). Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
- Grossman, Edith. (2011). *Why Translation Matters*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Gusfield, Joseph R. (1981). Social movements and social change: Perspectives of linearity and fluidity. *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts, and Change*, 4.
- Hariman, Robert. (1995). *Political Style: The Artistry of Power*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hariman, Robert. (2003). Theory Without Modernity. In Robert Hariman (Ed.), *Prudence: Classical Virtue, Postmodern Practice* (pp. 1-34). University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Hart, Thomas R., & Rendall, Steven. (1978). Rhetoric and Persuasion in Marcela's Address to the Shepherds. *Hispanic Review*, 46(3), 287-298.

- Higuera, Henry. (1995). *Eros and Empire: Politics and Christianity in Don Quixote*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Jaksic, Iván. (1994). Don Quijote's Encounter with Technology. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America*, 14(1), 75-95.
- James, William. (1992). *William James: Pragmatism in focus*. New York: Routledge.
- Jasper, James M. (1997). *The art of moral protest: Culture, biography, and creativity in social movements*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Jasper, James M. (2009). A strategic approach to collective action: Looking for agency in social-movement choices. *Mobilization: An International Journal*, 9(1), 1-16.
- Johnson, Carroll B. (2000). *Don Quixote: The Quest for Modern Fiction*. Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press.
- Kagan, Richard. (1974). *Students and Society in Early Modern Spain*. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press.
- Lathrop, Tom. (2008). Edith Grossman's translation of *Don Quixote*. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America*, 26(1), 237-255.
- Leff, Michael. (1992). Things made by words: Reflections on textual criticism. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 78(2), 223-231.
- Leff, Michael. (1997). The idea of rhetoric as interpretive practice: A humanist's response to Gaonkar. In Alan G. Gross & William M. Keith (Eds.), *Rhetorical Hermeneutics: Invention and Interpretation in the Age of Science* (pp. 89-100). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Mackey, Mary. (1974). Rhetoric and Characterization in Don Quijote. *Hispanic Review*, 42(1), 51-66.
- Mancing, Howard. (2005). Knighthood Compromised. In Harold Bloom (Ed.), *Miguel de Cervantes: Bloom's Modern Critical Views* (pp. 7-36). New York: Chelsea House Publishers.
- Mandel, Oscar. (1958). The Functions of the norms in *Don Quixote*. *Modern Philology*, 55(3), 154-163.
- McGee, Michael. (1990). Text, context, and the fragmentation of contemporary culture. *Western Journal of Speech Communication*, 54(Special issue on rhetorical criticism), 274-289.

- McLuhan, Marshall. (1994). *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*. Boston: The MIT Press.
- McLuhan, Marshall. (2011). *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Mieder, Wolfgang. (2008). *Proverbs speak louder than words: Folk wisdom in art, culture, folklore, history, literature, and mass media*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing.
- Moore, John A. (1958). The Idealism of Sancho Panza. *Hispania*, 41(1), 73-76.
- Narozny, Christopher, & Wilson, Diana de Armas. (2009). Heroic Failure: Novelistic Impotence in *Don Quixote* and *Tristram Shandy*. In J.A.G. Ardila (Ed.), *The Cervantean Heritage: Receptions and Influence of Cervantes in Britain* (pp. 142-150). London: Modern Humanities Research Association and Maney Publishing.
- Ortega, José. (2000). *Meditations on Quixote*. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Ortega y Gasset, José. (1957). The Nature of the Novel. *The Hudson Review*, 10(1), 11-42.
- Oster, Patrick. (2002). *The Mexicans: A Personal Portrait of a People*. New York: Harper Collins.
- Pérez, Joseph. (2005). *The Spanish Inquisition: A History*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Poulakos, John. (1995). *Sophistical Rhetoric in Classic Greece*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press.
- Prescott, William H. (1854). *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Catholic* (Vol. 1). New York: Harper & Brothers.
- Rawlings, Helen. (2006). *The Spanish Inquisition*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Ribbans, Geoffrey. (2000). Herostratus: Notes on the cult of fame in Cervantes. In Francisco La Rubia Prado (Ed.), *Cervantes for the 21st Century: Cervantes para el siglo XXI: Studies in Honor of Edward Dudley* (pp. 185-198). Newark, DE: Juan de la Cuesta.
- Riley, E. C. (1966). Who's Who in Don Quixote? Or an Approach to the Problem of Identity. *MLN*, 81(2), 113-130.
- Russell, Peter E. (1969). *Don Quixote* as a Funny Book. *Modern Language Review*, 64, 312-326.
- Schenk, H. G. (1966). *The Mind of the European Romantics: An Essay in Cultural History*. New York: Frederick Ungar.
- Shuger, Dale. (2012). *Don Quixote in the Archives: Madness and Literature in Early Modern Spain*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

- Socolow, Susan Migden. (2000). *The Women of Colonial Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Stewart, Charles J., Smith, Craig Allen, & Denton, Robert E. (1989). *Persuasion and Social Movements* (2 ed.). Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.
- Unamuno, Miguel de. (1967). *Our Lord Don Quixote: The Life of Don Quixote and Sancho*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Unamuno, Miguel de. (2005). Tragic Sense of Life Retrieved from <http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/14636>
- Weber, Alison. (1986). Don Quijote with Roque Guinart: The Case for an Ironic Reading. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America*, 6(2), 123-140.
- Wyszynski, Matthew A. (2010). Mulier bona dicendi perita? Women and Rhetoric in *Don Quijote*. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America*, 30(2), 83-100.
- Young, Howard. (2000). Game of Circles: Conversations between Don Quixote and Sancho. *Philosophy and Literature*, 24(2), 377-386.
- Yovel, Yirmiyahu. (2009). *The Other Within: The Marranos: Split Identity and Emerging Modernity*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

## **VITA**

David Tarvin was born in 1981 to Theodore and LuAnn Tarvin. He graduated from Princeton High School in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 2000. He attended Morehead State University, where he earned his Bachelor of Arts in Spanish in 2005 and Master of Arts in Communication Studies in 2008. His thesis focused on Mexican President Vicente Fox's inaugural address, comparing it with U.S. presidential inaugural addresses, to broaden the genre to include international presidential discourse. After earning his Master of Arts in Communication Studies, he is expected to earn his Doctor of Philosophy degree in rhetoric in the Department of Communication Studies at Louisiana State University.