A Study of the Illustrations in the 1674 Edition of *Don Quijote*

by

Steven Duane Slavik
B. S., New Mexico Highlands University, 1964
B. A., University of Victoria, 2002

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department of
Hispanics and Italian Studies

© Steven Duane Slavik, 2004
University of Victoria

All rights reserved. This thesis may not be reproduced in whole or in part, by photocopy or other means, without the permission of the author.
ABSTRACT

The first edition with illustrations of *Don Quijote* to be published in Spain appeared in 1674 from the Madrid publishers Andres Garcia de la Iglesia and Roque Rico de Miranda. It contained thirty-two illustrations, apparently designed by Diego de Obregón after originals published in Brussels. These illustrations display a definite antagonism towards Don Quijote, an element added to the mockery of the text, taking the denigration in a direction different from any the text itself might suggest. The reason for which Diego de Obregón may have done so is not obvious, but the speech of the canon in Chapter 47 of Part I of *Don Quijote* suggests one motivation. Perhaps the artist considered the text of Cervantes detrimental to the Christian commonwealth and, by extension, that Don Quijote himself should be shown as ridiculous. However, lacking any evidence concerning Diego de Obregón's background or any instructions he may have received from the printers, this remains a conjecture.
# Table of Contents

Abstract

Table of Contents

List of Illustrations

Introduction
   Reception Theory
   The Reception of Illustrated Texts
   The Function of an Illustration
   Methodology

Chapter 1: Publication History of Illustrated Editions of *Don Quijote* through 1674
   The Madrid Edition of 1674
   The Publishers
   The Artist
   The History of the Designs

Chapter 2: Compositional Qualities of the Illustrations of the 1674 Edition
   Choice of Scenes Illustrated
   The Narrative Character of the Designs
   Placement of Illustrations in the Edition
   Common Compositional Features of the Illustrations
      Theatrical presentation
      Direct address to the audience and profile views
      Rough Characterization

Chapter 3: Themes in the Illustrations
   An Understanding of *Don Quijote*
   Themes in the Illustrations
      Derision, burlesque, and irony
      Invitation to the reader to share the derision
      Don Quijote cast out
   Summary

Conclusion

Illustrations

Works Cited
List of Illustrations

Digital images of the plates from the 1674 edition of *Don Quijote* were provided by the Rauner Special Collections Library of Dartmouth College, Joshua Shaw, photographer.

**Figure 1.** Title Page to Part I (Volume I) 97

**Figure 2.** Title Page to Part II (Volume II) 98

**Figure 3.** Frontispiece 99

**Figure 4.** Don Quijote Drinks through a Tube 100

**Figure 5.** The Battle with the Biscayan and the Tilt with the Windmills 101

**Figure 6.** The Burial of Grisóstomo and the Appearance of Marcela 102

**Figure 7.** The Fight with Maritornes 103

**Figure 8.** Tossing Sancho Panza on the Blanket 104

**Figure 9.** The Adventure of the Fulling Mills 105

**Figure 10.** Cardenio Fights with Don Quijote and Sancho Panza 106

**Figure 11.** Sancho Panza's Leave-Taking from Don Quijote in the Sierra Morena 107

**Figure 12.** The Meeting with Dorotea in the Sierra Morena 108

**Figure 13.** Don Quijote Knocks Sancho Panza down for Blaspheming Dulcinea 109

**Figure 14.** Dorotea Appeals to Don Fernando in the Inn 110

**Figure 15.** Don Quijote Discovered at Dawn Hanging by his Wrist 111

**Figure 16.** Don Quijote Returns to his Village in a Cage 112

**Figure 17.** The Canon and Don Quijote Discuss Books 113

**Figure 18.** Don Quijote's Fight with the Goat Herder, the Penitents, and Don Quijote's Fall 114
Figure 19. Don Quijote in Bed Talking with his Friends  115
Figure 20. Don Quijote and Sancho Panza Meet the Cart of Actors  116
Figure 21. Don Quijote Challenges the Lion  117
Figure 22. Don Quijote at the Entrance to the Cave of Montesinos  118
Figure 23. Don Quijote Attacks the Puppet-Show  119
Figure 24. Don Quijote and Sancho Panza with the Duke and Duchess  120
Figure 25. The Triumphant Cart  121
Figure 26. Don Quijote's and Sancho Panza's Flight on Clavileño  122
Figure 27. Sancho Panza Enters Barataria  123
Figure 28. The Paddling of Doña Rodriguez  124
Figure 29. The End of Sancho Panza's Governorship  125
Figure 30. Sancho Panza's Fight with Don Quijote  126
Figure 31. The Adventure with the Enchanted Head  127
Figure 32. Don Quijote's Defeat by the Knight of the White Moon  128
Figure 33. The Herd of Pigs  129
Figure 34. Sancho Panza Whips Himself  130
Figure 35. The Death of Don Quijote  131
INTRODUCTION

In 1674, the first illustrated edition of *Vida y Hechos del Ingenioso Cavallero Don Quixote de la Mancha* (hereafter referred to as *Don Quijote*) to appear in Spain was published in Madrid. Although the plates were designed by an eminent engraver from Madrid, Diego de Obregón, modern reviewers frequently pass over this publication. The few mentions of this edition and of the illustrations are typically derogatory. For example, Juan Givanel Mas and Gaziel conclude:

Como ejemplo de inventiva propia de Obregón [. . .] tenemos la aventura de los batanes [*Figure 9*], cuando Sancho, transido de miedo hace, pegado a su amo, *lo que otro--dice Cervantes--no podia hacer por él.* Esta estampa es original [. . .] pero además de su pobreza artística, demuestra a las claras que el dibujante español ni siquiera había oído leer el célebre pasaje que ilustraba. [. . .] La estampa de Obregón, además de pobre, es totalmente falsa. (112)

[As an example of inventiveness typical of Obregón [. . .] we have the adventure of the fulling mills [*Figure 9*], when Sancho, transfixed with fear, does right next to his master, *what another--as Cervantes says--could not do for him.* This print is original [. . .] but as well as its artistic poverty, it demonstrates clearly that the Spanish designer has not even heard the famous passage that he has illustrated. [. . .] The print of Obregón, in addition to being poor, is totally false.]

Another notice given to these designs is that of Francisco Calvo Serraller, who states:

las laminas dibujadas en [. . .] 1674 por Diego de Obregón se hicieron siguiendo los modelos holandeses [. . .] de manera que lo poco nuevo que se aporta es [. . .] tan malo que en nada revela este artista ser compatriota de D. Quijote y muchos menos de Ribera, Murillo y Velásquez. (8)

[the plates designed in [. . .] 1674 by Diego de Obregón were made following the Dutch models [. . .] in such a manner that the little new that is contributed is [. . .] so bad that it reveals this artist to be in no respect a compatriot of Don Quijote, much less that of Ribera, Murillo and Velásquez.]

These and other critics who give only passing reference to these illustrations (Hofer 137; Lucas-Dubreton, 488; Romera-Navarro, 1944, 153; Romera-Navarro, 1948, 47) are concerned primarily with the aesthetic values of these portrayals. They believe that the
designs are poorly executed and, therefore, hardly worth discussion.

Nonetheless, they are valuable from another perspective. Like all illustrations placed within a text, they may influence the manner in which a reader understands it.

Stephen Behrendt suggests that

the real and implied relationships that exist between text and reader are coming under increased critical scrutiny. It is, therefore, entirely appropriate to consider the special function of the illustration in mediating between these two, for its role is significant—often central—to the manner in which the reader apprehends and internalizes the text. (29)

The illustrations of Diego de Obregón, as will be seen, are particularly consistent in their re-presentation of this text to the reader and, as will be argued here, they will affect the way in which the reader apprehends Don Quijote, in particular.

The purpose of this study is to describe the illustrations incorporated within the 1674 Madrid edition of Don Quijote, to compare them with the text, to provide a plausible account of how they may influence the reader, and to offer some conclusions regarding their point of view. The thesis argued here is that throughout the series of illustrations, the artist consistently denigrates, mocks and, in fact, rejects Don Quijote or casts him out of his own history. This may influence the reader to think of Don Quijote as irrational and outside of the solace of the church.

As preliminaries, this thesis will provide a statement of Hans Robert Jauss's reception theory, useful both as background and as a theoretical framework for the study, and a publication history of illustrated editions of Don Quijote up to the 1674 edition. The 1674 edition, the artist, the publisher, and the prior history of the designs are discussed in more detail. The illustrations themselves are analysed at greater length after such preliminaries.
Reception Theory

Although Jauss's reception theory is presented here as a background and as a theoretical framework for this study, his is not the only theoretical point of view by means of which one might promote an understanding of these illustrations. Nor is it suggested here that reception theory is ultimately particularly different from other methods that deal with historical and literary conventions in order to understand a text. However, it has heuristic value; being both a well-known and well-articulated model, it provides a means of access and a vocabulary for discussing the issues at hand and is suitable to the study of both texts and their illustrations.

Reception theory addresses a specific problem engendered by modern thinking, namely, that if the literary historian can study only the subjective responses of readers to literary works, as might be suggested by the English Empiricist thinkers, no literary history is possible, since these responses are taken to be unique, unrelated to a social or literary context, and fleeting. Reception theory elaborates a solution in the recognition of an evolving literary and historical context in which not only does an author find a place and his work find meaning, but which conditions the reader to respond to works in ways that are not arbitrary and capricious.

Accordingly, rather than to individual responses, reception theory points out and refers to the existence of a collective pattern of understanding, a historical and literary setting or context within which individual works are received and understood. Within this context, the audience has a disposition to receive a work in a defined way, a disposition that precedes logically and fades, psychologically, into particular responses and understandings of readers. Fernández-Morera refers to this context as an
accumulation of information or as the *sediment* of the reader, describing it as "the totality of impressions derived from social, historical, and cultural experiences as well as from the reading of literature" (411); such sediment, reception theorists claim, is subject to definition and study.

However, as Hans Robert Jauss explains, a collective context of reception is not a documented historical event available for unambiguous and objective description, as if it were a sequence of events.

The historical context in which a literary work appears is not a factual, independent series of events that exists apart from an observer. *Perceval* becomes a literary event only for its reader, who reads [. . .] with a memory of [. . .] earlier works and who recognizes its individuality in comparison with these and other works that he already knows, so that he gains a new criterion for evaluating future works. (21-22)

In Jauss's conception, the context is the information that the reader brings to bear in the reading of a text; it consists of his or her understanding of the idea--or rules--of literature, of the difference between prose and poetry, of the genre of the work and of the form and themes of familiar works in the genre. The reader must also have some acquaintance with the time and setting of the work before he or she can comprehend and appreciate it. Consequently, the reader calls upon his or her knowledge of both the literary and historical context to place and comprehend a new work. Jauss calls this context the *horizon of expectations*.

He continues, using his particular terminology:

The coherence of literature as an event is primarily mediated in the horizon of expectations of the literary experience of contemporary and later readers, critics, and authors. Whether it is possible to comprehend and represent the history of literature in its unique historicity depends on whether this horizon of expectations can be objectified. (22)

Because a text has a context within which contemporaneous readers understand it, the
literary historian is not lost in an ocean of quixotic viewpoints; rather, the object of literary history becomes the setting that, common to both reader and author, places them in a responsive relationship. Rather than merely passive, the reader is, in Jauss's words, "an energy formative of history" (19). It is only through a process of mediation in which the reader comprehends a work and thereby modifies his or her expectations of the genre that the work enters into the changing horizon of expectations, ultimately to lead to a new production. For example, Jauss suggests that "Cervantes allows the horizon of expectations of the favorite old tales of knighthood to arise out of the reading of Don Quixote, which the adventure of his last knight then seriously parodies" (24). Without pre-existing literary conventions regarding knighthood and its virtues, no parody is possible for either reader or writer. Then, given this work, new works and new responses are possible.

In sum, Jauss claims that the literary historian has an object to study, defined as a horizon of expectations. The reception of a text does not lie simply in a sequence of unrelated impressions of a text, but involves a specific process of directed signals and instructions from the text to any reader who has sufficient education and experience to recognize the directives. A literary work does not present itself as something absolutely new in an informational vacuum, but predisposes its audience to a very specific kind of reception by overt and covert signals, announcements, familiar characteristics, or implicit allusions. It awakens memories of that which was already read, brings the reader to a specific emotional attitude, and with its beginning arouses expectations [...] which can then be maintained intact or altered, reoriented, or even fulfilled ironically. [...] The psychic process in the reception of a text is [...] by no means only an arbitrary series of merely subjective impressions [...]. The new text evokes for the reader [...] the horizon of expectations and rules familiar from earlier texts, which are then varied, corrected, altered or even just reproduced. (23)
It is the constant process of a reader's fitting a work into a horizon of expectations, the work's evaluation, the modification of the horizon for the next work and its reception that the literary historian studies.

Luis Costa Lima offers a slightly different analysis of the horizon of expectations in his essay on the reception of *Don Quijote* in nineteenth-century Spain. He suggests that an author, both by the selective nature of description and as a strategy, leaves "gaps" in a text that the reader fills. The reader participates in the act of reading by filling these gaps from elements of his or her background, as Jauss claims. Then, Costa Lima suggests, an examination of the reading of fiction in the past could generate two literary histories. One might be a history of the subjective--"the capricious turns, the extravagant commentaries, the absurd necessities, the arbitrary affirmations" (99). Another history, however, could be that of the "historical-ideological motivations that promoted a particular manner of reading" (100). In the analysis of these motivations, it is important to consider such readings as indirect testimony of those questions vital to the time in which they arose, to consider that they indicate the position of such readers facing those questions. [..] What is important is to go beyond the dominantly subjective tendency of the first position. (100-101)

This stance is parallel to that of Jauss, only transported to the realm of literary criticism. Rather than considering how the responses of individual readers to a work such as *Don Quijote* may modify a prevailing horizon of expectations, Costa Lima considers how critical responses to literature result from a horizon of expectations and he seeks in their motivations a coherent context for works that have merited such comment. He thus uncovers the more ideological aspects of the environment into which their authors insert them. Instead of taking works of fiction as having a context and reception, he suggests that critical responses also arise in an ideological context.
In the present work, the concept of a horizon of expectations will be referred to as a set of *conventions* by which literature is both written and understood in a specific time and place, without suggestion that any specific set of conventions is obvious or subject to a description which all literary investigators might endorse. The idea of convention is proposed to emphasize the communal and customary nature of the horizon of expectations. Accordingly, reader response is always dependent on a set of common agreements or conventions that represent, in more or less concrete form, ideas based in past experience within which one understands a new text. The reconstruction of the set of conventions within which a work was conceived and achieved and within which readers received and responded to it, enables the investigator to elicit questions to which the text gave a response, and to discover how the contemporary reader could have viewed the work. As well, such reconstruction would allow the investigator to address individual responses to a text. Given that the interpretive reception of a text always presupposes a context of experience, the question of the subjectivity of an interpretation and of the taste of different readers can be asked meaningfully only when one has first clarified the conventions that have conditioned the reception of the text. The reconstruction of the set of conventions allows the investigator to see the work not only in its historical context, but also in its literary context.

**The Reception of Illustrated Texts**

Similar issues apply to the reception of and response to illustrated texts. The conventions regarding the understanding of an illustrated text will be, at first glance, a union of those pertinent to texts and those pertinent to the design of illustrations.
Regarding the latter, Rachel Schmidt has stated:

[Visual images communicate through their own systematic use of elements of visual meaning: for example, the play of black line on white page, composition, use of frames, comparison and contrast of individual figures, and mimesis or the lack thereof. Dark line against light page defines the contours of the images, just as it defines the contours of the letter of the text. But all the linear techniques of mimetic representation, such as scientific perspective, foreshortening, and contour shading are used by the engraver through the web of lines peculiar to the medium to create an image that is abstracted into black and white in order to achieve the illusion of mimesis. (8)

However, illustrations in texts depend for their effect on both literary and iconographic conventions shared by artist, author, publisher and viewer (Behrendt 38). The existence of such received bodies of social, political, religious, cultural or aesthetic conventions upon which authors, readers, editors and illustrators may draw help to focus, define and channel individual reader response to an edition.

In addition, however, to questions of the design of illustrations, questions of how images fit into and function within a text arise. Specific conventions will govern reader understanding of how texts and illustrations "fit" together. The understanding of how, on the one hand, texts may be illustrated and, on the other hand, of how illustrations "apply" to or function within texts is conventional; through his or her knowledge, an experienced reader/viewer of illustrated texts can tell "to what degree" an illustration fits a text or is adequate to a text and what purpose it serves.

However, the issue does not rest with considerations of design and function; as well, the medium of the design has its effect. The difference between texts with woodcut plates and those with copperplate designs, and the difference the medium of the plate may make to the readership and to the readers' understanding of the text, points out the effect of medium. For example, Rachel Schmidt comments that "a series of burlesque
woodcuts signifies that the book is especially funny, whereas a series of neoclassical engravings signifies that the book is especially instructive or noble" (10).

Regarding the difference between the reading of a text with copperplate designs and that with woodblock prints, Enrique Rodríguez Cepeda informs the reader that:

\[ \text{los grabados en planchas de cobre (los de "laminas finas") de las grandes ediciones neoclásicas [de Don Quijote] (la de Tonson, la de la Academia española--de 1780--, la de Coypel) en ediciones caras dirigidas a la aristocracia, ofrecían diferente lectura y, también por lo mismo, otro "texto" diferente del leído frecuentemente por el hombre más común y tenido por "popular."} \]

[copperplate engravings (those of "fine engravings") of the great neoclassic editions [of Don Quijote] (that of Tonson, of the Spanish Academy--of 1780--, that of Coypel) in expensive editions directed towards the aristocracy, offered a different reading and, exactly for that reason, another "text" different from that frequently read by the common man and taken as "popular."]

Thus, an illustrated text is not necessarily simply a text with added illustrations, no matter how well designed and "apt" they may be to the text. An illustrated text is a genre in itself, with its own conventions that are brought to bear on its reading, before and alongside of questions of the "fit" between text and illustration.

In sum, the illustrator, just as any other reader, is an active interpreter of the text. In his or her activity, the artist is "filling in the gaps," interpreting the text and supplying in his or her work the many details necessary to complete an image of a scene. Behrendt emphasizes this point: "Illustrations facilitate the act of seeing, but they also significantly limit it: the illustrator makes visual choices for us. Furthermore, the introduction of illustrations into a volume is in reality the introduction [. . .] of a third party [. . .] as an interpreter or elucidator" (29-30). Thus, it is necessary to consider that, above and beyond the design of illustrations which function as mere portrayal, the artist inserts illustrations with other functions. What is important to keep in mind for the present study
is that the fit between text and illustration, the function of an illustration within an edition as well as the medium of the illustration, occur within a reasonably well-defined and well-understood, if not well-articulated, context of conventions that defines the character of an illustrated edition of a text. The conventions that help to define the "fit" of an illustration, as well as those that define the function of an image and the value of the medium, follow from a predefined context.

The Function of an Illustration

In practice, a reader who sets out to enjoy the reading of an illustrated edition of *Don Quijote* is in the position of Don Quixote himself listening to Sancho Panza tell a story the night before battle. In Roger Chartier's description:

To pass the time the night before a battle, Sancho Panza offers to tell stories to his master. The way he tells his tale, interrupting the narration by commentaries and digressions, repeating himself and pursuing related thoughts—all of which serve to place the narrator in the thick of his tale and to tie it to the situation at hand—throws his listener into a fit of impatience. "If that is the way you tell your tale, Sancho," Don Quixote says, interrupting him, "repeating everything you are going to say twice, you will not finish it in two days. Go straight on with it, and tell it like a reasonable man, or else say nothing." A bookish man par excellence and to mad excess, Don Quixote is irritated by a tale that lacks the form of his usual readings, and what he really demands is that Sancho Panza's story obey the rules of written style: clear expression, linear development and objectivity. There is an insurmountable distance between the reader's and the listener's expectations and the spoken practice [of] Sancho Panza. Sancho replies, "Tales are always told in my part of the country in the very way I am telling this, and I cannot tell it in any other, nor is it right of your worship to ask me to adopt new customs." Resigned but disgruntled, Don Quixote agrees to listen to a text so different from the ones presented in his precious books. "Tell it as you will," he exclaims, "and since fate ordains that I cannot help listening, go on with your tale." (7)

Illustrations, like Sancho, will interrupt a reader in his or her reading of the text, leading

---

1 Part I, Chapter 20.
one into other byways than those of the text alone, perhaps aiding or hindering one's understanding, but certainly changing the reading. Ultimately, images, like Sancho Panza, help to convert the story into another experience. Reception theory might suggest that artists do this through a "gap-filling" process in which the artist, like the reader, fills in details unmentioned by the author, helping to co-create the text. Yet, Don Quijote's experience with Sancho suggests that the artist may do far more than this, in terms not only of design or its fit to the text, but of function of illustrations.

In any event, "fit", or the "closeness" of a design to a text, is a very unimportant parameter in discussing function. An illustration may function well independently of its closeness to the text. For example, the stick-figure images of Don Quijote and Sancho Panza published by the French artist Gus Bofa in 1928 (Givanel Mas y Gaziel 1946, Mornand 1945, Seznec 1948) provide very sketchy depictions of the protagonists and their surroundings--and thus do not fit the text well. Yet, they function in the edition to give the reader an impression of Don Quijote's singlemindedness or focused and upright character. Nor does function depend on individual reader response. Within the context of reception theory, individual, subjective responses to design and function are not the object of study. Rather, the conventions regarding the functions of illustrations that condition these responses become the focus. The purpose of a study of the functions of illustrations is to determine whether either typical or unusual elements of illustrations tell the investigator anything about the artist or of the demands on the artist.

Images may have a large number of functions. In general, an image proposes or provides a protocol for reading; it suggests a correct way to understand the text. Simple depiction or portrayal is one such function. In various ways, an illustration may define
the action and setting. Because of its simplicity, clarity and/or concreteness, a portrayal may take precedence in the reader's understanding of the text. Many illustrations in which the author, editor or publisher has closely directed the artist seem to be of simple portrayal (for one example, see Robert Folkenflik's discussion of the first illustrations of Smollett's *The Life and Adventures of Sir Launcelot Greaves*). Reader response may still vary, since a reader may misunderstand or ignore a complex or obscure picture, no matter what its fit. As well, an image may be ambiguous or provide several possible meanings. However, if much simple portrayal can be described as "filling in the gaps," many other illustrations exceed this by elaborating on the text in other ways. While an illustration may clarify the action and setting, it may also modify the physical details of the action and setting in many respects, placing elements in fore and background, filling in, changing, or omitting details. It may emphasize a natural setting at the expense of the text or in order to expand the significance of the setting. Illustrations may, as well, interpret the text by ignoring it, by emphasizing aspects other than the setting, by changing the physical and emotional relationships of the characters, by adding to it, by combining one text with another, or by creating new scenes. An illustration may add or remove emotional tone by adding or removing humorous, sarcastic or ironic elements, or by emphasizing the dignity of the characters. In sum, images may influence a reader through their direct portrayal of a text, involving a more or less literal and exact interpretation; or by leading the reader more indirectly to expect physical or emotional relations that in fact do not exist, or exist only implicitly in the text. Stated otherwise, Behrendt (30) suggests that illustrations function to predict and restrict the reader's understanding of a text. In prediction, they suggest what will follow in a text; in
restriction, they restrain or pre-empt the reader's opportunity to visualize the text.

Although not explicitly part of the text-illustration fit, but certainly relevant to function, the selection of a passage to illustrate and the placement of an image within an edition are important elements in reader reception. An image may make the scene depicted the focus or climax of the chapter or section within which it appears; likewise, the placement of a scene at the head of a chapter may lead the reader to anticipate the scene, perhaps to the detriment of his or her understanding of other elements of the text. Behrendt claims that "when any picture precedes the textual account of what it depicts, it functions as a sort of enticement, arousing interest and propelling the viewer forward" (37). Whether it also acts as an entrapment device, as he suggests, placement and selection are part of the determination of possible reader response to a specific edition.

Methodology

In the present study, attention will be devoted solely to a comparison of the images with the corresponding text, in order to extract whatever information or conjectures seem reasonable regarding the immediate reception of the edition; that is, regarding the possible influence of the images on the comprehension of the text.

First, a review of uniform and consistent features of the illustrations will be undertaken in order to see how such features may affect the reader. Second, a detailed comparison of the designs with the text will be made with an eye towards ascertaining how the former emphasize, gloss, or gloss over certain aspects of the text. Any specific features of the images which, in comparison to the text, are unusual and, perhaps, significant will be noted. Attention will be given in particular to the fit and function of
illustrations; that is, how well they fit the text and how they function in the edition. In concluding, a summary of the results will be presented, along with a statement of the possible significance of the results.

All translations, unless otherwise noted, are mine. They are intended to be efficient and informative to the reader, rather than stylistically apt.
Suñé Benages and Suñé Fonbuena tabulate 318 Castilian editions of *Don Quijote*, from 1605 to 1915. Of these, thirty-one appeared in the seventeenth century. The first, an edition of part one of the work, appeared with the title *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha* early in 1605 under the imprint of Juan de la Cuesta. The second and the third editions, both unauthorized by the author and dated 1605, appeared in Lisbon from the printing house of Jorge Rodriguez. A fourth equally unauthorized edition also appeared in 1605 from the Lisbon firm of Pedro Crasbeeck.

Juan de la Cuesta issued a second edition of *Don Quijote* later in 1605, which was for more than two centuries taken to be the first edition (Río y Rico 14). Other editions soon followed. From Valencia, the firm of Pedro Patricio Mey issued the novel twice in 1605, setting a pattern for other editions of correcting and creating errors:

*Tuvo por modelo la 2.ª edición de Juan de la Cuesta, de la que corrigió algunas erratas a cambio de otras muchas que se estamparon de nuevo, y de una infinidad de palabras y de frases añadidas caprichosamente que alteran bastante el texto.* (Suñé Benages and Suñé Fonbuena 20)

[It took as a model the second edition of Juan de la Cuesta, from which it corrected some errors, in exchange for many others that it printed anew, and for an infinite number of words and sentences added capriciously that alter the text considerably.]

The first edition of the two parts in one volume appeared in 1617 in Barcelona, a combined edition from the printing houses of Bautista Sarita and Sebastian Matevat. Both parts are, excepting certain new typographical errors, copies of the 1605 and a 1616 edition of Valencia (Río y Rico 18-19). The combined volume did not appear again until
1637, when the firm of Francisco Martínez in Madrid issued it under the title of *Primera y segunda parte del ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha*. This is apparently a very poor edition typographically (Río y Rico 19, Suñé Benages and Suñé Fonbuena 40) even though it corrects numerous previous errors (Río y Rico 19). Two other editions from Madrid followed, dated 1647 and 1655, the first of which is improved and the second poorly copied from the 1637 edition (Suñé Benages and Suñé Fonbuena 40-41).

Illustrated editions of both parts appeared earlier in German and French than in Spanish. Don Quijote himself appeared in broadsheets without text issued in Dresden in 1613 (Hartau 16) and in a series of five illustrations for a German partial translation in 1648 (Hartau 32-33). In France, a translation appeared in 1640 with five illustrations by J. Lagniet and H. David (Hartau 18-21).

In 1662, Juan Mommarte of Brussels issued an edition including both parts, the first in which the title appears as *Vida y hechos del ingenioso caballero Don Quixote de la Mancha*. This edition also contains the first frontispiece used in many subsequent editions, including that of 1674 from Madrid. As well, it is the first edition printed in Spanish to contain illustrations. In addition to its two frontispieces, it contains sixteen engravings by F. Bouttats, most of which are copied from those of a 1657 Dutch language edition. These editions are discussed in more detail below.

Three illustrated editions appeared during or soon after 1670 from Antwerp and Brussels, all of which are copies of the Mommarte Brussels edition of 1662 (Suñé Benages and Suñé Fonbuena 46-47). The first appeared in Antwerp in 1670, a few months after the inheritors of the firm of Mommarte passed their rights to print *Don Quijote* to the firm of Geronymo and Juanbautista Verdussen, who simply changed the
title page on existing stock and sold them as their own. A Brussels edition of 1671 is a
copy of the 1662 issue with a re-engraved frontispiece. Another Antwerp edition of
1675, also by Verdussen, is a copy of the 1662 Brussels edition in which the preliminary
pages acknowledge the transference of license from Mommarte to Verdussen.

The Madrid edition of 1674

In 1674, the Madrid publishing houses of Andrés García de la Iglesia and Roque
Rico de Miranda published an edition of both parts of Don Quijote in two quarto
volumes. The first volume contains 392 pages of text in double columns, after six pages
of preliminaries, plus four unnumbered pages at the end. Volume two contains 446 pages
of text plus three unnumbered pages at the end. The edition contains a single frontispiece
and thirty-two engravings.

The frontispiece (Figure 3), which measures 6 1/8 by 4 1/2 inches (156 mm by 114
mm), bears the signature of Diego de Obregón (exculpsi). In spite of this name, the
design is not original, but an enlarged copy of that in the Dordrecht edition of 1657
(Ashbee 6). The first volume contains fifteen copperplate engravings and the second,
seventeen. They measure 3 1/2 by 4 3/4 inches (88 by 120 mm) and extend across the two
columns of text on the page. They are unsigned, but attributed either as copies or as
originals to Diego de Obregón; the copies are inspired by or taken rather directly from the
Dutch originals of 1657 or from the copies by Bouttats of 1662 (Givanel Mas and Gaziel
112, Hartau 28-31, Schmidt 32). Both Ashbee and Calvo Serraller mention later editions
that used the same plates "more or less worn" (Ashbee 6).

The title page to part one reads:
VIDA,
Y HECHOS
DEL INGENIOSO CAVALLEIRO
DON QVIXOTE DE LA MANCHA.
PARTE PRIMERA.
COMPVESTA POR MIGVEL
DE CERVANTES SAAVEDRA.
NEVEA EDICCIÓN,
CORREGIDA, Y ILUSTRADA
CON TREINTA Y QVATRO LAMINAS
MVY DONOSAS, Y APROPIADAS
A LA MATERIA.
DEDICADO
AL SEÑOR D. FRANCISCO
MARIA GRILLO, HIJO DEL SEÑOR
MARQUES DE CARPENETO.
CON PRIVILEGIO

EN MADRID: Por Andres Garcia de la Iglesia. Año de 1674.
ACOSTA DE D. MARIA ARMENTEROS. VENDENSE EN FREnte DE S. FELIPE.

The second part, printed by Roque Rico de Miranda, has the title page:

VIDA, Y HECHOS
DEL INGENIOSO CAVALLEIRO
D. QVIXOTE
DE LA MANCHA.
COMPVESTA
Por Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra.
PARTE II.
NEVEA EDICCIÓN,
CORREGIDA, Y ILUSTRADA CON
treinta y qvatro Laminas, muy donosas, y
 apropiadas à la materia.
DEDICADO
AL SEÑOR DON FRANCISCO MARIA
GRILLO.
CON PRIVILEGIO

EN MADRID: Por Roque Rico de Miranda, Impressor de Libros,
Año de M.DE.LXXIV.
A costa de Doña Maria Armenteros, viuda de Iuan Antonio Bonet,
Mercader de Libros, enfrente de S. Phelipe.
**Figure 1** and **Figure 2** reproduce the title pages to part one and part two, respectively.

The text follows the edition of Madrid of 1662 (Rius 29, Suñé Benages and Suñé Fonbuena 48). The edition is noted and described in the *Bibliografía crítica* of Rius, who comments on its fair quality and good paper. This edition is also noted in the *Catálogo bibliográfico* of Río y Rico, and in the *Bibliografía crítica* of Suñé Benages and Suñé Fonbuena. The title pages are included in Henrich's *Iconografía*. Rius and Río y Rico note that Roque Rico de Miranda printed the second part, but they make no further comment.

**The Publishers**

Of the two publishers, little is reported. Andrés García de la Iglesia, also known as Andrés García and as Andrés de la Iglesia (Delgado Casado 256, Penney 800), was active as a publisher in Madrid between 1650 and 1679 (Delgado Casado 256, Marsá 137). His first known impression is a collection of sermons dated 1650, published for Manuel de Nájera, after which he is said to have been responsible for "una producción muy abundante, variada y, en algunos aspectos, sumamente interesante" [a very abundant, varied, and, in some respects, highly interesting production] (Delgado Casado 256). Although much of his output was religious in nature, toward the end of his career he published increasing amounts of literature. In 1670, he produced a compilation of the *Primera parte del Parnaso nuevo*; in 1674, the second part of *Don Quijote* with engravings; and, in 1677, an edition of Moreto's *Comedias* which includes a dedication to the printer. Don Cruickshank (1970), in his discussion of the 1664 printings of Calderón's *Tercera parte* concludes that Andrés García printed only part of the *Tercera*
parte, suggesting that "job-sharing" may have been a common feature of his work. Andrés García was married three times. With his second wife, he had a son, Lorenzo, who was active as a printer in Madrid from 1680 to 1706 (Delgado Casado 257).

Of Roque Rico de Miranda, less is reported. He was active in Madrid between 1674 and *1698 (Delgado Casado 585). Born in 1639, he had a press in Bilbao in 1669, where he published a number of texts for the municipality. After moving to Madrid, he married the widow of a printer (Melchor Alegre) and by 1674 was printing again in his own name. He seems to have produced a variety of materials and many of his productions are reported to have included engravings (Delgado Casado 585). Delgado Casado (586) knows of no publication of his later than 1686 and takes 1698 to be the date of his death.

The Artist

Diego de Obregón was the son and disciple of Pedro de Obregón (1597-1659), a Madrid artist who worked in etching. Diego also worked in etching, but favoured engraving: throughout his career he illustrated literary and religious texts with emblems, title pages, portraits of authors and subjects, coats of arms, and other images. His best-known works include eighteen engravings of quadrupeds contained in *Gobierno moral y político hallado en las fieras y animales silvestres* of the Dominican friar Andrés de Valdecebro published in Madrid in 1658. Some twenty-five years later, another eighteen engravings, this time of birds, appeared in the second volume of the work. His last works, portraits and blazons, appeared toward the end of the century. Like other engravers of the period, he was versatile, engraving his own designs, those of other designers, and designs taken directly from paintings (Carrete Parrondo 218-221,

Although a number of his works are reproduced in Carrete Parrondo’s essay and by García Vega, attesting to his importance in the period, none of the Historia del grabado en España of Gallego Gallego, El grabado en España of Carrete Parrondo, Checa Cremades and Bozal or El grabado del libro Español of García Vega mention his work in the 1674 edition of Don Quijote. Perhaps this is because the engravings that appear in Don Quijote are unsigned and cannot be definitely attributed to his hand.

The History of the Designs

In 1657, a Dutch language edition of both parts of Don Quijote appeared from the Dordrecht publisher Jacob Savry, with twenty-four original illustrations by his son Solomón Savry. This edition was the first to contain a set of illustrations interspersed in the text; its plates and at least one of its two frontispieces were copied in many subsequent editions (Hartau 34, Moll 514, Schmidt 32). Of this work, Hartau says:


[Another Dutchman, Jacob Savery, produced in 1657 the first book illustration (after the German model of 1648 with only 5 pieces) [. . .] to become influential in Europe. He laid down 24 illustration motifs according to his choice of texts that his successors hardly changed, at most extending them. They remained the model for about a hundred years although Savery showed rather routine work and did not give a special profile to the protagonist. Only the allegorical frontispiece stands out, a witty allusion to a parody on knights and longing for Dulcinea. It parodies
heroic models, which he had become acquainted with through the illustrations of his father, Salomon Savery, who had illustrated Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* according to designs of Francis Cleyn in 1632.] [Translation by Undine Bruckner]

In 1662, a Spanish edition was published in Brussels with sixteen illustrations and two frontispieces. The illustrations reproduced designs of Savry, re-engraved and signed by F. Bouthats (Ashbee 6; Givanel Mas and Gaziel 106; Moll 502).

The 1674 edition of Andrés de la Iglesia and Roque Rico de Miranda appeared with thirty-two designs (despite claims in the title page to contain thirty-four): those of the 1662 Brussels edition, said to be re-engraved by Diego de Obregon, with other designs of his own. As Givanel Mas and Gaziel report, somewhat indignantly, "Diego de Obregon, el dibujante español, se había limitado a remedar malamente las estampas de aquellas ediciones flamencas, introduciendo algunas modificaciones y intercalándoles algún tema nuevo" [Diego de Obregón, the Spanish draughtsman, limited himself to copying poorly the prints of those Flemish editions, introducing some modifications and inserting some new themes] (112). Nonetheless, the importance of the illustrations lies in the fact that they continued, after Savry and Bouthats, the convention of illustrating the same set of scenes with designs that were to exert considerable influence over the next hundred years (Hofer 137).

Ashbee (6) notes the subsequent appearance of the same images in the Madrid editions of 1706, 1714 and 1723; Calvo Serraller adds, regarding these same editions, that the images are "cada vez más deslucidas y borrosas, culminándose el proceso de degradación con la promovida, en 1730 [. . .] en la que las susodichas láminas son ya casi irreconocibles" [each time more worn and indistinct, the process of degradation culminating with the result that by 1730 the plates are almost unrecognizable] (8). As well, the same designs appear in some of the woodblock prints included in the
inexpensive editions produced by Juan Jolis in the last half of the eighteenth-century (Rodriguez Cepeda 760). They also were used in many subsequent French editions (Schmidt 189 n20), as well as in the Ibarra edition published in Madrid in 1771 (Schmidt 131).
CHAPTER 2: COMPOSITIONAL QUALITIES OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE 1674 EDITION

Many of the designs in the 1674 edition of *Don Quijote* can be grouped and discussed under three broad headings: (1) those which deride Don Quijote and Sancho Panza in various ways, (2) those which offer an invitation to the reader to join in the derision, and (3) those which simply cast Don Quijote out of his own story. However, before explaining these themes in more detail and discussing individual illustrations that exemplify these themes, it will be useful here to list the scenes portrayed and to point out features common to the images. These features include the overall narrative character of the designs, their uniform placement in the edition and some common compositional qualities.

Choice of Scenes Illustrated

The artist and/or the publishers of the 1674 edition of *Don Quijote* chose thirty-two scenes to illustrate, in addition to a frontispiece:

- **Figure 3.** Frontispiece.
- **Figure 4.** Don Quijote Drinks through a Tube. [I, 2]
- **Figure 5.** The Battle with the Biscayan and the Tilt with the Windmills. [I, 8]
- **Figure 6.** The Burial of Grisóstomo and the Appearance of Marcela. [I, 13]
- **Figure 7.** The Fight with Maritornes. [I, 16]
- **Figure 8.** Tossing Sancho Panza on the Blanket. [I, 18]
- **Figure 9.** The Adventure of the Fulling Mills. [I, 20]
- **Figure 10.** Cardenio Fights with Don Quijote and Sancho Panza. [I, 24]
- **Figure 11.** Sancho Panza's Leave-taking from Don Quijote in the Sierra Morena. [I, 25]
- **Figure 12.** The Meeting with Dorotea in the Sierra Morena. [I, 28]
- **Figure 13.** Don Quijote Knocks Sancho Panza down for Blaspheming Dulcinea. [I, 30]
- **Figure 14.** Dorotea Appeals to Don Fernando in the Inn. [I, 36]

---

1 Numbers in brackets refer to part and chapter of the illustrations' placement in the text.
Figure 15. Don Quijote Discovered at Dawn Hanging by his Wrist. [I, 43]
Figure 16. Don Quijote Returns to his Village in a Cage. [I, 48]
Figure 17. The Canon and Don Quijote Discuss Books. [I, 50]
Figure 18. Don Quijote's Fight with the Goat Herder, the Penitents, and Don Quijote's Fall. [I, 52]
Figure 19. Don Quijote in Bed Talking with his Friends. [II, 1]
Figure 20. Don Quijote and Sancho Panza Meet the Cart of Actors. [II, 11]
Figure 21. Don Quijote Challenges the Lion. [II, 17]
Figure 22. Don Quijote at the Entrance to the Cave of Montesinos. [II, 22]
Figure 23. Don Quijote Attacks the Puppet-Show. [II, 26]
Figure 24. Don Quijote and Sancho Panza with the Duke and Duchess. [II, 32]
Figure 25. The Triumphal Cart. [II, 35]
Figure 26. Don Quijote's and Sancho Panza's Flight on Clavileño. [II, 41]
Figure 27. Sancho Panza Enters Barataria. [II, 45]
Figure 28. The Paddling of Doña Rodríguez. [II, 48]
Figure 29. The End of Sancho Panza's Governorship. [II, 53]
Figure 30. Sancho Panza's Fight with Don Quijote. [II, 60]
Figure 31. The Adventure with the Enchanted Head. [II, 62]
Figure 32. Don Quijote's Defeat by the Knight of the White Moon. [II, 64]
Figure 33. The Herd of Pigs. [II, 68]
Figure 34. Sancho Panza Whips Himself. [II, 71]
Figure 35. The Death of Don Quijote. [II, 74]

On stylistic grounds, it appears that at least three individuals could have been involved in these designs. Due to a consistent treatment of the appearance of Don Quijote, one designer may have been responsible for the work of Figures 4, 9, 17, 21, 22, 23, and 31. Another appears to have produced Figures 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 19, 20, 25, 26, 28, 29, 32, and 34. The remainder (Figures 15, 16, 18, 24, 27, 30, 33, and 35) seem to be due to the hand of a third artist. However, since none are signed, it is impossible to verify this conjecture and it will be convenient simply to refer to "the artist," as if all images were the work of a single person, Diego de Obregón.

The Narrative Character of the Designs

The scenes chosen are all, in some sense, active. None depict Don Quijote or Sancho Panza in isolation, reflecting on life, or in soliloquy; none attempt to depict
character. They all portray the protagonists in action: meeting one another, entreatin

talking with one another, leaving one another or fighting one another. Although the

events depicted are active, they are, however, by no means uniformly violent. Schmidt

has said of the antecedents to some of these images that they:

struck a popular chord, warranting attention as examples of the popular reception of Don Quijote in the seventeenth and even eighteenth centuries. Bouttats chose most often to depict scenes of physical romps, wrestling, and brawls. [. . .] Bouttats singled out the aspect of Cervantes' humour most troublesome to twentieth-century readers--the violence. (32)

While violence may be common in the illustrations by Savry and Bouttats, with Diego de Obregón's expansion of the number of scenes depicted, any overall sense of violence has disappeared. What replaces it is a selection that demonstrates the protagonists in active relationship with one another and with others; that is, these images are tied to the action of the text. Even though the artist has not illustrated all of the incidents in which Don Quijote or Sancho Panza become involved, all of the illustrations depict significant events in their history or, at least, events that will be taken as significant due to their illustration. Their effect on the reader will be both to clarify and to emphasize the activity within the text. As a result, in conjunction with the episodic nature of the text, the selection of scenes may give the impression that Don Quijote is a string of events, or a sequence of adventures. This selection will emphasize to the reader--in fact, it may train the reader--to read the text as a series of events, rather than as a history with a unifying theme or purpose. Several examples will show this.

In Figure 22, the reader sees Don Quijote at the Entrance to the Cave of Montesinos. After the wedding of Basilio and Quiteria, Don Quijote decides to visit the Cave of Montesinos. After two days' travel, Don Quijote, Sancho Panza and their guide arrive at the cave whose mouth is spacious and wide, but full of brambles and wild figs
interwoven so thickly that they completely hide it. In the image depicting this text, Don Quijote steps off the edge of the cave, only to disturb so many crows, rooks and bats that he is startled and falls to the ground. To the side, the reader sees Sancho Panza and the guide hanging onto the rope attached to Don Quijote's waist.

The viewer has an intimate relationship with the scene. It is almost as if he or she stands on the edge of the cave opposite Don Quijote, ready to step into the entrance with him. This position involves the reader in the scene actively, arousing his or her vertigo and excitement, or, at the very least, anticipation. Because of his or her own proximity to the cave's edge, the reader may feel a little off balance along with Don Quijote and, feeling the danger of falling, will anticipate eagerly the process and outcome of the descent into the cave. Thus, the artist has quite astutely taken advantage of the positioning of the illustration at the head of the chapter to draw the reader into the activity of the story while, at the same time, keeping the reader in anticipation of the descent and its consequences. However, the viewer sees no hint here of the adventure within the cave nor of Don Quijote's telling of it afterwards. The artist has avoided dealing with Don Quijote's motivations and remained within a program of presenting this scene as one in a sequence of events.

Another example, Don Quijote's and Sancho Panza's Flight on Clavileño (Figure 26), shows more clearly the artist's technique. In order to help La Dolorida remove her beard, Don Quijote and Sancho Panza must take flight on Clavileño. Initially, Sancho is reluctant to mount the steed, but eventually they are both mounted and the journey proceeds. The artist has created a theatrical perspective on the scene, one in which the viewer is placed in the audience along with the Duke and Duchess. While the latter
watch from a tent in the background of their garden, the travellers are seated on Clavileño; three henchmen provide the wind and heat felt during the ride and the fireworks that bring everything back down to earth.

The illustration emphasizes what others are doing to Don Quijote and Sancho Panza, rather than the motivations of either. Sancho's long period of doubt before seating himself on Clavileño is forgotten, as well as the quest to disenchant Dulcinea. The artist has envisioned another event in which the spectator's point of view is more important than the motivation of the protagonists.

Much as in Figure 22, however, because of the viewer's proximity to Clavileño and because of the presence of the Duke and Duchess, the viewer becomes part of the garden party. Because of the perspective, he or she can almost reach out to touch the riders or to talk with them, as do the Duke and Duchess. By involving the reader in the depicted audience, the artist aids in the creation of Don Quijote and Sancho Panza as objects to be watched and the incident as important. At the same time, Don Quijote and Sancho Panza have disappeared as characters in their story, replaced by an event.

A sense of the novel as a series of concrete, well-defined occurrences is played upon in composite scenes that portray, as if they were simultaneous, several events from the chapters that the illustrations head. For instance, in Figure 5, The Battle with the Biscayan and the Tilt with the Windmills, the artist combines events that take place in Chapter 8 of part I. In the foreground, the artist has depicted the fight between Don Quijote and the Biscayan at the point where they are frozen by the author. Don Quijote has become angry and, hurling his lance to the ground, he takes his sword and lifts his shield to attack the Biscayan. In the background, the reader sees Don Quijote attacking a
windmill after having, in the text, ignored the warning that Sancho has given him.

Likely, the artist has placed in the foreground the event that, to his mind, must have had the greater dramatic appeal to his audience, a fight. Primarily due to the indifference of their steeds, the depiction appears to be of the moment at which the protagonists are frozen by the author, awaiting the discovery of more text to continue. In the background, the adventure with the windmills shows Don Quijote's persistence in spite of the advice of Sancho Panza and of his own senses.

As Cervantes describes the fight between the Biscayan and Don Quijote, the latter's locura [madness] is not prominent. In fact, it is the Biscayan who makes the challenge when he understands that Don Quijote will not let the coach pass. Although willingly undertaken, the fight is not instigated by Don Quijote. Accordingly, it offers to the artist an opportunity to illustrate a scene without any overtones of madness. It can be portrayed as merely a fight, that is, as a scene with a high dramatic quality but which will not cause the reader to inquire into its motivations. Such a choice is consistent with an interpretation of the history of Don Quijote as a sequence of events held together by common characters, rather than by a consistent motivation of the hero. Placing Don Quijote's tilt with the windmills in the background achieves the same result; it concretizes the event while making it so remote that the reader has no opportunity to examine Don Quijote's motivation or perspective.

In sum, the design of the illustrations emphasizes the narrative content of the text. The scenes clearly portray a dramatic passage of the text and, equally clearly, do so in a narrative fashion. Each illustration taken in itself narrates a story, although some are unclear until the text has been read. They make concrete the events in which the pair
become involved and they lead the reader very clearly into the events of the text. They ignore introspection and reflection and, for the most part, the discourse between Don Quijote and his squire that often reveals the inner state of either.

**Placement of Illustrations in the Edition**

With only one exception (Figure 8), which could be a mistake, illustrations are placed at the head of the chapter in which the event portrayed appears, occupying perhaps half the page. This placement tends to dissociate the image from the text and permits a broader range of readings of a passage than might a placement close to the description that it illustrates. At the same time, it reinforces an understanding of the text as a history of events.

Images placed at the head of the chapter require the reader to refer back from his or her reading to the portrayal, to verify details, to see how the artist has construed the text, or to understand either the picture itself or the text itself. Then other details, such as the conjunction of events depicted in the same image, may become clear. In any case, the placement requires the reader to verify the text/image relationship and perhaps encourages the privileging of the image over the text in his or her understanding.

The verification occurs in conjunction with another process. When the reader encounters an illustration at the head of a chapter, he or she may anticipate the scene pictured, making it the focus, if not the climax, of the chapter in which it appears. The reader may, thus, be led to a very specific understanding of the text based on the image. Given the nature of the design, this understanding may contribute to understanding the text as a string of events. This is another process of privileging the image, a process that occurs from the onset of reading.
Together, the two processes support an understanding of the story presented in the text as a sequence of episodes only tenuously related to one another. The reader may anticipate and emphasize the scenes presented at the head of the chapter, thus discounting whatever may lie between successive illustrations, the more subtle comments, asides, choices of words, whole conversations and other events that occur between the pictured events. Thus, taking the pictured events as discrete *events* leads to a "Let's get on with it" attitude of the reader, omitting the connections between events and the more subtle ligaments of the text. As well, their placement at the head of the chapter requires that the reader interrupt his or her reading to refer back to the events pictured, to identify the events and the characters. This interruption of the reading may allow the image to imprint itself on the reader at the expense of the text. In sum, the placement of the illustrations at the heads of the chapters supports the selection of the scenes illustrated in emphasizing the episodic quality of the story.

An excellent example of how the placement of the image affects the understanding of the chapter occurs with Figure 21, *Don Quijote Challenges the Lion*. When Don Quijote and Sancho Panza meet a man conveying two lions from Oran to the court, the former demands that the lion keeper release the lions. The artist has chosen a pregnant moment to depict; a reader coming to this scene at the head of the chapter will certainly be charged with curiosity regarding the outcome of this meeting. The lion has not yet yawned, washed his face, and turned his back on our hero. Indeed, this episode shows the scene at its most dramatic point, allowing the reader to anticipate the conclusions of Don Quijote's drawn-out debate with the lion-keeper and with Sancho Panza, and the appearance of the lion itself. The artist has selected a very appropriate
moment to illustrate in order to keep the reader's interest focused on the development of
the story.

It is clearly a theatrical presentation, both in its presentation as a stage setting and
in its emphasis on the large, clear gestures of Don Quijote and the lion. Another feature
that adds to its dramatic quality, in common with a number of other images, is that the
reader is almost in the same space as Don Quijote, facing the lion with him. Perhaps the
reader feels somewhat vulnerable at this point, in doubt of what the lion will do and
hoping that this time Don Quijote knows what he is doing. In any case, the fact that the
reader shares the pictorial space will help him or her to anticipate the outcome.

Common Compositional Features of the Illustrations

In spite of the possibility that different artists may have designed the illustrations,
they have a number of compositional features in common that might condition the way a
reader understands the text. These features include: (1) a theatrical presentation of the
action, protagonists and setting; (2) little direct address to the viewer; (3) a wide mix of
profile views of the protagonists; and (4) a rough characterization of Don Quijote and of
Sancho Panza.

Theatrical presentation. The images appear as if they were designs for theatrical
sets. They incorporate a well-defined differentiation between foreground and
background, clear depictions of activity and gesture, the casting of the viewer as an
audience, and a literal approach to the compositions. Taking Figure 4, Don Quijote
Drinks through a Tube, as an example, the artist has created a scene that takes place
outdoors, almost on a cliff edge; in the background, a line of hills recedes into the
distance. The scene is back lit, so that the foreground appears darker than the
background. Other scenes follow suit, carefully placing the primary action just before the viewer, often with a line of hills in the distance. Trees and buildings are frequently set on the reader's left, with the action taking place towards the right. A strong contrast between the darker foreground and the lighter background—with little midground—emphasizes the stage setting quality. In indoor scenes, this impression of theatricality is accentuated.

For example, the scene in the inn with Maritornes (Figure 7) places Sancho Panza asleep at the front edge of the design, almost extending into the viewer's space. Even here, the artist has contrived to produce a background by removing the roof and allowing a crescent moon to rise over the scene. Other indoor scenes consistently use a window in the wall, an open door, or a corridor to provide the impression of the depth of a stage.

A feature that contributes to the theatricality of these illustrations is the clear and well-defined—if not exaggerated—depiction of activities and gestures. Little ambiguity exists regarding who is doing what, and to whom, particularly once the text has been read. For example, in Figure 23, Don Quijote Attacks the Puppet-Show, the artist leaves no doubt about what Don Quijote is doing. The spectators behind him show their responses by their hand gestures and the puppeteer angrily addresses Don Quijote from behind the curtain. One can almost hear the actors declaiming their parts. A related aspect of this theatricality is the literality of the designs. What the protagonists are shown to be doing is generally what they do in the text. The artist has placed little or nothing symbolic in these illustrations. Other than the occasional Christian cross, the viewer sees no icons and few references to extra-textual elements.

A final aspect of the theatricality of these designs is that they cast the reader as an audience. The reader appears to be just in front of a stage, in some cases almost within
arm's reach of the actors, and the images almost invite the participation of the reader in the scene. Certainly, the viewer has a close-up view of the event, usually from the same or an only slightly elevated physical perspective. This aspect plays an important part of the design in some cases.

Although all the designs show this theatricality, Figure 14, Dorotea Appeals to Don Fernando in the Inn, may serve as an example. After Don Fernando, Luscinda, Dorotea and Cardenio have met in the inn, Dorotea appeals to Don Fernando. Exerting herself as much as she can, Dorotea goes to her knees at his feet and painfully explains why Luscinda cannot be Don Fernando's wife.

In this stark, although crowded scene, the artist has portrayed the moment in which Dorotea is on her knees, appealing to Don Fernando to recognize her claim that she is, indeed, his wife and that he can have nothing further to do with Luscinda. Don Fernando seems reluctant to turn his attention from Luscinda, who has just begged him to release her, to listen to Dorotea. Cardenio stands behind Luscinda; the priest is clearly defined by his dress. The remaining three at the left are ambiguous; perhaps the well lit person in the middle, because of his beard and rough clothing, is Sancho Panza.

Compared to many other illustrations, this design is less active, the gestures less dynamic and the scene less dramatic. It is a rather muted, if crowded, illustration. Nonetheless, it shows the elements of theatricality common to all the illustrations: the theatrical set design, a clear depiction of activity and gesture, and the casting of the viewer as an audience. As well as a literal approach to the scene, the artist has carefully placed a discarded antefaz—a mask used to protect the face from the sun and from dust while riding—on the floor in a rather conspicuous spot. In this way, he suggests that now
the mask is off and everything is revealed, the facts are being made plain. Indeed, in the
text this is the case. As well, the mask is reminiscent of those used in Greek and Roman
theatre (Hartnoll, 18-31); its presence announces that the artist is thinking of his design as
a theatrical scene and of the story as a *comedia*.

Direct address to the audience and profile views. The theatrical aspect of the images means that for the most part the protagonists address one another and the images become self-contained, precluding an address to the viewer. The reader notices very few "asides" to the audience. Consequently, the viewer sees a wide variety and mix of profile and full-face views of the various protagonists. For example, in the scene where Dorotea appeals to Don Fernando in the inn (*Figure 14*), the reader encounters a variation of full-face and profile views. Meyer Schapiro suggests that the contrast between profile and full-face views can be utilized by an artist to "reinforce a particular quality of the figure" (45). Often, he suggests, the profile is detached from the viewer and belongs with the body in action [...] in a space shared with other profiles on the surface of the image [...] while the face turned outwards is credited with intentness [...]. It seems to exist both for us and for itself in a space virtually continuous with our own, and is therefore appropriate to the figure as symbol or as carrier of a message. (38-39)

Indeed, the few faces that address the viewer directly in these designs seem to convey a message to the viewer. Accordingly, the high proportion of faces in full or partial profile emphasizes the self-contained quality of the images. The gestures and bodily relations reinforce this.

---

2 Carrete Parrondo (221) reproduces a plate from the 1648 edition of Quevedo's *El Parnaso español* that depicts the muse Thalia with two masks at her feet and holding another, while in the background, on an outdoors platform stage, a burlesque is being enacted. In Greek mythology, Thalia's sphere of influence is comedy and pastoral poetry (Mayerson 83). Thus, Diego de Obregón easily has precedent in using a mask to associate an event with theatre. Although Cervantes himself (371) says that the *antefaces* of the riders were black, and Bernis (18, 50-51, 55) mentions or reproduces only black ones, here the artist has taken a liberty with the colour.
Rough characterization. The final compositional quality mentioned here is the rough characterization of Don Quijote, Sancho Panza and other figures. All of the figures in these designs are rather rough hewn and "largely undifferentiated physically" (Schmidt 32). Don Quijote is typically recognizable by his armour, helmet and beard (although all of these vary). In some images he looks quite youthful; in others, old. The priest is recognizable by his bonete, his hat with four corners in a cross (Bernis 131); Sancho Panza often only by his propinquity to Don Quijote; and others only by their association in the scene. In fact, the artist does not present the characters of the text as individuals. This lack of differentiation among the protagonists, and especially the transformations of Don Quijote's appearance, may contribute to a reader's disregard of the characters as individuals and to his or her taking the story as a parade of events. It may also contribute to the reader's sense of the influence of fate on the protagonists, since the characters are perhaps not defined well enough to think that they contribute to the sequence and outcomes of events. The only issues of importance to such undifferentiated persons are what happens to them, rather than what they choose to do.

In sum, a number of compositional features of these designs promote a reader's understanding of the text as a series of occurrences and, perhaps, as a story whose primary purpose is to entertain. The clear differentiation between foreground and background provides a sense of theatricality to the reader's understanding and a sense of context. The well-defined relationships and the literal depictions of the activity offer no ambiguity to the viewer and little reason to reflect on the events taking place. The designs of the faces, as well as the postures and gestures of the actors, emphasize the self-referential nature and the active nature of the images. Finally, the roughness of the individual characterization makes it difficult for a viewer to relate to the personalities or motivations of the individuals depicted.
CHAPTER 3: THEMES IN THE ILLUSTRATIONS

In order to facilitate a comparison of these designs with the text, it is useful to have some orientation to the character of Don Quijote and to the movement of the plot. Such an orientation often provides a basis for discussing the illustrations.

An Understanding of Don Quijote

Alonso Quijano was a man who, after some fifty dry and fruitless years, decided to give life another try. He determined to impose, by dint of will, his version of life on reality, which, in fact, seldom supported his vision. In the process, he met with various people and involved himself in various events that, at different times and depending on his own ingenuity, supported or contradicted his ideal vision of himself, of the world and of his place in it. In general, he was so rudely received that, more or less quickly, he became tired of trying to maintain his vision. Eventually, he seemed to give it up and others, who were entertained by him, provided some motivation with which he complied for a time. However, in spite of his apparent discouragement with the role, in the end it appears that he had invested so much in the idea of Don Quijote that, without it, he had little reason to live.

Such a conception of Don Quijote as acting through will power is utilized by Luis Murillo, who describes the narrative as centring "on the illusions generated by a personal will. The hidalgo has informed his new role and identity as an act of will. He 'wills' to be Don Quixote" (32). In sum, he directs his efforts towards imposing a vision on reality by force, which often fails.

This general conception approximates Howard Mancing's image of Don Quijote.
Mancing claims that Alonso Quijano recognizes the futility and mediocrity of his life and takes the radical step of attempting to bring meaning to his existence, or at least to escape the reality of a man who has nearly reached the critical age of fifty without having ever really done anything of worth, by attempting to live life according to a set of ideal standards, those of knight-errantry. As Don Quijote, he set out with the highest possible enthusiasm, speaking and acting his part enthusiastically, directing his own life and that of others. But, slowly, he begins to make concessions to physical and psychological reality, being distracted from his original proposal by Sancho Panza, lying [...] and losing his original spirit. In the latter half of part I, the priest, the barber, Dorotea, and her friends usurp Don Quijote's rhetoric and his powers, reducing him to the status of a mere pawn or, worse yet, a slapstick buffoon. (117)

Further, Mancing believes that in part II, Don Quijote plays his part reluctantly and badly: he fails to deliver his lines properly and ignores or walks out on key scenes. When the consummate stage managers—the duke and duchess—take charge, Don Quijote loses the last bit of spirit remaining in him. The Don Quijote of all of part II is pathetic and sad, but after arriving at the ducal palace and definitively surrendering his will and his freedom, the pathos and sadness become even greater. The defeat that Don Quijote suffers at the hands of the vindictive Sansón Carrasco marks no turning point in the career of an already broken knight. [...] Don Quijote's chivalric trajectory in part II is from little to less. (170-171)

With Murillo, in considering what options Alonso Quijano thought were his to try, one must keep in mind his temperament and his place in a stratified society. As Murillo states, Alonso Quijano's choleric and arrogant nature coincided with that of the typical caballero andante [knight-errant]:

[W]e know that Quixote's motives [...] proceed from his madness, but his character has a psycho-physiological motivation that he shows in wrathful outbursts, his pride and arrogance; they are due to and express his choleric temperament. It is Cervantes' supreme conceit that his choler [...] should 'coincide' in his depiction with the wrathful nature of so many literary knights, when provoked to strike and kill, or with their passionate being. (38-39)

Without his specific temperament, Alonso Quijano would not have decided to try life again nor to adopt the specific identity of a caballero andante [knight errant].
Themes in the Illustrations

With these preliminaries in mind, one can now address the themes found in the illustrations. The three themes proposed here are derision, mockery, and irony; an invitation to the reader to join in the derision; and the rejection of Don Quijote from his own history.

_**Derision, Mockery and Irony.**_ Rachel Schmidt suggests that burlesque is the dominant theme in this series of designs. She states that seventeenth-century illustrators depicted _Don Quijote_ as burlesque and generally viewed [its characters] as figures evoking laughter rather than carrying serious meaning. [. . .] The primary emphasis on laughter shaped the early illustrations, seen in the interchangeability of characters, who are largely undifferentiated physically or psychologically, the preference for episodes of action, often violent, in which the slapstick humour is immediately accessible to a viewer possessing little literary knowledge, and the depiction of bawdy, sexually charged, or scatological moments. (31-32)

The burlesque is, indeed, a strong element in this series. However, the derision ranges from outright mockery to a more gentle burlesque and irony. Examples will help clarify these distinctions.

In mockery, one holds something or someone up to ridicule or contempt, with no intent to entertain or educate. In **Figure 4**, _Don Quijote Drinks through a Tube_, early in the set of illustrations, the artist appears to set a precedent for the mockery of Don Quijote. In his first sally from his native village, Don Quijote stays in an inn for a night. However, before keeping an overnight watch over his arms, he must eat.

Pusiéronle la mesa a la puerta de la venta, por el fresco, y truíjole el huésped una porción del mal remojado y peor cocido bacallao, y un pan tan negro y mugriento como sus armas; pero era materia de grande risa verle comer, porque, como tenía puesta la celada y alzada la visera, no podia poner nada en la boca con sus manos si otro no se lo daba y ponia; y así, una de aquellas señoras servía deste menester. Mas, al darle de beber,
While Don Quijote ingenuously perceives codfish as trout and filthy bread as white bread, he is confirming his chivalric mission. For Cervantes, the episode appears to confirm Don Quijote's initial confidence in his role, despite much evidence to the contrary—notably that of the food, that of the innkeeper who makes fun of Don Quijote's ideals, and that of the "maidens" who are, in fact, prostitutes.

The illustration depicts Don Quijote sitting at a table outdoors, at the door of the inn. The setting appears to be the top of a cliff or hill, falling away to a row of hills in the distance. By his side, the two serving maids look on in consternation or anticipation, while the innkeeper pours wine into the tube. The posture of the innkeeper indicates his eagerness to help his guest, braced to receive the drink. The dramatic arrangement of the postures and gestures of the participants expresses some tension, if not anxiety, over the procedure.

The most important difference between the image and the text is the change in tone of the depiction. Cervantes clearly indicates to the reader that Don Quijote is the active ingredient in the composition of the scene when he imagined "que estaba en algún famoso castillo [...] y que el abadejo eran truchas, el pan candela y las rameras damas, y el ventero castellano del castillo, y con esto daba por bien empleaba su determinación y
salida" (47) [that he was in some famous castle [. . .] and that the codfish was trout and the prostitutes maidens, and the innkeeper the lord of the castle, and with this he took his determination and journey to be well-rewarded]. Nonetheless, in the image, Don Quijote is subjected to an operation. Although he is not depicted as entirely passive, the innkeeper and the two maids have the active and dramatic parts and Don Quijote's perspective has been pre-empted. His point of view has been discarded in favour of one in which he is looked at by the viewer and, likely, laughed at and ridiculed. The viewer becomes part of an audience, along with the two handmaidens, whose point of view dominates the depiction of the incident.

The mockery is emphasized when one considers why the artist chose this scene to illustrate. As an event in the text, it is not outstanding. The chapter offers others that may have been illustrated, such as Don Quijote's departure at dawn from his house, his approach to the inn, or his meeting with the supposed maidens at the door of the inn, all of which have been illustrated by other artists. However, few of these would have offered quite the same opportunity for ridicule. Because of the audience included in the scene (the maidens), the reader takes his or her cue from their exaggerated response and is invited to treat Don Quijote with scorn. This incident encourages ridicule of Don Quijote perhaps not suggested by other events in the chapter; to select to illustrate it implies a previous decision on the part of the artist and/or editor regarding how to interpret the text, and a conditioning of the reader so to interpret it.

The artist also takes The Adventure of the Fulling Mills (Figure 9) as an opportunity for mockery. During a very dark night, Don Quijote and Sancho Panza have become lost in thick woods and, along with the sounds of the wind in the trees and of
En esto, parece ser, o que el frío de la mañana, que ya venía, o que Sancho hubiese cenado algunas cosas lenitivas, o que fuese cosa natural […] a él le vino en voluntad y deseo de hacer lo que otro no pudiera hacer por él; mas era tanto el miedo que había entrado en su corazón, que no osaba apartarse un negro de uña de su amo. Pues pensar de no hacer lo que tenía gana, tampoco era posible; y así, lo que hizo, por bien de paz, fue soltar la mano derecha, que tenía asida al arzón trasero, con la cual, bonitamente y sin rumor alguno, se soltó la lazada corrediza con que los calzones se sostenían, sin ayuda de otra alguna, y, en quitándosela, dieron luego abajo y se le quedaron como grillos. Tras esto, alzó la camisa lo mejor que pudo y echó al aire entrambas posaderas, que no eran muy pequeñas. Hecho esto—que él pensó que era lo más que tenía que hacer para salir de aquel terrible aprieto y angustia—, le sobrevino otra mayor, que he que le pareció que no podía mudarse sin hacer estrépito y ruido, y comenzó a apretar los dientes y a encoger los hombros, recogiendo en sí el aliento todo cuanto podía; pero, con todas estas diligencias, fue tan desdichado, que, al cabo, vino a hacer un poco de ruido, bien diferente de aquel que a él le ponía tanto miedo. Oyólo don Quijote y dijo:

—¿Qué rumor es ése, Sancho?
—No sé, señor—respondió él—. Alguna cosa nueva debe de ser; que las aventuras y desventuras nunca comienzan por poco.

Tornó otra vez a probar ventura, y sucedióle tan bien que, sin más ruido ni alboroto que el pasado, se halló libre de la carga que tanta pesadumbre le había dado. Mas, como don Quijote tenía el sentido del olfato tan vivo como el de los oídos, y Sancho estaba tan junto y cosido con él, que casi por línea recta subían los vapores hacia arriba, no se pudo escusar de que algunos no llegasen a sus narices; y apenas hubieron llegado, cuando él fue al socorro, apretándolas entre los dos dedos, y, con tono algo gangoso, dijo:

—Paréceme, Sancho, que tienes mucho miedo.
—Si tengo—respondió Sancho—; mas, ¿en qué lo echa de ver vuestra merced ahora más que nunca?
—En que ahora más que nunca hueles, y no a ámbar—respondió don Quijote.
—Bien podrá ser—dijo Sancho—, mas yo no tengo la culpa, sino vuestra merced, que me trae a deshoras y por estos no acostumbrados pasos.

—Retírate tres o cuatro allá, amigo—dijo don Quijote, todo esto sin quitarse los dedos de las narices—, y desde aquí adelante ten más cuenta con tu persona y con lo que debes a la mía; que la mucha conversación que tengo contigo ha engendrado este menosprecio.

—Apostaré—replicó Sancho—que piensa vuestra merced que yo he hecho de mi persona alguna cosa que no deba.
—Peor es meneallo, amigo Sancho—respondió don Quijote. (185-186)
[It seemed that because of the cold of the morning, which was now coming, or because Sancho might have eaten something laxative, or because it was a natural thing [. . .], the will and desire came to Sancho to do what no one else could do for him; but so much fear had entered his heart that he didn't dare separate himself a fingernail's width from his master. Since it was not possible to imagine not doing what he had to do, for the sake of peace he lowered his right hand, which had taken a hold on the rear saddle tree of Rocinante's saddle and, without any noise, loosened the slipknot which kept his pants up. In removing it, they fell down and remained like shackles. After this, he raised his shirt as best he could and threw both large buttocks into the air. Having done this--which he thought was the most he had to do to alleviate his terrible predicament and anguish--another, greater ensued, which was that it seemed he could not relieve himself without making noise. He began to clench his teeth and to shrug his shoulders, holding all the breath that he could; but, in all these efforts, he was disappointed, since in the end, he came to make a little noise, quite different from that which originally had given him so much fear. Don Quijote heard him and said:

"What noise is this, Sancho?"

"I don't know, sir," he responded. "It must be some new thing, since adventures and misfortunes always start small."

He tried his luck again and he succeeded so well that, without more noise, he found himself free of the load that had given him so much grief. But, as Don Quijote had a sense of smell as lively as that of hearing, and since the vapours rose up in almost a straight line, it could not be prevented that some arrived at his nostrils. Hardly had the vapours arrived when he took his nostrils between his fingers and, with a somewhat nasal tone, said:

"It seems to me, Sancho, that you are very afraid."

"Yes, I am," responded Sancho. "But, how do you see this now more than before?"

"In that now, more than ever, you smell, and not of amber," responded Don Quijote.

"It certainly could be," said Sancho. "But I am not to blame; rather, you are, because you bring me out at unearthly times and to these unaccustomed ways."

"Step back three or four paces, friend," said Don Quijote, without removing his fingers from his nose. "From here forward, take more account of your person and of what you owe to mine. I fear the amount of conversation that I have with you has engendered this disrespect."

"I will bet," replied Sancho, "that you think that I have made of my person something that I shouldn't."

"It's best not to stir things up, friend Sancho," responded Don Quijote.]

In the design illustrating this passage, the reader will forgive the fact that Don
Quijote is not astride Rocinante. The viewer will also need to accept the beardless youth of both protagonists. In addition, Don Quijote appears without his usual identifying signs. The viewer notes in the background the fulling mill, the occasion for this adventure, and the steeds of the two heroes. Allowing that the design is a poor fit to the text, the viewer sees Don Quijote expressing his disgust with Sancho Panza, who stands rather innocently before his master with his bottom bared. Don Quijote leans back to avoid Sancho and has one arm outstretched to ward him off, the other hand holding his nose.

In this image, the pride of Sancho Panza is noteworthy. He certainly is not ashamed of himself; on the contrary, he seems almost to expect praise for his production. Rather than having done furtively what no one else can do for him, he seems to be ready to brag about it. In his accentuation of Sancho Panza here and in his presentation of Sancho's pride in his work, the artist has reversed the typical roles (in part I of Don Quijote) of the protagonists. Typically, Don Quijote carries considerable pride as a caballero andante [knight-errant] and Sancho is more humble, looking up to Don Quijote and often demeaning himself. In this particular passage, Cervantes generally reinforces this point of view, given Don Quijote's superior position on his horse and Sancho Panza's secretiveness in relieving himself. However, in this design, Don Quijote is not on his horse; he and his squire are similar in their youth and shown on an equal footing. As well, Sancho does not denigrate himself; rather, he faces Don Quijote directly, as if demanding respect even in this situation.

The illustration functions to bring Sancho Panza and Don Quijote onto the same ground in circumstances where one would hardly expect it. In sum, it derides the
relationship that the two maintain throughout the first part of *Don Quijote* and, given the circumstances, it mocks Don Quijote in his disdain for Sancho's earthiness.

In another illustration, *Sancho Panza's Leave-Taking from Don Quijote in the Sierra Morena* (Figure 11), Don Quijote and Sancho Panza are even more strongly mocked. Sancho is about to take Don Quijote's letter to Dulcinea; however, he becomes worried and says to Don Quijote:

--Pero, ¿sabe vuestra merced qué temo? Que no tengo de acertar a volver a este lugar donde agora le dejo, según está de escondido. [...]

[Replicó Don Quijote:] [Qué lo más acertado será, para que no me yermes y te pierdas, que cortes algunas retamas de las muchas que por aquí hay, y las vayas poniendo de trecho a trecho, hasta salir a lo raso, las cuales te servirán de mojones y señales para que me halles cuando vuelvas, a imitación del hilo del laberinto de Perseo.]

--Así lo haremos-- respondió Sancho Panza.

Y cortando algunos, pidió la bendición a su señor, y, no sin muchas lágrimas de entrambos, se despidió él. Y subiendo sobre Rocinante [... se puso en camino del llano, esparciendo de trecho a trecho los ramos de la retama, como su amo se lo había aconsejado. Y así, se fue, aunque todavía le importunaba don Quijote que le viese siquiera hacer dos locuras. Mas no hubo andado cien pasos, cuando volvió y dijo:

--Digo, señor, que vuestra merced ha dicho muy bien: que para que pueda jurar sin cargo de conciencia que le he visto hacer locuras, será bien que vea siquiera una [...].

--¿No te lo decía yo?--dijo don Quijote--. Espérate, Sancho, que en un credo las haré.

Y desnudándose con toda priesa las calzones, quedó en carnes y en pañales, y luego, sin más ni más, dio dos zapetetas en el aire y dos tumbas la cabeza abajo y los pies en alto, descubriendo cosas que, por no verlas otra vez, volvió Sancho la rienda a Rocinante y se dio por contento y satisfecho de que podía jurar que su amo quedaba loco. (249-250)

[Do you know what I am afraid of? That I have to return to this place where I am leaving you, which is quite hidden. [...]

[Don Quijote replied:] "So that you do not mistake me and lose yourself, it would be wise for you to cut some branches from the many here and put one down every so often, until you reach the open. They will serve as markers and signs so that you can find me when you return, in imitation of the thread of the Labyrinth of Perseus [Theseus]."

"So I will," responded Sancho Panza.

Cutting some, he asked for the blessing of his master and, with many tears from both, he said goodbye. Mounting Rocinante, Sancho [...]


started on the road to the plain, scattering at intervals the branches as his master had advised him. And so, he left, although Don Quijote still importuned him to see at least two capers. However, he hadn't gone a hundred steps when he returned and said:

"I say, sir, you said it very well: so that I can swear with a free conscience that I have seen you do capers, it would be good that I see even one [. . .].

"Didn't I tell you?" said Don Quijote. "Wait, Sancho, in an instant I will do them."

In a trice, he removed his pants and was bare and in shirt tails, and then, without more ado, he gave two hops into the air and two cartwheels with his head below and his feet above, showing things that, in order not to see them again, Sancho took Rocinante's rein and considered himself happy and satisfied that he could swear that his master was mad.]

Here, Cervantes presents his parody of knight-errantry at its most florid. Any sense of nobility that the penitence of Don Quijote might have had is removed by the acrobatics and antics that he performs for Sancho. As well, since these in front of Sancho are a "command performance," any real sense of penitence is further removed. Mancing states that "Don Quijote is merely play acting out of frustration with the harsh encounters he has had with reality; he has ceased to be a knight-errant and has become a jester" (84).

In this design, the artist has placed both Don Quijote and Sancho Panza in the immediate foreground, at the foot of a mountain in the Sierra Morena. The squire is atop a well-fed and well-groomed Rocinante--the same Rocinante as in the frontispiece--having returned to see his master do a few cartwheels. Sancho carries with him a bundle of branches to mark his return path. In this image, however, marking his way would be unnecessary since a village with a prominent church is within sight.

The outstanding feature of this image is the shift in typical roles between the two. Sancho is elevated here, not merely because he now rides Rocinante, although this contributes to the effect. Don Quijote's squire is not meekly looking on while his master finishes his demonstration, nor is Rocinante waiting patiently; rather, Rocinante's spirited
disdains of his master's antics and his eagerness to be on the way add to Sancho Panza's seigniorial leave-taking. Sancho is, if not commanding Don Quijote to remain, at least dismissing him as he leaves.

As well, Don Quijote, who looks thick, muscular and rough, has aged. He has been made to appear as a repulsive labourer. He has been lowered not only by Sancho's physical elevation and dismissal, but by his own lowly appearance and place. The artist depicts none of the idealism of Don Quijote's penitence; instead, Don Quijote has the appearance of grovelling. Rather than encouraging the reader merely to laugh, the artist once again ridicules or mocks Don Quijote and his relationship with Sancho Panza.

In addition, perhaps the church in the background emphasizes the non-Christian nature of Don Quijote's penitence, adding to the degradation of Don Quijote. Don Quijote has described his plans in entirely non-Christian terms:

Amadis fue el norte, el lucero, el sol de los valientes y enamorados caballeros, a quien debemos de imitar todos aquellos que debajo de la bandera de amor y de la caballería militamos. Siendo, pues, esto así, como lo es, hallo yo, Sancho amigo, que el caballero andante que más le imitare estará más cerca de alcanzar la perfección de la caballería. Y una de las cosas en que más este caballero mostró su prudencia, valor, valentía, sufrimiento, firmeza y amor, fue cuando se retiró [. . .] a hacer penitencia en la Peña Pobre [. . .]. Ansí que, me es a mí más fácil imitarle en esto que no en hender gigantes, descabezrar serpientes, matar endriagos, desbaratar ejércitos, fracasar armadas y deshacer encantamientos. Y, pues estos lugares son tan acomodados para semejantes efectos, no hay para qué se deje pasar la ocasión, que ahora con tanta comodidad me ofrece sus gudejas. (237)

[Amadís was the light, the morning star, the sun of valiant and enamoured knights, which all of those who serve under the banner of love and of knighthood ought to imitate. Being so, friend Sancho, I find that the more a knight errant imitates him, the more near he will be in achieving the perfection of knighthood. One of the things in which this knight showed his prudence, valour, courage, patience, firmness and love, was when he withdrew [. . .] to do penitence in the Peña Pobre [. . .]. So, it is easier for me to imitate him in this than in splitting giants, cutting the heads from serpents, killing dragons, routing armies, making armadas fail and undoing]
enchantments. And because these places are so suitable for such effects, there is no reason now to let an occasion pass that offers me such comfort.]

Although earlier in his career, Don Quijote could invoke Dulcinea's image to generate both spiritual and physical enthusiasm, by the time of his penance in the Sierra Morena, his devotion is somewhat artificial and can be contrasted with that of Cardenio, who truly goes mad for his love. Don Quijote's penitence, as well, is outside of the protection or provenance of the Church and the artist, by placing a church in the distance, emphasizes the fact.

In sum, this illustration emphasizes Don Quijote once again "brought low" and defeated. By placing him lower than Sancho Panza, not living up to his own ideals and distant from the Church, the artist mocks Don Quijote.

However, in another scene, The End of Sancho Panza's Governorship (Figure 29), it is Sancho Panza who is mocked. To end Sancho's governorship, the Duke's men feign an invasion of Barataria and awaken him in the night.

Y al momento le trujeron dos paveses [...] y le pusieron encima de la camisa, sin dejarle tomar otro vestido, un pavés delante y otro detrás, y por unas concavidades que traían hechas le sacaron los brazos, y le liaron muy bien con unos cordeles, de modo que quedó emparedado y entablado, derecho como un huso, sin poder doblar las rodillas ni menearse un solo paso. Pusiérónle en las manos una lanza, a la cual se arrimó para poder tenerse en pie. Cuando así le tuvieron, le dijeron que caminase, y los guíase, y animase a todos; que siendo él su norte, su lanterna y su lucero, tendrían buen fin sus negocios.

--¿Cómo tengo de caminar, desventurado yo--respondió Sancho--, que no puedo jugar las choquezuelas de las rodillas, porque me lo impiden estas tablas que tan cosidas tengo con mis carnes? Lo que han de hacer es llevarme en brazos y ponerme, atravesado o en pie, en algún postigo, que yo le guardaré, o con esta lanza o con mi cuerpo.

--Ande, señor gobernador--dijo otro--, que más el miedo que las tablas le impiden el paso; acabe y menéese, que es tarde, y los enemigos crecen, y las voces se aumentan, y el peligro carga. (924)

[Instantly they brought two large shields [...] and they put them over his nightshirt without letting him put on any other clothing, one shield in
front and the other behind, bringing his arms out through some holes they had made. They tied him well with some cord so that he remained sandwiched and boarded in, upright like a spindle, without being able to bend his knees or take a single step. They put a lance into his hands, on which he leaned in order to stay afoot. When they had tied him, they told him to walk and to guide them and to encourage everyone, since, being their guiding star, their lantern and their light, their efforts would have a good end.

"Poor me, how can I walk," responded Sancho, "since I can't bend my knees? These planks united with my flesh prevent me. What you have to do is lift me by the arms and put me, across or on foot, in some side door that I will guard either with this lance or with my body."

"Let's go, sir governor," said another. "Fear more than the shields prevents your step. Shake a leg, because it's late and the enemy increases, the yells get louder and danger draws near."]

This is a telling moment for Sancho, the beginning of his realization that "Yo no nací para ser gobernador [. . .] mejor me entiende a mi de arar y cavar" (926) [I was not born to be a governor [. . .] I know more about plowing and digging]. In this portrayal, the artist illustrates the moment in which the governor has been seized and encased in two shields by the Duke's men. The artist has created an active, public scene, one conforming to his idea of the dramatic and episodic history of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza. As well, the scene is made into theatre, placing the audience almost among the participants, underscoring an onlooker's point of view. The artist disregards Sancho's sentiments about the event in favour of a perspective that gives the story over to an onlooker almost in the scene. The artist has thus aligned himself with the Duke's mockery of Sancho Panza's ambitions.

**Burlesque.** Burlesque is a slightly gentler form of derision than mockery and, as Rachel Schmidt has indicated, appears frequently in this series of illustrations. For example, burlesque appears in Figure 10, Cardenio Fights with Don Quijote and Sancho Panza. Master and squire have met Cardenio in the Sierra Morena; while Cardenio is relating his history, Don Quijote interrupts and disagrees with Cardenio's understanding
of Amadis de Gaula. They begin to argue:

[C]omo ya Cardenio estaba loco, y se oyó tratar de mentís y de bellaco, con otros denuestos semejantes, parecióle mal la burla, y alzó un guijarro que halló junto a sí, y dio con él en los pechos tal golpe a don Quijote que le hizo caer de espaldas. Sancho Panza, que de tal modo vio parar a su señor, arremetió al loco con el puño cerrado, y [Cardenio] le recibió de tal suerte, que con una puñada dio con él a sus pies, y luego se subió sobre él y le brumó las costillas muy a su sabor. El cabrero, que le quiso defender, corrió el mismo peligro. Y después que los tuvo a todos rendidos y molidos, los dejó, y se fue, con gentil sosiego, a emboscarse en la montaña. (232)

[As Cardenio was now deranged and he heard himself treated as a liar and as malicious, with other similar insults, the joke seemed stale to him. He raised a stone that he found next to him, and with it he gave Don Quijote such a blow on the chest that he fell onto his back. Sancho Panza, who saw his master fall, attacked the crazy one with his closed fist; Cardenio received him with a clout that knocked Sancho down at his feet, and then he bruised his ribs much to his pleasure. The goat herder, who wanted to defend Sancho, ran the same danger. After he had exhausted and bruised them all, Cardenio left them with courteous calmness to lie in ambush in the mountains.]

The text contrasts Don Quijote with Cardenio. Mancing suggests that "Cardenio's authentic penance in the Sierra Morena makes the feigned one of Don Quijote all the more hollow" (84). As well, since Cervantes is careful to let the reader know that at this time Cardenio is quite deranged, the conflict between Don Quijote and Cardenio is not one between truth and falsehood, but between one passion and another.

In the depiction, the viewer sees Cardenio centre-stage, as it were, who in his own temporary madness has ascendancy over both Don Quijote and Sancho Panza. Don Quijote, beardless, can be identified only by his shield and, perhaps, by his breastplate or cuirass. Sancho Panza is still making the fist with which he first approached Cardenio. A very demonstrative goat herder approaches to intervene.

Continuing his line of thinking started in Figure 9, the artist has brought Don Quijote and Sancho Panza down to the same level, equalized before someone whose
madness has more force than their own. However, since their treatment is not a juxtaposition of truth and fiction, it has no educational function for the reader and becomes a simple burlesque of Don Quijote's idealism.

Ironic. The artist often displays an ironic tendency, showing Don Quijote's actual behaviour at variance with his idealism. An excellent example is Figure 7, The Fight with Maritornes. After their difficult encounter with the muleteers, Don Quijote and Sancho Panza arrive at the inn again. After dark, Maritornes, the serving maid, comes into the attic where Don Quijote and Sancho are sleeping to meet another guest.

[Etta] entró en el aposento donde los tres alojaban, en busca del harriero. Pero, apenas llegó a la puerta, cuando don Quijote la sintió, y, sentándose en la cama [. . .] tendió los brazos para recibir a su feriosa doncella. [Ella], que, toda recogida y callando, iba con las manos delante buscando, a su querido, topó con los brazos de don Quijote, el cual la asió fuertemente de una muñeca y tirándola hacía sí, sin que ella osase hablar palabra, la hizo sentar sobre la cama. Tentóle luego la camisa, y, aunque ella era de harpillería, a él le pareció ser de finísimo y delgado cendal. Traía en las muñecas unas cuentas de vidrio; pero a él le dieron vislumbres de preciosas perlas orientales. Los cabellos, que en alguna manera tiraban a crines, él los marcó por hebras de lucidísimo oro de Arabia, cuyo resplandor al del mismo sol escurecía. Y el aliento, que, sin duda alguna, olía a ensalada fiambre y trasnochada, a él le pareció que arrojaba de su boca un olor suave y aromático [. . .]. Y era tanta la ceguedad del pobre hidalgo, que el tacto, ni el aliento, ni otras cosas que traía en sí la buena doncella, no le desenganaban, las cuales pudieran hacer vomitar a otro que no fuera harriero; antes, le parecía que tenía entre sus brazos a la diosa de la hermosura. [. . .]

Maritornes estaba cegadísima y trasudando, de verse tan asida de don Quijote, y, sin entender ni estar atenta a las razones que le decía, procuraba, sin hablar palabra, desasirse. El bueno del harriero, a quien tenían despierto sus malos deseos, desde el punto que entró su coima por la puerta, la sintió; estuvo atentamente escuchando todo lo que don Quijote decía, y, celoso de que [Maritornes] le hubiese faltado la palabra por otro, se fue llegando más al lecho de don Quijote, y estuvose quedo hasta ver en qué paraban aquellas razones, que él no podía entender. Pero, como vio que la moza forcejaba por desasirse y don Quijote trabajaba por tenella, pareciéndole mal la burla, enarboló el brazo en alto y descargó tan terrible puñada sobre las estrechas quijadas del enamorado caballero, que le bañó toda la boca en sangre; y, no contento con esto, se le subió encima
de las costillas, y con los pies más que de trote, se las paseó todas de cabo a cabo.

El lecho, que era un poco endeble y de no firmes fundamentos, no pudiendo sufrir la añadidura del harriero, dio consigo en el suelo, a cuyo gran ruido despertó el ventero, y luego imaginó que debían de ser pendencias de Maritornes [. . .]. Con esta sospecha se levantó, y, encendiendo un candil, se fue hacia donde había sentido la pelaza. La moza, viendo que su amo venía, y que era de condición terrible, toda medrosica y alborotada, se acogió a la cama de Sancho Panza, que aún dormía, y allí se acorruco y se hizo un ovillo. El ventero entró, diciendo:

--¿Adónde estás, puta? A buen seguro que son tus cosas éstas.

En esto, despertó Sancho, y, sintiendo aquel bulto casi encima de sí, pensó que tenía la pesadilla, comenzó a dar puñadas a una y otra parte, y, entre otras alcanzó con no sé cuántas a Maritornes, la cual, sentida del dolor, echando a rodar la honestidad, dio el retorno a Sancho con tantas que, a su despecho, le quitó el sueño; el cual, viéndose tratar de aquella manera y sin saber de quién, alzándose como pudo, se abrazó con Maritornes, y comenzaron entre los dos la más reñida y graciosa escaramuza del mundo.

Viendo, pues, el harriero, a la lumbre del candil del ventero, cuál andaba su dama, dejando a don Quijote, acudió a dalle el socorro necesario. Lo mismo hizo el ventero, pero con intención diferente, porque fue a castigar a la moza, creyendo sin duda que ella sola era la ocasión de toda aquella armonía. Y así como suele decirse: el gato a la cuerda, la cuerda a palo, daba el harriero a Sancho, Sancho a la moza, y todos menudeaban con tanta priesa, que no se daban punto de reposo; y fue lo bueno que al ventero se le apagó el candil, y, como quedaron a ascuras, dábanse tan sin compasión todos a bulto, que a doquiera que pondan la mano no dejaban cosa sana.

[She entered the room where the three were lodged, in search of the muledriver. She had hardly reached the door when Don Quijote heard her and, sitting up in bed [. . .] he spread his arms to receive his beautiful maiden. She, completely silent, went with her hands before her searching for her sweetheart, and met with the arms of Don Quijote who seized her strongly by the wrist. Bringing her towards him, without her daring to say a word, he made her sit on the bed. He immediately took her garment and, although it was made of sackcloth, to him it seemed to be of fine and thin gauze. She had on her wrists some glass beads, but to him they gave glimmers of precious oriental pearls. Her hair, which fell like horsehair, he took as threads of shining Arabian gold, whose splendour obscured that of the sun. Her breath, certainly smelling of stale and leftover salad, seemed to him to send out from her mouth a sweet and aromatic odour. [. . .] The blindness of the poor man was so great that neither the touch, the breath, nor other things that the good maiden brought in herself disillusioned him, yet they might make another who was not a muleteer vomit. Instead, it seemed to him that he had between his arms the goddess of beauty. [. . .]
Maritornes was severely distressed and sweating to see herself seized by Don Quijote and, without understanding or paying attention to what he said, tried without saying a word to release herself. The good muleteer, whose evil desires awakened him at the point when his lover entered the door, heard her. He was listening attentively to all that Don Quijote said and, jealous that Maritornes had not said anything to him, went closer to Don Quijote's bed, where he remained to see how this discussion would end. As he saw the young lady trying to release herself and Don Quijote working to hold her, the joke seemed poor to him and he hoisted his arm high and released such a terrible punch on the narrow jaw of the enamoured knight that his whole mouth was bathed in blood. Not content with this, he lifted himself onto Don Quijote's ribs and, at more than a trot, walked over all of them, from beginning to end.

The bed, which was a little weak and without a firm foundation, could not tolerate the addition of the muledriver, and collapsed onto the floor, at which disturbance the innkeeper awakened and immediately imagined quarrels of Maritornes. [...] With this suspicion, he got up and, lighting a candle, sought the source of the scuffle. The girl, seeing that her master was coming and that she was in a terrible condition, afraid and agitated, turned to Sancho Panza's bed, who still was sleeping, and there she curled up into a ball. The innkeeper entered, saying:

"Where are you, whore? Certainly this uproar is your doing."

At this, Sancho woke up and, feeling the lump almost on top of him, thought he was having a nightmare and began to hit out at one or another place. Among the blows, he managed to hit Maritornes I don't know how many times, who, feeling the pain and returning the favour, returned so many to Sancho that, in spite of himself, he woke up fully. Seeing himself treated in that manner and without knowing by whom, he got up as he could, clung to Maritornes, and they began the most hard-fought, yet amusing skirmish in the world.

The muleteer, seeing by the light of the innkeeper's candle what his lady was doing, leaving Don Quijote, approached to give her the necessary aid. The innkeeper did the same, but with a different intention, because he went to punish the girl, believing without a doubt that she alone was the occasion of all this harmony. And, as one tends to say, as the cat went for the rat, the rat for the cord, the cord for the stick, so the muleteer went for Sancho, Sancho for the girl, the girl for him, the innkeeper for the girl, and everything so quickly that no one could rest. It was fortunate that the innkeeper's candle went out and, as they were left in the dark, everyone went after the lump so vigorously that wherever they laid a hand they left a bruise.]

Cervantes describes a chain of events that started with the arrangement between the muleteer and Maritornes to meet at night, but which depends for its unfolding on Don Quijote's fantasy regarding the innkeeper's daughter. When Maritornes appears, Don
Quijote seizes her by the wrist and the scene develops. The text then emphasizes the punishment of Don Quijote, rather than that of Maritornes. Maritornes does not receive blows until after she has fallen onto Sancho, awakens him, and he begins to hit her. The illustration, however, emphasizes the pain inflicted on Maritornes while Sancho is still asleep in the foreground. The reader sees Maritornes slumped over Don Quijote in his bed; she has one arm extended, perhaps to pull his hair, and Don Quijote seems to be returning the favour. Perhaps, however, he is merely feeling her hair, as the text has stated. At the same time, while Don Quijote is grappling with the mule driver with his other hand, the innkeeper rushes in with a candle. Maritornes appears quite passive, even asleep, with one breast bare.

The illustration shifts the emphasis from a reading in which one understands the motives of everyone concerned to a reading that merely displays the disorder or agitation. The artist has not attempted to show either the motives or the outcome accurately. Rather, he focuses on the ridiculous or comical by making Maritornes the central figure of the design and perhaps the most highly lit figure. However, her passivity dominates the scene and a reader might suppose that the artist is depicting her as abused or maltreated, with the innkeeper and the muleteer attempting to rescue her from Don Quijote. In turn, Don Quijote is cast as malicious and lascivious, quite in contrast to his chivalric, if not innocent, fantasy regarding the daughter of the innkeeper:

[É]l se imaginó haber llegado a un famoso castillo--que, como se ha dicho, castillos eran a su parecer todas las ventas donde alojaba--, y que la hija del ventero lo era del señor del castillo, la cual, vencida su gentileza, se había enamorado dél y prometido que aquella noche, a furto de sus padres, vendría a yacer con él una buena pieza. (147)

[He imagined that he had arrived at a famous castle--as has been said, all the inns where he stayed were castles in his mind--and that the daughter of the innkeeper was the daughter of the lord of the castle, who, conquered]
A comment of Rachel Schmidt brings the contrast between the passage and the design into focus:

the protagonist’s chastity, the very quality for which he would be so esteemed and elevated in sentimental readings of the eighteenth century, invited excited laughter from early readers as yet another form of folly manifesting the proud delusions of a love based on literary codes. (37)

The presence of the crescent moon in the upper right corner of the design now appears apt. The moon, as a representation of Aphrodite/Venus, "stirs up sweet passion" (Mayerson 184) in both gods and men, including Don Quijote himself.

In sum, while perhaps this image does not exhibit explicit mockery of Don Quijote or invite the laughter that Schmidt suggests, it is at least ironic, showing Don Quijote in a more lascivious position than the text describes or his ideals allow. The artist has demonstrated a subtle skill in producing this interpretation of the text. In order to construct such a design, he has clearly read and pondered the text; likewise, it would take an attentive reader to understand its irony, since it can easily be passed over as a busy scene summarizing an altercation.

Invitation to the Reader to Share the Derision. Another distinct, if puzzling, theme in the imagery of this edition is an invitation to the reader to share in the derision of Don Quijote and Sancho Panza. Many of these invitations occur in designs in which an onlooker looks directly at the viewer.

One may take, for example, Figure 8, Tossing Sancho Panza on the Blanket. In the text, Don Quijote has left the inn without paying; when the innkeeper asks his squire for the payment, he is again refused. It so happened that,

entre la gente que estaba en la venta, se [hallase] [...] gente alegre, bien intencionada, maleante y juguetona, los cuales, casi como instigados y
movidos de un mismo espíritu, se llegaron a Sancho, y, apeándole del asno, uno dellos entró por la manta de la cama del huésped, y, echándole en ella [. . .] determinaron salirse al corral [. . .]. Y allí, puesto Sancho en mitad de la manta, comenzaron a levantarle en alto y a holgarse con él como con perro por carnestolendas.

Las voces que el mísero manteado daba fueron tantas, que llegaron a los oídos de su amo; el cual, determinándose a escuchar atentamente, creyó que alguna nueva aventura le venía, hasta que claramente conoció que el que gritaba era su escudero; y, volviendo las riendas, con un penado galope llegó a la venta, y, hallándola cerrada, la rodeó por ver si hallaba por donde entrar; pero no hubo llegado a las paredes del corral, que no eran muy altas, cuando vio el mal juego que se le hacía a su escudero. Viole bajar y subir por el aire, con tanta gracia y presteza que, si la cólera le dejara, tengo para mí que se riera. Probó a subir desde el caballo a las bardas, pero [. . .] no pudo; y así, desde encima del caballo, comenzó a decir tantos denuestos y baldones a los que a Sancho manteaban, que no es posible acertar a escribirlos; mas no por esto cesaban ellos de su risa y de su obra, ni el volador Sancho dejaba sus quejas, mezcladas ya con amenazas, ya con ruegos; mas todo aprovechaba poco, ni aprovechó, hasta que de puro cansados le dejaron. (157-158)

[among the people who were in the inn, one found well-disposed, happy people, those fond of a joke and playful, who, instigated and moved by almost the same spirit, approached Sancho. Removing him from his donkey, one of them went for the blanket of the host's bed and, throwing him into it, they [. . .] decided to go out to the corral [. . .]. Once there, they placed Sancho in the middle of the blanket and began to raise him on high and to amuse themselves with him as with a dog at Shrovetide.

The yells that the wretched, tossed one gave were so loud that they came to the ears of his master, who, determining to listen attentively, believed that some new adventure had come to him until he clearly recognized that his squire was yelling. Taking the reins, with a pitiful gallop he returned to the inn and, finding it closed, he rode around it to see if he could find a place to enter. He had hardly arrived at the walls of the corral, which were not very high, when he saw the malicious game that was being made of his squire. He saw him go up and down through the air with such grace and alacrity that, if his anger had allowed him, I think he might have laughed. He tried to climb from his horse to the top of the walls, but [. . .] he couldn't. And, so, from on top of his horse, he began to call such insults and affronts to those who were tossing Sancho in the blanket that it is not possible to write them. Nonetheless, they did not stop their laughter and their work. Nor did flying Sancho stop his complaints mixed, now with threats and now with begging; but it all profited him little until from pure tiredness they let him off.]

In the text, the reader is, so to speak, looking over the shoulder of Don Quijote while he looks over the wall of the corral, sharing Don Quijote's surprise and distress. However--
as the illustration verifies—it is not difficult to move this portable viewpoint to the other side of the corral so that one is watching both the game in the corral and Don Quijote watching it. The viewer then takes the now familiar point of view of a member of a theatre audience. This perspective emphasizes the activity and its burlesque quality, rather than Don Quijote's response. It also emphasizes Sancho Panza's distress, at a further remove from Don Quijote.

A notable feature of this image is the individual at the far left, who is looking at the audience. His bold look seems to say, "Wouldn't you like to join us?" His glance also tells the reader that nothing strange or unusual is happening in this activity. In response, the reader feels an invitation to join and, perhaps, feels the urge to take up a corner of the blanket. This direct address to the reader brings him or her into the space as a participant, diminishing the viewer-image distance. That is, while the image retains the theatrical-set quality common to all the illustrations, this direct invitation invites the reader to participate in the event.

As well, Don Quijote, almost hidden on the other side of the wall, is excluded from participating in this most normal activity of the world. While the text emphasizes Don Quijote's point of view, the illustration excludes Don Quijote's perspective, making him more of an "outsider" than the audience. The artist has ignored Don Quijote's actively insulting the participants with the result that he now has less place in the scene than has the viewer. The artist, rather than adopting the point of view of Don Quijote to define the scene, uses that of the "public"—the participants and the audience—to present the scene. In fact, Don Quijote becomes the audience and the viewer a participant. This is an amazing turn of events, where Don Quijote has been excluded from his own story,
left to look over the wall, and where the reader joins the anonymous world around him.

This illustration is less a comment on Don Quijote, and even less on Sancho Panza, than it is an invitation to the reader to become part of an intimate audience that derides Don Quijote and his aspirations. It invites the reader to assume the position of those whom Don Quijote encounters in his travels, one of the anonymous many who appear as needed to provide a pair of hands, unmentioned until needed. Indeed, not only does the look from the individual on the left reinforce this invitation, the point of view from the side of the wall with the activity strongly implicates the reader as a participant in the scene, at the same time that it excludes Don Quijote from his history.

In another depiction, Don Quijote and Sancho Panza Meet the Cart of Actors (Figure 20), the artist has placed another appeal to the viewer. After meeting with the three villagers which they take to be Dulcinea enchanted and her handmaidens, Don Quijote and Sancho travel on, discussing the unfortunate enchantment.

Respondieron quería don Quijote a Sancho Panza, pero estorbóselo una carreta que salió al través del camino, cargada de los más diversos y estrafios personajes y figuras que pudieron imaginarse. El que guiaba las mulas y servía de carretero era un feo demonio. Venía la carreta descubierta al cielo abierto, sin toldo ni zarzo. La primera figura que se ofreció a los ojos de don Quijote fue la de la misma Muerte, con rostro humano; junto a ella venía un ángel con unas grandes y pintadas alas; al un lado estaba un emperador con una corona, al parecer de oro, en la cabeza; a los pies de la Muerte estaba el dios que llaman Cupido, sin venda en los ojos, pero con su arco, carcaj y saetas. Venía también un caballero armado de punta en blanco, excepto que no traía morrón, ni celada, sino un sombrero lleno de plumas de diversas colores; con éstas venían otras personas de diferentes trajes y rostros. Todo lo cual visto de improviso, en alguna manera alborotó a don Quijote y puso miedo en el corazón de Sancho; mas luego se alegró don Quijote, creyendo que se le ofrecía alguna nueva y peligrosa aventura, y con este pensamiento, y con ánimo dispuesto de acometer cualquier peligro, se puso delante de la carreta. [...]

[Q]uiiso la suerte que llegase uno de la compañía, que venía vestido de bogiganga, con muchos cascabeles, y en la punta de un palo traía tres
vejigas de vaca hinchadas; el cual moharracho, llegándose a don Quijote, comenzó a esgrimir el palo y a sacudir el suelo con las vejigas, y a dar grandes saltos, sonando los cascabeles; cuya mala visión así alborotó a Rocinante, que, sin ser poderoso a detenerle don Quijote, tomando el freno entre los dientes, dio a correr por el campo con más ligereza que jamás prometieron los huesos de su notomía. Sancho, que consideró el peligro en que iba su amo de ser derribado, saltó del rucio, y a toda prisa fue a valerle; pero cuando a él llegó, ya estaba en tierra, y junto a él, Rocinante, que, con su amo, vino al suelo: ordinario fin y paradero de las lozanías de Rocinante y de sus atrevimientos.

Mas apenas hubo dejado su caballería Sancho [...] cuando el demonio bailador de las vejigas saltó sobre el rucio, y sacudiéndole con ellas, el miedo y ruido, más que el dolor de los golpes, le hizo volar por la campaña hacia el lugar donde iban a hacer la fiesta. Miraba Sancho la carrera de su rucio y la caída de su amo, y no sabia a cuál de las dos necesidades acudiría primero; pero, en efecto, como buen escudero y como buen criado, pudo más con él el amor de su señor que el cariño de su jumento, puesto que cada vez que veía levantar las vejigas en el aire y caer sobre las ancas de su rucio eran para él tártales y sustos de muerte, y antes quisiera que aquellos golpes se los dieran a él en las niñas de los ojos que en el más mínimo pelo de la cola de su asno. Con esta perpleja tribulación llegó donde estaba don Quijote, harto más maltecho de lo que él quisiera. (612-614)

[Don Quijote wanted to respond to Sancho Panza, but a cart that came across the road, loaded with the most diverse and strange people and figures that they could imagine, prevented him. He who guided the mules and served as driver was an ugly demon. The cart was open to the sky, without cover of any kind. The first figure that offered himself to the eyes of Don Quijote was Death itself, with a human face. Next to him came an angel with large, painted wings. To one side stood an emperor with a crown, apparently of gold, on his head. At the feet of Death was the god Cupid, without a blindfold on his eyes but with his bow, quiver and arrows. Also a gentleman came, armed to the nines except that instead of a helmet, he wore a hat covered with feathers of various colours. With these came others with different dress and countenance. All of this so suddenly seen agitated Don Quijote and put fear into the heart of Sancho. Don Quijote quickly revived, believing that it offered some new and dangerous adventure. With this thought, and with spirit ready to attempt any danger, he placed himself in front of the cart. [...]]

As luck would have it, one of the company dressed as a clown with many bells stepped forth, carrying at the point of a pole three inflated cow bladders. This clown, coming to Don Quijote, began to wave the pole and to shake the bladders against the ground and to give high jumps, ringing the bells—a vision which so alarmed Rocinante that, without Don Quijote's being able to stop him, he took the bit between his teeth and began to run through the field with more alacrity than his bones had previously
promised. Sancho, who considered his master in danger of being thrown down, jumped from his mule and, at full speed, went to help him. But when he arrived, Don Quijote was already on the ground and next to him on the ground, Rocinante: the usual end and whereabouts of the exertions and boldness of Rocinante.

Sancho had barely left his mount [...] when the dancing demon with the bladders jumped onto the mule and, with shaking the bladders and the fear and noise, along with the pain of blows, he made the mule fly through the countryside toward the village where they were going to have a festival. Sancho watched the dash of his mule and the fall of his master and didn't know which of the two to take care of first. But, as it happened, as a good squire and good servant, the love of his lord counted more than the affection of his donkey, although each time he saw the bladders raised into the air and fall over the rump of his mule was hell and fear of death. He would have preferred that those blows fall on the apples of his eyes than on the least hair of the tail of his ass. With this perplexing trial, he reached Don Quijote much more battered than he might have wanted.]

Here, Don Quijote meets with Death face to face and requires contact with reality to know what to make of it--"ahora digo que es menester tocar las apariencias con la mano para dar lugar al desengaño" (613) [it is necessary to touch appearances with my hand to find the truth]. In part I, he would have known his version of the truth and would have known, presumably, even how to address Death.

The artist has depicted the moment in which the demonio bailador [the dancing demon]--in fact, a jester--has jumped upon Sancho Panza's mule. This figure has prominence in the foreground of the design while the cart lumbers across the middle ground of the scene. A diminutive Sancho Panza rushes to aid Don Quijote, about to be thrown from Rocinante. In the background stand a few isolated buildings, none of which, on this occasion, display a cross.

Although the jester rides across the scene in the direction in which the cart is headed, he throws a glance to the audience as he passes by. It is not a glance with a clear-cut message, but, in conjunction with the look that the devilish driver is casting back at Sancho Panza, perhaps it tells the viewer, "The world moves on, we all have our
places to go to and we cannot wait around for fools." If so, the look of the jester as he passes by invites the reader to move along with the troupe of actors, rather than to remain and to participate in the fate of Don Quijote and Sancho Panza. In sum, rather than conveying the idea that folly is shared by all, which such a scene might easily suggest, this design suggests quite the contrary, that everyone has a role to play and that it is folly to depart from one's place; while even a jester has a place, a caballero andante [knight-errant] has none. Thus, the world moves along its proper path, taking everyone with it except utter fools.

In another instance, The Triumphal Cart (Figure 25), the artist uses a different method to invite the reader to join in what is, perhaps, only mild derision of the protagonists. After a day of hunting, during the following garden party the Duke and Duchess confront our two heroes with a parade of carts carrying the devil and the magicians Lirgandeo and Arcalaus. After a musical pause, Merlin arrives on a triumphal chariot.

[V]ieron que hacia ellos venía un carro de los que llaman triumfales, tirado de seis mulas pardas, encubiertas, empero, de lienzo blanco, y sobre cada una venía un diciplinante de luz, asimismo vestido de blanco, con una hacha de cera grande, encendida, en la mano. Era el carro dos veces, y aun tres, mayor que los pasados, y los lados, y encima dél, ocupaban doce otros diciplinantes albos como la nieve, todos con sus hachas encendidas [. . .]; y en un levantado trono venía sentada una ninfa, vestida de mil velos de tela de plata, brillando por todos ellos infinitas hojas de argentería de oro, que la hacían, si no rica, a lo menos vistosamente vestida. Traía el rostro cubierto con un transparente y delicado cendal [. . .] y las muchas luces daban lugar para distinguir la belleza y los años, que al parecer, no llegaban a veinte, ni bajaban de diez y siete.

Junto a ella venía una figura vestida de una ropa de las que llaman rozagantes, hasta los pies, cubierta la cabeza con un velo negro; pero al punto que llegó el carro a estar frente a frente de los duques y de don Quijote, cesó la música de las chiririmías, y luego la de las harpas y laúdes que en el carro sonaban; y levantándose en pie la figura de la ropa, la apartó a entrambos lados, y quitándose el velo del rostro, descubrió
patentemente ser la misma figura de la muerte, descarnada y fea, de que don Quijote recibió pesadumbre, y Sancho miedo, y los duques hicieron algún sentimiento temeroso. (796-797)

[They saw a triumphal cart drawn by six brown mules covered with white linen coming towards them. On each mule rode a penitent of light, likewise dressed in white, with a large wax candle, lit, in hand. The cart was two or perhaps three times as large as the previous and twelve other penitents, white as snow, occupied the sides and the top, all with their large candles lit [. . .]. On a raised throne a nymph was seated, dressed in a thousand veils of silver cloth. An infinite number of gold sequins shone through all of them, making her, if not richly, at least colourfully dressed. She covered her face with a transparent and delicate gauze [. . .] and the many lights gave opportunity to discern her beauty and her age, which apparently was not more than twenty nor less than seventeen.]

Here, the Duke and Duchess have devised an adventure that Don Quijote does not have to create for himself, and which corroborates his illusion of knighthood without any effort at all on his part. All he has to do is "fall for it," which he does, since it provides the opportunity to disenchant Dulcinea.

The artist has depicted the night scene in which the triumphal cart arrives pulled by six mules, with twelve penitents in the cart (and others on the mules). A nymph sits on a throne and the figure of Death, who turns out to be Merlin, speaks to Don Quijote. The Duke and the Duchess, Sancho Panza and Don Quijote are in the shadows of the foreground. Except for Sancho Panza on his knees, this is a fitting representation of the text. However, Sancho Panza on his knees is not inappropriate, since this is the moment in which Merlin announces to Don Quijote that

para recobrar su estado primo
la sin par Dulcinea del Toboso,
es menester que Sancho, tu escudero,
se dé tres mil azotes y trescientos
en ambas sus valientes posaderas. (798)

[for the incomparable Dulcinea of Toboso
to recover her first state
it is necessary that Sancho, your squire,
give himself thirty-three hundred strokes
on both of his large buttocks.]

Placed at the head of the chapter, this image leads the reader to anticipate what the figure standing on the cart will have to say that so intimidates Sancho Panza. It helps him or her to focus on a complex chapter in which the squire is finally persuaded to accept the 3300 lashes, although not without numerous conditions. In addition, the artist has focused on an important point in the text, the allotment of the lashes to Sancho Panza. Although this assignment is accomplished in the text through dialogue, rather than through dramatic action, the artist has chosen a dramatic moment and fixed it in the viewer's mind.

With this design, however, the artist invites the audience to adopt the point of view of a member of the retinue of the Duke and Duchess. Placed a small distance behind Don Quijote and Sancho Panza, the viewer stands in the garden with them. This distance allows the viewer to observe the event in detail and make his or her own judgment regarding it. This distance could easily lead to mockery; yet, here, it does not quite do so. Instead, the audience will be amused at Don Quijote's and Sancho Panza's naïve amazement at the spectacle, while, perhaps, sharing some of the awe.

In another depiction in which the viewer is invited to participate, Sancho Panza Enters Barataria (Figure 27), the sense is less derogatory and more ironic. Finally, Sancho Panza has his governorship and travels to Barataria:
(C)on todo su acompañamiento llegó Sancho a un lugar de hasta mil vecinos, que era de los mejores que el duque tenía. Diéronle a entender que se llamaba la insula Barataria, o ya porque el lugar se llamaba Baratario, o ya por el barato con que se le había dado el gobierno. Al llegar a las puertas de la villa, que era cercada, salió el regimiento del pueblo a recibirle; tocaron las campanas, y todos los vecinos dieron muestras de general alegría, y con mucha pompa le llevaron a la iglesia mayor a dar gracias a Dios, y luego con algunas ridículas ceremonias le entregaron las llaves del pueblo y le admitieron por perpetuo gobernador de la insula Barataria. (858-859)

With all of his entourage, Sancho arrived at a place of up to a thousand inhabitants, one of the best that the Duke held. They gave him to understand that the island was called Barataria, either because the place was called Baritario or because of the cheapness with which he had been given the governorship. Upon arriving at the gates of the city, which was near, the regiment came out of the town to receive him. The bells rang and all the inhabitants put on a show of festivity, and with much pomp, they took him to the major church to give thanks to God and then, with some ridiculous ceremonies, they handed over to him the keys of the town and accepted him as perpetual governor of the land of Barataria.

The artist has illustrated a scene not described exactly in the text, one in which Sancho Panza approaches the entrance to his "island" with his small retinue, while the officials of the city form a reception line at the gate to meet him. An elegantly dressed official rides out to escort him into the city. Sancho is riding a horse and it appears that his donkey follows immediately behind him. He points to the city while talking with a soldier of his retinue; the latter looks as if he were Balboa at his first sight of the Pacific Ocean or, at least, a conquistador who has just reached the top of a rise to look over his future conquests. With this soldier, the artist leads the reader, somewhat ironically, to anticipate the grand adventure of Sancho Panza's governorship. Despite his inexperience in these matters, Sancho already has an air of authority about him: he is wearing formal clothing, riding a horse and directing affairs.

The individual leading Sancho's donkey looks back and appears to be waving others or, perhaps, the reader forward. Although it is not clear whom he is addressing.
with his glance and hand motion, the effect is to invite the reader to come along with the retinue to see how things turn out. It is like an invitation to a party in which it is foregone that everyone will have fun—perhaps at Sancho Panza's expense.

An element that the reader might expect and which is visible in other plates is missing here. In Figure 16 and Figure 18, which have very similar designs, a cross is clearly placed in the destination. Here, the cross, or even a church, is missing. Nor has the artist depicted Sancho Panza's reception at the city's major church, mentioned, if not described in the text. Could this be a hint that in Barataria, one finds no rule of God?

The viewer might conclude, therefore, that he or she is being led to an adventure with great promise. The city comes out to greet its new governor and his retinue, including the reader. Sancho has taken charge and the viewer may come along to watch the spectacle. One might find some sense of ridicule or mockery here, but it is more likely to be taken as an ironic comment on the contrast between Sancho's simplicity and his expectations as a governor.

**Don Quijote Cast Out.** In Figure 8, Don Quijote became superfluous to his own story. A number of other designs in this series cast him out in somewhat different ways; that is, the artist denigrates Don Quijote and/or the secular world in which he lives so emphatically, and elevates the sacred or rational world so markedly, that Don Quijote and the world in which his adventures take place seem devalued.

For example, in Figure 12, *The Meeting with Dorotea in the Sierra Morena*, Don Quijote's entire world is cast down. Overhearing the lament of Dorotea in the Sierra Morena, Cardenio, the priest and the barber approach her.

No hubieron andado veinte pasos, quando detrás de un peñasco vieron, sentado al pie de un fresno, a un mozo vestido como labrador, al cual, por
tener inclinado el rostro, a causa de que se lavaba los pies en el arroyo que por allí corría, no se le pudieron ver por entonces; y ellos llegaron con tanto silencio, que él no fueron sentidos, ni él estaba a otra cosa atento que a lavarse los pies, que eran tales, que no parecían sino dos pedazos de blanco cristal [...]. Suspendiélos la blancura y belleza de los pies, pareciéndoles que no estaban hechos a pisar terrones, ni a andar tras el arado y los bueyes [...] y así, viendo que no habían sido sentidos, el cura, que iba delante, hizo señas a los otros dos que se agazapasen o escondiesen detrás de unos pedazos de peña que allí había [...]. Acabóse de lavar los hermosos pies, y luego, con un paño de tocar [...] se los limpió; y al querer quitárselos, alzó el rostro, y tuvieron lugar los que mirándole estaban de ver una hermosura incomparable, tal, que Cardenio dijo al cura, con voz baja:

--Ésta, ya que no es Luscinda, no es persona humana, sino divina.

El mozo se quitó la montera y, sacudiendo la cabeza a una y a otra parte, se comenzaron a descoger y desparcir unos cabellos, que pudieran del sol tenerles envidia. Con esto conocieron que el que parecía labrador era mujer, y delicada [...]. Los luengos y rubios cabellos no sólo le cubrieron las espaldas, mas toda en torno la escondieron debajo de ellos [...]. En esto, les sirvió de peine unas manos, que si los pies en el agua habían parecido pedazos de cristal, las manos en los cabellos semejaban pedazos de apretada nieve; todo lo cual, en más admiración y en más deseo de saber quién era ponía a los tres que la miraban.

Por esto determinaron de mostrarse; y al movimiento que hicieron de ponerse en pie, la hermosa moza alzó la cabeza y apartándose los cabellos de delante de los ojos con entrambas manos, miró los que el ruido hacían; y apenas los hubo visto, cuando se levantó en pie [...]. [El] cura fue el primero que le dijo:

--Deteneos, señora, quienquiera que seáis; que los que aquí veis sólo tienen intención de serviros. No hay para qué os pongáis en tan impertinente huida, porque ni vuestros pies lo podrán sufrir ni nosotros consentir. (276-277)

[They hadn't gone twenty steps when behind a boulder they saw, seated at the foot of an ash tree, a young man dressed as a worker, whose face, for being inclined in order to wash his feet in the stream that ran there, they could not see. They arrived so silently that they were not heard by him, nor was he attentive to any other thing than washing his feet, which seemed to be two pieces of white crystal [...]. The whiteness and the beauty of his feet surprised them, seeming that they had not been made to walk the earth, nor to walk behind cattle and oxen [...] and so, seeing that they had not been heard, the priest, who went before, made signs to the other two to crouch down or to hide behind some pieces of rock [...]. The young man finished washing his beautiful feet and then, with a towel [...] he cleaned them; and, on wanting to leave, he lifted his face and those looking at him saw an incomparable beauty, such that Cardenio said to the priest, in a low voice:
"This person, since she is not Luscinda, is not human, but divine."

The young man removed his hat and shaking his head from side to side began to spread out hair that the sun would envy if he could have any. With this, they knew that he who seemed to be a labourer was a woman, and delicate [...]. The long, blond hair not only covered her shoulders, but it hid everything below it [...]. Her hands served as combs, so that if her feet in the water had seemed pieces of crystal, her hands in her hair resembled pieces of compact snow; all of which put the three who were watching in more admiration and in more desire to know who she was.

For this reason, they determined to show themselves; and, on the movement that they made in standing, the beautiful young girl raised her head and, removing her hair from before her eyes with both hands, saw those who had made the noise. Hardly having seem them, she stood [...]. The priest was the first who said to her:

"Stay, lady, whoever you may be. Those who you see here have only the intention to serve you. There is no reason to put yourself in such unnecessary flight, because neither your feet could suffer it, nor could ours consent."

In this depiction, the viewer sees Don Quijote's friends, the priest and the barber (indistinguishable from Cardenio), for the first time. As the barber and Cardenio watch from behind an outcrop of rock, the priest approaches Dorotea, who concentrates on washing her feet. As in the text, Dorotea is clearly the focus of the image, centrally placed and well lit. This is one of the few outdoor scenes in which a background is not well developed, keeping the reader focused on the central figure of the image.

The inner, serene focus of Dorotea and the tilt of her head may remind the reader of engraved images of Mary of the period; indeed, the text suggests that she has a divine appearance. The artist contrasts her innocence with the lascivious voyeurism of the barber and Cardenio (the lasciviousness of which is emphasized by the disguised torso of a woman between them and Dorotea). In fact, she appears as a miraculous apparition, separated from the mundane world by her grace and approachable only by a priest. The priest seems to have a halo about his head, in contrast with a similar rendering of him in
Figure 13. It seems that Cardenio and the barber, with their impure thoughts, are prevented from approaching her, restricted to peering at her through a loophole in their world. This portrayal clearly casts all four of the characters in roles that are not apparent in the text, bringing into the reading a contrast between sacred and profane worlds.

The presentation of Dorotea is consistent with that of Maritornes in Figure 7, who also has been cast as innocent; the presentation of Cardenio and the barber is consistent with that of Don Quijote and Sancho Panza in Figure 11 as outside of the sacred world. The artist contrasts the world in which Cardenio and the barber live--and thus that in which Don Quijote and Sancho Panza live--with the sacred, represented here by Dorotea and the priest. This contrast requires considerably more than "filling in the gaps" of the story; indeed, the artist casts down the whole enterprise of the story. He does not satirize, mock, or burlesque the story--by contrast, he simply degrades it. Essentially, Don Quijote's world has been rejected, and Don Quijote along with it.

Another intriguing way of casting Don Quijote out is used in Figure 15, Don Quijote Discovered at Dawn Hanging by his Wrist. Maritornes and the innkeeper's daughter have tricked Don Quijote to place his hand though a window and then have tied him by the wrist, leaving him standing on Rocinante.

Estaba [. . .] de pies sobre Rocinante, metido todo el brazo por el agujero y atado de la muñeca, y al cerrojo de la puerta, con grandísimo temor y cuidado, que si Rocinante se desviaba a un cabo o a otro, había de quedar colgado del brazo; y así, no osaba hacer movimiento alguno, puesto que de la paciencia y quietud de Rocinante bien se podía esperar que estaría sin moverse un siglo entero.

En resolución, viéndose don Quijote atado, y que ya las damas se habían ido, se dio a imaginar que todo aquello se hacía por vía de encantamiento [. . .]. [T]iraba de su brazo, por ver si podía soltarse; mas él

---

1 The priest is appropriately dressed in a loba or manteo [robe] with a bonete [hat] (Bernis 117-119). This costume will distinguish the priest in all of his appearances.
estaba tan bien asido, que todas sus pruebas fueron en vano. [...]

[A]penas comenzó a amanecer, cuando llegaron a la venta cuatro hombres de a caballo, muy bien puestos y aderezados, con sus escopetas sobre los arzones. Llamaron a la puerta de la venta, que aún estaba cerrada, con grandes golpes; lo cual, visto por don Quijote desde donde aún no dejaba de hacer la centinela, con voz arrogante y alta dijo:

--Caballeros, o escuderos, o quienquiera que seáis: no tenéis para llamar a las puertas deste castillo; que asaz de claro está que a tales horas, o los que están dentro duermen, o no tienen por costumbre de abrirse las fortalezas hasta que el sol esté tendido por todo el suelo. Desviaos afuera, y esperad que aclare el día, y entonces veremos si será justo o no que os abran.

--¿Qué diablos de fortaleza o castillo es éste-- dijo uno--, para obligarnos a guardar esas ceremonias? Si sois el ventero, mandad que nos abran; que somos caminantes que no queremos más de dar cebada a nuestras cabalgaduras y pasar adelante, porque vamos de prisa.

--¿Paréceos, caballeros, que tengo yo talle de ventero?--respondió don Quijote.

--No sé de qué tenéis talle--respondió el otro--; pero sé que decís disparates en llamar castillo a esta venta.

--Castillo es--replicó don Quijote--, y aun de los mejores de toda esta provincia; y gente tiene dentro que ha tenido cetro en la mano y corona en la cabeza.

--Mejor fuera al revés--dijo el caminante--; el cetro en la cabeza y la corona en la mano. Y será, si a mano viene, que debe de estar dentro alguna compañía de representantes, de los cuales es tener a menudo esas coronas y cetros que decís; porque en una venta tan pequeña, y adonde se guarda tanto silencio como ésta, no creo yo que se alojan personas dignas de corona y cetro.

--Sabéis poco del mundo--replicó don Quijote--, pues ignoráis los casos que suelen acontecer en la caballería andante.

Cansábanse los compañeros que con el preguntante venían del coloquio que con don Quijote pasaba, y así, tornaron a llamar con grande furia [...]. Sucedía en este tiempo que una de las cabalgaduras en que venían los cuatro que llamaban se llegó a oler a Rocinante, que, melancólico y triste, con las orejas caídas, sostenía sin moverse a su estirado señor; y como, en fin, era de carne, aunque parecía de leño, no pudo dejar de resentirse y tornar a oler a quien le llegaba a hacer caricias; y así, no se hubo movido tanto cuanto, cuando se desviaron los juntos pies de don Quijote, y, resbalando de la silla, dieran con él en el suelo, a no quedar colgado del brazo; cosa que le causó tanto dolor, que creyó, o que la muñeca le cortaban, o que el brazo se le arrancaba; porque él quedó tan cerca del suelo, que con los extremos de las puntas de los pies besaba la tierra. (447-449)

[He was standing on Rocinante, all his arm through the opening and tied by the wrist to the bolt of the door. Although from the patience and
gentleness of Rocinante he might have expected him to remain a full
century without moving, he had to remain with great fear and care to
prevent Rocinante from turning from one side to the other. In the end,
seeing himself tied, and since the ladies had now gone, Don Quijote
imagined that everything had happened by means of enchantment [. . .].

He moved his arm to see if he could loosen himself, but he was so well
tied that all his efforts were in vain. [. . .]

Dawn had hardly broken when four men on horseback arrived at the
inn, very well dressed and adorned, with their guns over their saddletrees.
They called at the door of the inn, which was still closed, with loud blows;
when seen by Don Quijote from where he still kept watch, he said in a
loud and arrogant voice:

"Gentlemen, or squires, or whoever you are: you do not have reason
to call at the doors of this castle. It is amply clear that at such an hour
either those within are asleep or they do not usually open the fortifications
until the sun is stretched over the whole earth. Turn away and wait until
the day clears and then we will see if it will be just or not to open to you."

"What the hell fortress or castle is this," said one, "to oblige us to
attend these ceremonies? If you are the innkeeper, command them to open
to us, because we are travellers who want only to give some barley to our
mounts and to go on, because we are in a hurry."

"Does it seem to you, gentlemen, that I have the appearance of an
innkeeper?" responded Don Quijote.

"I don't know what appearance you have," responded the other. "But I
do know that you are talking nonsense in calling this inn a castle."

"It is a castle," replied Don Quijote, "and even one of the best of this
province. It has within people who have held a sceptre in their hands and
had a crown on their heads."

"The reverse is perhaps better said," said the traveller. "The sceptre on
the head and the crown in the hand. It is likely that within there is some
company of actors which often has these crowns and sceptres of which
you speak, because in an inn so small, which keeps such silence as this, I
don't believe that people worthy of crowns and sceptres stay."

"You know little of the world," replied Don Quijote, "because you are
unaware of the events that tend to happen in knight errantry."

The others who came with the speaker tired and so they returned to
call with great fury [. . .]. While doing so, one of the horses of the four
came to smell Rocinante, who, sad and melancholy, with fallen ears,
tolerated it without moving his stretched master. As, in the end, he was of
flesh, although he seemed to be of wood, he could not but resent the
intrusion and turned to smell the one who had come to offer him attention.
He had hardly moved when the feet of Don Quijote went astray and,
slipping from the saddle, he would have fallen to the ground if he had not
been hanging by the arm, which caused so much pain that he believed that
either his wrist had been cut off or that his arm had been uprooted. In the
end, he remained so close to the ground that the tips of his toes kissed the
Again, Don Quijote's pride and misguided belief that the daughter of the lord of the castle is in love with him have led to his difficulties. His error is compounded by Rocinante's own erotic interests.

The artist gives the reader a very lively, if composite, illustration of the scene. The viewer sees the arrival of three of the four riders in the dawn, Don Quijote conversing with the fourth at the door to the inn, and Rocinante exchanging sniffs with the rider's horse, leaving his master just able to touch the ground. Don Quijote has some semblance of individuality about him, an element missing in many of the illustrations in this set, with a hint of sadness about his countenance. As well, the reader will allow the two strong sources of lighting and the fact that Don Quijote appears somewhat larger than life (or else the horses are ponies).

For his position, his lighting and his gesture, the caballero [horseman] seated on his restless horse stands out. He seems to be accusing Don Quijote of something or, perhaps, putting Don Quijote in his place. He is a man of the world and represents an intrusion of the "real" world into Don Quijote's mad view of life. From this perspective, the reader can understand the prominence of the rising sun that gives light to the real business of the world and to those who live in the light of reality, in contrast with those who, like Don Quijote, live in shadow.

The viewer has before him or her another instance in which the story's namesake is ejected from his own history. Rather than emphasizing Don Quijote's efforts in acting as guard to the "castle," or the scene in which Maritornes and the innkeeper's daughter tie him, the artist has given pre-eminence to the outsider's perspective, alienating Don Quijote once again from his own history; he becomes a person to whom things happen or
on whom others act. Don Quijote is left hanging by Rocinante and the caballero, as well as by the artist. In taking the perspective of "the world," the artist not only promotes mockery of Don Quijote, but something even harder. Through his design, the artist says that through his own foolishness, Don Quijote has come to this pass, and can either stay there or get himself out; meanwhile, "The rest of the world has serious business to which to attend." That is, as in Figure 20, where Don Quijote and Sancho meet the cart of actors, the world of real events abandons Don Quijote to his fate.

The artist takes a similar stance in other illustrations, such as Figure 16, Don Quijote Returns to his Village in a Cage. Don Quijote, thinking that he is enchanted, is being taken home in a cage. Sancho Panza, wanting to enlighten him, approaches and says:

---Señor, para descargo de mi conciencia le quiero decir lo que pasa cerca de su encantamiento; y es que estos dos que vienen aquí cubiertos los rostros son el cura de nuestro lugar y el barbero [. . .]. Presupuesta, pues, esta verdad, sigúe que no va encantado, sino embávido y tonto. Para prueba de lo cual le quiero preguntar una cosa; y si me responde como creo que me ha de responder, tocará con la mano este engaño y verá como no va encantado, sino trastornado el juicio.

---Pregunta lo que quisieres, hijo Sancho---respondió don Quijote [. . .]. Y en lo que dices que aquellos que allí van y vienen con nosotros son el cura y el barbero, nuestros compatriotas y conocidos, bien podrá ser que parezca que son ellos mismos; pero que lo sean realmente y en efecto, eso no lo creas en ninguna manera. Lo que has de creer y entender es que si ellos se les parecen, como dices, debe de ser que los que me han encantado habrán tomado esa apariencia y semejanza; porque es fácil a los encantadores tomar la figura que se les antoja [. . .]. Y también lo habrán hecho para que yo vacíle en mi entendimiento, y no sepa atinar de dónde me viene este daño; porque si, por una parte, tú me dices que me acompañan el barbero y el cura [. . .] y, por otra, yo me veo enjaulado, y sé de mí que fuerzas humanas, como no fueran sobrenaturales, no fueran bastantes para enjaularme, ¿qué quieres que diga o piense sino que la manera de mi encantamiento excede a cuantas yo he leído en todas las historias que tratan de caballeros andantes que han sido encantados? Ansí que, bien puedes darte paz y sosiego en esto de creer que son los que dices, porque así son ellos como yo soy turco. Y, en lo que toca a querer
preguntarme algo, di, que yo te responderé, aunque me pregunes de aquí a mañana. [. . .]

--Digo que yo estoy seguro de la bondad y verdad de mi amo; y así, porque hace al caso a nuestro cuento, pregunto, hablando con acatamiento, si acaso después que vuestra merced va enjaulado y, a su parecer, encantado en esta jaula, le ha venido gana y voluntad de hacer aguas mayores o menores, como suele decirse.

--No entiendo eso de hacer aguas, Sancho; aclárate más, si quieres que te responda derecho.

--¿Es posible que no entiende vuestra merced de hacer aguas menores o mayores? Pues en la escuela destetan a los muchachos con ello. Pues sepá que quiero decir si le ha venido gana de hacer lo que no se escusa.

--¡Ya, ya te entiendo, Sancho! Y muchas veces; y aun agora la tengo. ¡Sácame deste peligro, que no anda todo limpio! (489-491)

"Sir, in order to ease my conscience, I want to tell you what happened in regard to your enchantment. Those two with covered faces are the priest of our village and the barber [. . .]. It follows that you are not enchanted, but cheated and fooled. As proof, I want to ask you something and if you respond as I believe you must, you will reveal this deception and you will see that you are not enchanted, but that your judgment is disturbed."

"Ask whatever you want, Sancho," responded Don Quijote [. . .]. And in regard to what you say about those who come and go with us, that they are the priest and the barber, our fellow countrymen and acquaintances, it could easily seem to be them. That they are really and in fact, don't believe for a moment. What you have to believe and understand is that if they seem so to you, it is because those who have enchanted me have taken this appearance, since it is easy for enchanters to take any appearance which may please them [. . .]. They have done it so that I may doubt myself and not know how to determine from where this damage comes to me. If, on the one hand, you tell me that the barber and the priest are accompanying me, and, on the other hand, I see myself caged and I know that no human effort that was not supernatural would be sufficient to put me in a cage, what do you want me to say or think except that my enchantment exceeds that of any I have read of in all the histories that treat of enchanted knights-errant? So, you may give yourself some peace and rest in this matter of believing that they are what you say, because they are so just as I am a Turk. And in what you wanted to ask me, ask, so that I can answer, even if you ask me from now to tomorrow." [. . .]

"I say that I am sure of the goodness and veracity of my master; and so, because it pertains to our story, I ask, speaking with respect, if perhaps after you were caged and, in your opinion, enchanted in this cage, the urge and will has come to you to 'make greater or smaller waters,' as one is used to say."

"I don't understand this business of 'making waters,' Sancho. Be more clear, if you want me to respond directly.
"How is it possible that you don't understand 'making greater or lesser waters'? In school, they wean children on this. Well, you know that I mean if the urge has come to you to do what cannot be held in."

"Now, now I understand, Sancho! And many times, and even now I have the urge. Help me from this danger, because I am not particularly clean!"

Essentially motivated by a desire to see his master released to marry Princess Micomicona so he might govern his own island, Sancho has confronted the priest with the truth that he knows Don Quijote is not enchanted. Unsuccessful in obtaining his release, he turns to Don Quijote in his cage. His master rejects the idea that the priest and the barber have tricked him. However, even as he loses the point, Sancho appeals to the common idea that an enchanted individual has no need to satisfy physical urges. Don Quijote then modifies this common idea to preserve his enchantment: "podría ser que con el tiempo se hubieron mudado [los encantamientos] de unos en otros" (491) [it could be that with time enchantments have changed from one thing to another]. Mancing suggests that "Don Quijote is desperately clinging to enchantment in order to maintain a guise of chivalry" (107).

The artist has depicted the scene in which Don Quijote is being transported back to his village in a cage while Sancho Panza tries to persuade him that he is not enchanted. The squire is eagerly appealing to Don Quijote. In the background, the viewer sees a pair of outriders talking with one another and pointing out the way, and the village with a conspicuous church. In effect, while the pair talk, Don Quijote is being returned physically to the village and to the church. Just as the canon and priest denigrate books and comedias and would purify literature (486-487), Sancho in his particular way is trying to expurgate Don Quijote's madness. However, whether Sancho is successful or not, Don Quijote is being returned to the home of reason.
Although the design fits the text, it omits an important element of Cervantes' account. In his madness, in thinking that he has been enchanted, Don Quijote is still master of the scene in the text. As soon as Sancho tries to assert his point of view regarding the identity of the priest and the canon, his master contradicts him. Nor does he allow Sancho's argument regarding why he cannot be enchanted to prevail. Ultimately, according to the text, matters do not proceed between them until Sancho accepts the viewpoint of Don Quijote and negotiates from within that position. Only then will Don Quijote submit to him. The illustration, however, emphasizes Sancho Panza's entreaty, leaving Don Quijote as a dark shadow within his cage. Sancho appears to be begging Don Quijote to recant while he still has time. Here, the voice of reason is the master, casting Don Quijote into the darkness, and, once again, out of his own history.

In another quite surprising illustration, The Canon and Don Quijote Discuss Books (Figure 17), Don Quijote is again rejected. The reader will look in vain for a text to match this illustration. In Don Quijote, when the caballero andante [knight-errant] and the canon discuss books of caballería [chivalry], they are in a field, awaiting the servants of the canon to return with food. Their long and detailed discussion starts in the previous chapter, with the canon preaching to Don Quijote (493-495) who, in turn, is careful to clarify his understanding of the canon's speech before he replies, at equal length (495-498). The dispute continues into Chapter 50 (499-502), eventually involving Sancho Panza and his claims to a governorship. In the text, the canon is seeking to correct Don Quijote, not clarify doctrine, while Don Quijote is explaining books and their effect on the reader. Just before being interrupted by the servants' return with the meal, the discussion ends with:
Admirado quedó el canónigo de los concertados disparates que don Quijote había dicho, del modo con que había pintado la aventura del Caballero del Lago, de la impresión que en él habían hecho las pensadas mentiras de los libros que había leído; y, finalmente, le admiraba la necedad de Sancho, que con tanto ahínco deseaba alcanzar el condado que su amo le había prometido. (503)

[The canon was astonished by the persistent nonsense that Don Quijote had said, by the way in which he had described the adventure of the Knight of the Lake, by the impression that the well-spun lies of the books he had read had made on him. Finally, the foolishness of Sancho surprised him, who so eagerly wanted to attain the earldom that his master had promised him.]

Although the canon has the last word, he does not appear to have convinced his opponent.

The discussion could just as easily have happened in a room with shelves of books. By a change of setting, however, the artist has set a formal tone to the discussion, one in which both the canon and Don Quijote seem to have equal standing, as it were.

Even though the canon is given a slightly more throne-like chair and appears to be reprimanding Don Quijote, they confront one another directly, the canon preaching and Don Quijote responding. Neither appears to have a dominant--or subservient--position or demeanour.

Since, up to this point, the artist seems to have read the text, one may assume that he has here as well. Therefore, two questions may vex the reader: Why did the artist illustrate this scene? Why did he do so in this fashion? The latter is perhaps the easier to answer. If the artist had depicted the canon and Don Quijote having their altercation in a field, the subject of the discussion would not have been clear. The artist is not given to the depiction of fancies and fantasies in the manner of a Gustav Doré; quite the contrary, he is extremely concrete and uses very concrete images. Accordingly, he has used this design to clarify the topic of discussion.
The question regarding the reason for which the artist chose this scene to illustrate remains. The scene is not particularly dramatic, either in the text or in the image. It is not a turning point of the plot, although it is a point at which both characters clearly explicate their positions. Perhaps the fact that the protagonists are explaining themselves, however, is sufficient to account for the matter. In previous designs, the artist has managed to separate the sacred world from the profane—or the rational from the irrational—and to relegate Don Quijote to the secular or to the irrational. In merely placing the two in what seems to be equal debate in this image, the artist continues this train of thought. It is not necessary for the artist to explicitly cast Don Quijote down here, since, according to the artist, the weight of reason will always lie on the canon’s side. The mere fact that Don Quijote's ideas are presented next to the light of reason is sufficient to show their falsity. Thus, the reader sees the canon reprimanding and correcting Don Quijote in this scene, and they are not, in fact, debating as equals; Don Quijote is being corrected here while Sancho Panza meekly takes cover behind his master. Although this point might have been shown in the countryside, the choice of an indoors scene helps the artist to convey the authority of the canon.

Returning briefly to the question of why the artist illustrated the scene in this fashion, the idea of authority may help to clarify why the artist changed settings: perhaps he wanted to remove the discussion from the locus amoenus or pleasance in which it took place. According to Ernst Curtius, a locus amoenus is "a beautiful, shaded natural site. Its minimum ingredients comprise a tree (or several trees), a meadow, and a spring or brook. Birdsong and flowers may be added. The most elaborate examples also add a breeze" (195). In Spanish literature, the pleasance is often depicted as a place where
enchantment by nature and love may occur and continue. In Don Quijote, Cardenio has previously gathered his audience in a verde pradecillo [small green meadow] (226) to recount his history. Accordingly, the artist may have seen the meadow as a place where Don Quijote's madness might prevail over reason. However, in a study or in a library, the light of reason, or at least of authority, can prevail, and an artist interested in denigrating Don Quijote and his madness can do so more easily in an indoors setting than in a place where madness might find support.

The artist presents a more definitely anti-quixotic scene in Figure 18, Don Quijote's Fight with the Goat Herder, the Penitents and Don Quijote's Fall. After the goat herder tells the story of Leandra, in which he depreciates women in general, Don Quijote suggests he might rescue her from her involuntary residency in a convent. The goat herder says to the barber:

--Eso me semeja [...] a lo que se lee en los libros de caballeros andantes, que hacían todo eso que de este hombre vuestra merced dice; puesto que para mí tengo, o que vuestra merced se burla, o que este gentil hombre [Don Quijote] debe de tener vacíos los aposentos de la cabeza.

--Sois un grandísimo bellaco--dijo a esta sazón don Quijote--, y vos sois el vacío y el menguado; que yo estoy más lleno que jamás lo estuvo la muy hideputa puta que os parió.

Y diciendo y haciendo, arrebató de un pan que junto a sí tenía, y dio con él al cabrero en todo el rostro, con tanta furia, que le remachó las narices; mas el cabrero, que no sabía de burlas, viendo con cuántas veras le maltrataban [...] saltó sobre don Quijote. [...] Reventaban de risa el canónigo y el cura, saltaban los cuadrilleros de gozo, zuzaban los unos y los otros, como hacen a los perros cuando en pendencia están trabados; sólo Sancho Panza se desesperaba, porque no se podía desasir de un criado del canónigo, que le estorbaba que a su amo no ayudase.

En resolución, estando todos en regocijo y fiesta, sino los dos aporrreantes que se carpían, oyeron el son de una trompeta, tan triste, que les hizo volver los rostros hacia donde les pareció que sonaba; [...] y [Don Quijote] vio [...] que por un recuesto bajaban muchos hombres vestidos de blanco, a modo de diciplinantes. [...] Don Quijote, que vio los extraños trajes de los diciplinantes [...] se
imaginó que era cosa de aventura, y que a él solo tocaba, como a caballero andante, el acometerla; y confirmóle más esta imaginación pensar que una imagen que traían cubierta de luto fuese alguna principal señora que llevaban por fuerza aquellos follones y descomedidos malandrines; y, como esto le cayó en las mientes, con gran ligereza arremetió a Rocinante, que paciendo andaba, quitándole del arzón el freno y el adarga, y en un punto le enfrenó; y pidiendo a Sancho su espada, subió sobre Rocinante y embrazó su adarga [. . .].

Uno de aquellos que las llevaban, dejando la carga a sus compañeros, salió al encuentro de don Quijote, enarbolando una horquilla o bastón con que sustentaba las andas en tanto que descansaba; y recibiendo en ella una gran cuchillada que le tiró don Quijote, con que se la hizo dos partes, con el último tercio, que le quedó en la mano, dio tal golpe a don Quijote encima de un hombro, por el mismo lado de la espada, que no pudo cubrir el adarga contra villana herza, que el pobre don Quijote vino a suelo muy mal parado.

Sancho Panza, que jadeando le iba a los alcances, viéndole caído, dio voces a su moledor que no le diese otro palo, porque era un pobre caballero encantado, que no había hecho mal a nadie en todos los días de su vida. Mas lo que detuvo al villano no fueron las voces de Sancho, sino el ver que don Quijote no bullía pie ni mano; y así, creyendo que le había muerto, con priesa se alzó la túnica a la cinta, y dio a huir por la campaa como un gamo.

Ya en esto llegaron todos los de la compañía de don Quijote adonde él estaba; y más los de la procesión, que los vieron venir corriendo, y con ellos los cuadrilleros con sus ballestas, temieron venía, cuyo conocimiento puso en sosiego el concebido temor de los dos escuadrones. El primer cura dio al segundo, en dos razones, cuenta de quién era don Quijote, y así [. . .] fueron a ver si estaba muerto el pobre caballero. (511-514)

"This looks to me like something one reads in the books of knight-errantry, [. . .] but to my mind, either you joke or this gentleman [Don Quijote] has the rooms of his head empty."

"You are a great scoundrel," Don Quijote interjected, "and you are the one with the empty head and the diminished abilities. I am fuller than ever was the whore that gave birth to you."

Matching doing with saying, he snatched up a loaf of bread that he had next to him and gave the goat herder such a blow with it on the face
that he smashed his nose. The goat herder, who didn't understand jokes, seeing how poorly he was treated [...] jumped on Don Quijote. [...] The canon and the priest burst into laughter, the officers capered with delight, others egged them on as they do dogs in a fight. Only Sancho Panza lost hope, because he couldn't get free from a servant of the canon who prevented him from aiding his master.

In the end, everyone being happy except the two beaten ones who were tearing at one another, they heard the sound of a trumpet, so sad that it made them turn their faces towards its source [...] and Don Quijote saw [...] that along a slope came many men dressed in white, in the manner of penitents. [...] Don Quijote, who saw the strange clothes of the penitents [...] imagined that it was another adventure and that it was up to him as a knight-errant to undertake it. Thinking that a statue that they carried covered in mourning clothes was some important lady confirmed to him his imagination. As this occurred to him, with great swiftness he rushed to Rocinante, who had been grazing; removing from the saddle tree the bit and the shield, in a moment he had bridled him. Asking Sancho for his sword, he mounted Rocinante and seized his shield [...]. Leaving his cargo to his companions, one of the penitents who carried the image went to meet Don Quijote, flourishing a stick with which he supported the litter. Receiving on it a heavy blow from Don Quijote, which cut it into two parts, with the piece that remained in hand he gave such a blow to Don Quijote on the shoulder, on the same side as the sword, which the shield did not prevent, that poor Don Quijote went to the ground very still.

Sancho Panza, who, panting, came within reach, seeing him fallen, yelled at his opponent not to give him another blow, because he was a poor enchanted gentleman who had done evil to no one in all the days of his life. However, what halted the peasant was not the yells of Sancho, but seeing that Don Quijote moved neither hand nor foot. Believing that he had killed him, wasting no time he raised his tunic to the waist and fled through the countryside like a buck.

At this point, all of the Don Quijote's company arrived where he had fallen. Those of the procession saw them come running and, with these, the officers with their crossbows feared some misfortune and all became a swirl near the statue. Hoods raised, taking up their whips and their tapers, the clerics and penitents awaited the assault with resolution to defend themselves and even to attack if they could. But their luck went better than expected, because Sancho did not do anything except throw himself over the body of his lord, making over him the most painful and laughable moaning in the world, believing him dead.

The priest was known to the other priest who had come in the procession, which put to rest the fear of the two groups. The first priest told the second, in two shakes, the account of who Don Quijote was and so they [...] went to see if the poor gentleman was dead.]
By the final chapter of part I, Don Quijote's chivalric image is rapidly crumbling. Previously, Don Quijote could deal chivalrously with insults, but here he cannot accept those of a goat herder and, in spite of the fact that the latter is not a knight-errant, he fights with him. Others, including the barber and the priest, laugh at them. Mancing suggests that "this dehumanization of Don Quijote, the equivalent to Sancho's blanketing, is the most humiliating event in his chivalric career" (109). The adventure of the penitents, which starts in mid-fight with the goat herder, allows Don Quijote to reassert some of his chivalric stature, at least temporarily. However, after his defeat, he offers no excuse and limps back home, defeated in body and spirit, evoking laughter, pity or anger. Mancing concludes that "after his dehumanizing experience with [the goat herder] and his painful defeat in the encounter with the penitents, for which he offers no excuse, he [. . .] withdraws in shame from his world of chivalry" (117).

The artist has created another composite design portraying the actors in the field where Don Quijote and the canon held their discussion regarding books. He has placed the fall of Don Quijote from Rocinante in the immediate foreground. In the far distance, the viewer sees his native village and just before that, the artist has depicted the fight with the goatherd, including Sancho Panza's being held back by a servant of the canon. In the right-hand portion, the procession is getting underway again after Don Quijote's interruption. The priest who is Don Quijote's friend talks with his counterpart leading the procession, explaining Don Quijote's oddities.

Immediately before the viewer, Sancho helps Don Quijote after he has fallen from Rocinante. The reader does not see Sancho Panza's fears that his master may be dead, nor the dramatic uproar that his fall has caused in the company. In emphasizing Sancho
Panza's aid and their apparent isolation, the artist ignores the many people who rush to see if the knight is dead. More emphatically, in leaving Sancho Panza to aid his fallen companion while the procession gets under way again in its progress to the church, the artist leaves both behind in the shadows while others carry on the real business of life. The two priests seem to be discussing the events as if they were watching a sideshow, separated from the life of the Church by the strong diagonal line of the hill. They seem to be saying, "Such disorderliness is the way of the world. What can one expect?" For the priests, the world is a theatre or stage on which many events may occur without rhyme or reason—but they recognize it for what it is, machinations of the Evil One. It comes as no surprise to see a goat in the middle of the field. Even Sancho's compassion for his master is dismissed by Rocinante's fat rear directed towards the two.

Don Quijote's dismissal by the artist also appears early in his stay with the Duke and Duchess, shown in Figure 24, Don Quijote and Sancho Panza with the Duke and Duchess. At the palace of the Duke and Duchess, the resident priest has cast some doubt on Don Quijote's enterprise, to which the hero responds at length (769-771); at the end of Don Quijote's speech, the Duke offers Sancho Panza a governorship.

"Kneel down, Sancho," said Don Quijote, "and kiss the feet of His Excellency, for the favour that he has done you."
Sancho did so; the ecclesiastic, seeing this, became annoyed and stood away from the table, saying:
"By the habit that I wear, I am almost ready to say that Your Excellency is as foolish as these wretches. How could they not be mad when the sane approve of their craziness! Remain with them, but while they are in the house, I will be in mine and I will excuse myself from reprimanding what I cannot correct."

Without saying more, or eating more, he left, without any requests by the Duke to detain him, who, prevented by the laughter that his [the priest's] impertinent anger had caused, could not say much to him.

The artist depicts the moment just after the priest has left the table. The setting and Don Quijote's dress fit the textual description (765) and the priest's vacant chair is turned away. It is perhaps his silhouette that the viewer sees disappearing down the long corridor. The visitors are left speaking to the Duke and the Duchess until the "barber housemaids" appear. The viewer also notes another transformation of Don Quijote, this time into an old man without armour and dressed in a tunic with mangas redondas [round sleeves] (Bernis 267), unlike any previous illustration.

An important consideration here is why the artist would chose to illustrate this particular scene when the text offers others, both before and after, with greater dramatic or humorous possibilities. In fact, this scene is rather nondescript in the text and hardly more compelling in the image. Perhaps, however, the artist wants to emphasize that the representative of the Church has turned away from Don Quijote's locura [madness]. The priest wants nothing further to do with either Don Quijote or the plans of the Duke and Duchess and walks away, into the "light of reason." Yet, this is quite ambiguous and depends on the identification of the shadowy figure in the corridor as the priest.

However, neither the text nor the image supplies a viewer with other possibilities.

It appears that the artist has taken the opportunity, once again, to reject Don Quijote. Three elements of the design suggest such a rejection. First, the artist has made
it clear that the priest turns his back on Don Quijote and, through the priest, that the
Church does so. This rejection is an event passed over relatively easily in the text and in
Don Quijote's subsequent speech, but through this image it is made concrete and
underlined. Second, the distance between the priest and the conversation at the dinner
table emphasizes the "casting out" of Don Quijote. Were the priest pictured rising
angrily from the table, the reader would see that the two were still within speaking
distance. Here, however, the distance is emphatic. Don Quijote and his friends, although
placed in the foreground, are cast into nether regions. Finally, the artist ingeniously
underscores this distance by placing the reader's viewpoint looking straight down the
corridor.

As if this were not enough, in one of the final illustrations of the series, Sancho
Panza Whips Himself (Figure 34), Don Quijote is abandoned through an elevation of his
squire. Still on the way home, Sancho Panza decides that he can begin to whip himself.
Don Quijote is overjoyed.

Finalmente, se entraron entre unos amenos árboles que poco desviados del
camino estaban, donde, dejando vacías la silla y albarda de Rocinante y el
ruicio, se tendieron sobre la verde yerba y cenaron del repuesto de Sancho;
el cual, haciendo del cabestro y de la jáquima del rucio un poderoso y
flexible azote, se retiró hasta veinte pasos de su amo, entre unas hayas.
Don Quijote, que le vio ir con denuedo y con brio, le dijo:

--Mira, amigo, que no te hagas pedazos; da lugar que unos azotes
aguarden a otros; no quieras apresurarte tanto en la carrera, que en la
mitad della te falte el aliento; quiero decir que no te des tan recio, que te
falte la vida antes de llegar al número deseado. Y porque no pierdas por
carta de más ni de menos, yo estaré desde aparte, contando por este mi
rosario los azotes que te dieres. [. . .]

Desnúdose luego [Sancho Panza] de medio cuerpo arriba, y,
arribatando el cordel, comenzó a darse, y comenzó don Quijote a contar
los azotes.

Hasta seis o ocho se habría dado Sancho, cuando le pareció ser pesada
la burla y muy barato el precio della, y deteniéndose un poco, dijo a su
amo que se llamaba a engaño, porque merecía cada azote de aquéllos ser
pagado a medio real, no que a cuartillo.
--Prosigue, Sancho amigo y no desmayes--dijo don Quijote--; que yo doblo la parada del precio.
--De modo--dijo Sancho--, ¡a la mano de Dios, y lluevan azotes!
Pero el socarrón dejó de dárselos en las espaldas, y daba en los árboles, con unos suspiros de cuando en cuando, que parecía que con cada uno dellos se le arrancaba el alma. Tierna la de don Quijote, temeroso de que no se le acabase la vida, y no consiguiese su deseo por la imprudencia de Sancho, le dijo:
--Por tu vida, amigo, que se quede en este punto este negocio; que me parece muy áspera esta medicina, y será bien dar tiempo al tiempo [...].
Más de mil azotes, si yo no he contado mal, te has dado [...].
--No, no, señor--respondió Sancho--; no se ha de decir por mí: "a dineros pagados, brazos quebrados". Apártese vuestra merced otro poco, y déjeme dar otros mil azotes síquiera; que a dos levadas déstas habremos cumplido con esta partida [...].
--Pues tú te hallas con tan buena disposición--dijo don Quijote--, el cielo te ayude, y pégate, que yo me aparto.
Volvió Sancho a su tarea con tanto denuedo, que ya hubo quitado las cortezas a muchos árboles: tal era la riguridad con que se azotaba; y alzando una vez la voz, y dando un desaforado azote en una haya, dijo:
--¡Aquí morirá, Sansón, y cuantos con él son!

Acudió don Quijote luego al son de la lastimada voz y del golpe del riguroso azote, y asiendo del torcido cabestro que le servía de corbacho a Sancho, le dijo:
--No permita la suerte, Sancho amigo, que por el gusto mío pierdas tú la vida, que ha de servir para sustentar a tu mujer y a tus hijos: espere Dulcinea mejor coyuntura, que yo me contendré en los límites de la esperanza propícuca, y esperaré que cobres fuerzas nuevas, para que se concluya este negocio a gusto de todos.
--Pues vuestra merced, señor mío, lo quiere así--respondió Sancho--, sea en buena hora, y eche su ferreruelo sobre estas espaldas, que estoy sudando y no querria resfríarme; que los nuevos diciplinantes corren este peligro. (1048-1050)

[Finally, they entered some pleasant trees that were a short way off the road, where, leaving empty the saddle and packsaddle of Rocinante and the mule, they stretched out on the green grass and dined on Sancho's provisions. Sancho, making of the halter and bridle of his mount a sturdy and flexible whip, withdrew some twenty paces from his master, into some beech trees. Don Quijote, who saw him go with valour and spirit, said to him:

"Look, friend, take care not to cut yourself to pieces. Pace yourself. You don't want to pressure yourself so much that in the middle you lack breath. I mean, don't hit yourself so hard that you lack life before you finish. And so you do not lose track, I will be over here, counting on my
rosary the lashes you give yourself." [. . .]
Sancho then took off his clothes from the waist up and, taking the cord, he began to give himself lashes and Don Quixote to count them.
Sancho had given himself six or eight when the joke seemed to him to be heavy and its price very cheap. Stopping a while, he protested to his master that he was being cheated because each lash deserved half a real, not a quarter.
"Continue, Sancho friend, and don’t worry," Don Quixote said to him, "because I am doubling the price."
"Then, by the hand of God," said Sancho, "let it rain lashes."
But the crafty one stopped lashing his shoulders and gave the blows to the trees, with sighs now and again, each one of which seemed to wrest his soul from him. The tender soul of Don Quixote, fearful that Sancho not end his life and he, himself, not achieve his desire due to the imprudence of Sancho, said to him:
"By your life, friend, stop at this point, because this medicine seems to me very harsh and it will be good to let it be a little. [. . .] You have given yourself more than a thousand strokes if I have not miscounted: let them suffice for now [. . .]."
"No, no, sir," responded Sancho Panza. "You won’t have to say that once I am paid, I lose interest in the work. Go a little further away and allow me to give myself even another thousand lashes, because in two batches of them we will have finished with this game [. . .]."
"Because you have such a good disposition," said Don Quixote, "may heaven help you, and stick to it, and I will go further away."
Sancho returned to his work with such vigour that he had already removed the bark from many trees, such was the rigour with which he whipped them. Raising his voice at one point, giving a violent stroke to a beech tree, he said,
"Here you will die, Sanson, and all those who are with him!"
Don Quixote approached at the sound of the piteous voice and of the blow of the hard stroke and, seizing the twisted bridle that was serving as a whip for Sancho, he said:
"May fate not permit, friend Sancho, that for my pleasure you lose your life. You have to provide for your wife and your children. Let Dulcinea wait for a better moment, and I will restrain myself to the limits of near hope. I will wait until you recover new energies, in order to conclude this business at the pleasure of all."
"Well, my lord, if you want it so," responded Sancho, "let it be so and throw your cape over my shoulders, because I am sweating and I don’t want to catch a cold. New penitents run this risk."

In the illustration of this text, the viewer sees Sancho Panza and Don Quixote in the trees off the road. While Rocinante and Sancho’s mule graze in the background, in the foreground Sancho Panza is bare to the waist, whipping himself. However, instead of
sitting some distance away from Sancho and counting the blows, Don Quijote approaches his squire to hand him his rosary\(^2\), for which Sancho reaches. As well, a tree creates a strong diagonal in the centre of the design, clearly separating Don Quijote from Sancho. Another unusual element of this image is the contrast between Don Quijote's stiff profile and Sancho Panza's lithe and flexible, perhaps sensual, frontal view. Compared with Figure 17, for example, the conception of Sancho Panza has been considerably developed.

It appears that Don Quijote is offering his squire a benediction or approval of the latter's suffering. It is as if, in conveying the rosary to Sancho, Don Quijote blesses the whipping. Of course, Don Quijote does approve of the whipping as it will disenchant Dulcinea, but in the text he does not do so in this way. The image elevates Sancho in a way new to this series of images. Sancho seems to reach out for the rosary from a grotto, or from some space separate from that of Don Quijote, and he is well defined by a lighter area behind him. He is the central figure of this image, both as a result of Don Quijote's action and by the design of the illustration itself. This depiction could easily lead the reader to imagine Sancho Panza as a long-suffering hero, from whose world Don Quijote is pointedly separated.

In contrast to Figure 11, where Sancho is elevated through Don Quijote's debasement, here the former is elevated and Don Quijote appears stiff and artificial. It is another way to relegate Don Quijote to a less important world and status.

Likewise, in the final illustration of this edition, The Death of Don Quijote (Figure 35), Don Quijote is isolated and dies outside of the comfort of the church or friends. After his return home, Don Quijote falls ill, dictates his last will and testament,

---

\(^2\) Don Quijote always carries a rosary (866).
and dies.

En fin, llegó el último de don Quijote, después de recibidos todos los sacramentos y después de haber abominado con muchas y eficaces razones de los libros de caballerías. Hallóse el escribano presente, y dijo que nunca había leído en ningún libro de caballerías que algún caballero andante hubiese muerto en su lecho tan sosegadamente y tan cristiano como don Quijote; el cual, entre compasiones y lágrimas de los que allí se hallaron, dio su espíritu, quiero decir que se murió.

Viendo lo cual el cura, pidió al escribano le diese por testimonio como Alonso Quijano el Bueno, llamado comúnmente don Quijote de la Mancha, había pasado desta presente vida, y muerto naturalmente; y que el tal testimonio pedía para quitar la ocasión de algún otro autor que Cide Hamete Benengeli le resucitase falsamente, y hiciese inacabables historias de sus hazañas. (1066-1067)

[Finally, the last day of Don Quijote arrived, after having received all the sacraments and after having denounced with many effective arguments books of knighthood. The clerk was present and he said that he had never read in any book of knighthood that any knight-errant had died in his bed so peacefully and in such a Christian manner as Don Quijote, who, with the pity and tears of those there, gave up his spirit, that is, he died.

Seeing which, the priest asked the clerk to testify that Alonso Quijano the Good, commonly called Don Quijote of La Mancha, had passed from the present life and died naturally. He asked for such testimony in order to remove the opportunity from any author other than Cide Hamete Benengeli to resuscitate him falsely and to create interminable histories of his deeds.]

The artist has illustrated the last moments of Don Quijote, to which only the scribe and the priest were witness. The viewer sees the priest ensuring that the scribe provides the proper testament.

By illustrating this scene, rather than the earlier moment when Don Quijote dictates his last will and testament and when others are in the room with him, the artist focuses on the man himself, rather than on his interactions with others and the responses of others to his words and to his impending death. In doing so, the artist has abstracted Don Quijote and the event of his death from a broad, human context and fashioned it as another discrete and isolated event in his history. In fact, he has focused on an instant defined through the viewpoint and the actions of the priest. Nonetheless, in the image
Don Quijote is still actively conversing with the scribe, giving him a more active role than does the text. The viewer sees Don Quijote face to face, with no shadows, helmets, hands or bandages to obscure his features, looking rested and sane, free from his madness.

However, even though Don Quijote has been shriven and in spite of his recognized sanity and Christianity, the artist has depicted no emblems of his faith in the scene, other than the priest. In the text, the priest, having performed the last rites, is more concerned with removing the possibility that Don Quijote will be resuscitated by some other author, than with his fate in the afterlife. Perhaps it is so here as well. In the corridor, the artist has placed a small figure shrugging his shoulders. He seems to express "That's all there is," or "There's nothing more to say." Thus, although Don Quijote dies shriven, he dies without Sancho Panza present and without any external symbols of the comfort of the Church.

Summary

In the illustrations to this edition of Don Quijote, both protagonists, Don Quijote and Sancho Panza, are mocked, treated as objects of laughter, and treated ironically. Early in the series of images, Don Quijote is mocked when he allows himself to be treated as a fool by the innkeeper and the maidens. He is held up to ridicule in his rejection of Sancho's earthiness and, again, when the artist shows Don Quijote in various positions inferior to Sancho. Sancho Panza is also mocked when his romance of being a governor is shattered against the reality of his lack of interest in leading men into battle. In a somewhat gentler vein, Don Quijote is laughed at when he and his squire are knocked down by Cardenio in the Sierra Morena and when, ironically, Don Quijote is shown behaving at variance with his professed beliefs.
Through several techniques, the reader is also carefully invited to do the same. The artist's usual techniques are a direct address to the viewer to join in derision and the inclusion of the viewer within the depicted audience already deriding Don Quijote and/or Sancho Panza.

The artist also simply casts Don Quijote out of his story, through either rejecting him or his world, or through excluding him and his world from the "light of reason." In a number of designs, the artist separates the secular world from the sacred world by degrading the former and elevating the latter, by showing Don Quijote in a lesser light or hidden from the light of the world, or excluded from the life of the Church. One is left with the question of why the artist may have taken such a stance toward the protagonists of a work that he was undoubtedly commissioned to illustrate.
CONCLUSION

It is tempting to conclude that Diego de Obregón, the ostensible designer of these illustrations, followed the text of *Don Quijote*, particularly in part II, in depicting the implicit and explicit mockery and derision of the heroes in the story. In some cases, he appears to do exactly that. To take one example, in Figure 26, where the artist portrays Don Quijote and his squire riding the wooden horse, Clavileño, the mockery coincides with that of the text. The argument here, however, is that the artist does not deride the protagonists in the sense that those within the text do. In the text, other participants make fun of Don Quijote and Sancho; in Figure 26, for example, the Duke and the Duchess, and others in the audience, do so. Yet, while others in the text may be antagonistic towards them, seldom are the narrator(s) or the author. Cervantes himself seems to have a distant, yet clear sympathy for the two protagonists in their difficulties.

In the illustrations to the 1674 edition, however, a definite antagonism towards Don Quijote emanates from the artist. This antagonism is an element added to the mockery of the text. When the artist merely depicts the mockery found in the text, that is, when the image fits the text within reasonable limits, the reader finds little discrepancy between the text and the image. Yet, the artist does not limit himself to a depiction of the textual mockery. On the contrary, he often adds to it or converts it to a further derision of Don Quijote, taking the denigration in a direction different from any the text itself might suggest, a direction often indicated by the presence or absence of a cross on a church steeple or other religious elements. Thus, when the artist "casts Don Quijote out of his story" he is not simply following lines implicit in the text. Rather, he is adding his own derisory and derogatory comment to this edition of *Don Quijote*.
One source of information regarding the treatment of Don Quijote in this program of images may be Don Quijote itself. In at least three places, Cervantes places words in the mouths of clerics describing their attitude to books of chivalry: in the first inquisition and burning of books (Part I, Chapter 6), in the review of books in the inn (Part I, Chapter 32), and in the conversation between the priest and the canon on Don Quijote's return from his second trip (Part I, Chapter 47). In the latter, one finds a lengthy statement of why books of chivalry were condemned by the Church, and, therein, perhaps a reason to condemn Don Quijote himself.

At the end of his second sally into La Mancha, Don Quijote leaves the inn in a cage. Soon, the procession in which he is travelling encounters a canon with whom the priest accompanying Don Quijote speaks. They fall into a discussion of books of chivalry, and the canon explains:

--Verdaderamente, señor cura, yo hallo por mi cuenta que son perjudiciales en la república estos que llaman libros de caballerías [. . .]. Y según a mí me parece, este género de escritura y composición cae debajo de aquel de las fábulas que llaman milesias, que son cuentos disparatados, que atienden solamente a deleitar, y no a enseñar; al contrario de lo que hacen las fábulas apólogas, que deleitan y enseñan juntamente. Y puesto que el principal intento de semejantes libros sea el deleitar, no sé yo cómo puedan conseguirlo, yendo llenos de tantos y tan desaforados disparates; que el deleite que en el alma se concibe ha de ser de la hermosura y concordancia que veo o contemplo en las cosas que la vista o la imaginación le ponen delante [. . .]. Pues ¿qué hermosura puede haber, o qué proporción de partes con el todo, y del todo con las partes, en un libro o fábula donde un mozo de diez y seis años da una cuchillada a un gigante como una torre, y le divide en dos mitades, como si fuera de alféñique, y que cuando nos quieren pintar una batalla, después de haber dicho que hay de la parte de los enemigos un millón de competientes, como sea contra ellos el señor del libro [. . .] habemos de entender que el tal caballero alcanzó la vitoria por solo el valor de su fuerte brazo? [. . .] Y si a esto se me respondiese que los que tales libros componen los escriben como cosas de mentira, y que así, no están obligados a mirar en delicadezas ni verdades, responderles hía yo que tanto la mentira es mejor cuanto más parece verdadera, y tanto más agrada cuanto tiene más de lo dudoso y
posible. Hanse de casar las fábulas mentirosas con el entendimiento de los que las leyeren, escribiéndose de suerte que, facilitando los imposibles, allanando las grandezas, suspendiendo los ánimos, admiren, suspendan, alborocen y entretenan, de modo que anden a un mismo paso la admiración y la alegría juntas; y todas estas cosas no podrá hacer el que huyere de la verisimilitud y de la imitación, en quien consiste la perfección de lo que se escribe. No he visto ningún libro de caballerías que haga un cuerpo de fábula entero con todos sus miembros, de manera que el medio corresponda al principio, y el fin al principio y al medio; sino que los componen con tantos miembros, que más parece que llevan intención a formar una quimera o un monstruo que a hacer una figura proporcionada. Fuera desto, son en el estilo duros; en las hazañas, increíbles; en los amores, lascivos; en las cortesías, mal mirados; largos en las batallas, necios en las razones, disparatados en los viajes, y, finalmente, ajenos de todo discreto artificio, y por esto dignos de ser desterrados de la República cristiana, como a gente inútil. (480-482)

["Truly, sir priest, I find these books of chivalry detrimental to the commonwealth. [. . .] In my opinion, this type of writing and composition are Milesian tales, nonsensical stories that serve only to delight and not to teach; contrary to what apologetic stories do, that both delight and teach. And since the principal purpose of such books is to delight, I do not know how they can achieve it when they are so full of outrageous nonsense, because the delight that the soul conceives has to come from the beauty and harmony that it sees or contemplates in things that the sight or the imagination puts before it. [. . .] What beauty can you have, or what proportion of parts with the whole or of the whole with the parts, in a book or fable where a young man of sixteen years gives a slash to a giant like a tower and divides him into two halves, as if he were made of paste; and, when they want to paint for us a battle, after having said that there are on the side of the enemy a million combatants against the hero [. . .] we must understand that the knight achieved victory through only the strength of his strong arm? [. . .] And, if to this one responds to me that those who compose such books write them as matters of lies, and that they are not obliged to look into finenesses nor truths, I will respond to them that even a lie is better the more it seems to be true, and so much more pleasing the more plausible. One has to marry fabulous tales to the understanding of those who read them, writing in a manner that, facilitating the impossible, levelling the heights, suspending the thoughts, they may surprise, astonish, gladden and entertain, so that pleasure and admiration go hand in hand. All these things one who flees verisimilitude and imitation, in which consists the perfection of what is written, could not do. I have not seen any book of chivalry that composes an entire body with all its parts, so that the middle corresponds to the beginning and the end to the beginning and

---

1 According to Martín de Riquer (481), these are "decadent" tales invented in and spread from the corrupt kingdom of Miletus.
middle. Rather, they write them with so many members that it seems more that they have the intention to form a chimera or a monster than a well-proportioned figure. Outside of this, they are in style, rough; in deeds, unbelievable; in loves, lascivious; in courtesies, badly seen; long in battles, foolish in reasoning, nonsensical in travels and, finally, outside of all sober artifice and, for this, deserving of being exiled from the Christian commonwealth as useless.

Clearly, the canon disapproves of books of chivalry because they are nonsense; they only entertain and fail to teach. They do not lead to improved behaviour or reflection on how to live well. They do not even entertain well since, containing little, they do not promote contemplation of beauty or proportion. They exaggerate so much that they are not credible. To be plausible, they should be written in a way that sounds reasonable to the reader. An author who, for the sake of effect, eschews verisimilitude, or who fails to provide a believable imitation of reality is unable to achieve his purpose to entertain. In sum, being neither devotional nor good entertainment, they have no place in Christendom.

Edward Riley reviews this statement by the canon and finds it based on the single "absolute standard by which literature could be measured" in the seventeenth century. "By this standard only sacred writings and devotional works were absolutely beneficial" (83). Riley confirms the authority of this opinion by citing the Plaza universal de todas ciencias y artes of Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa, published in 1615:

[Literary] subjects are either divine or profane, and on that account very different from one another; for the first deal with things that are useful to the salvation of the soul, arousing the two principal virtues of hope and charity. [...] The second undertake merely curious subjects, matters that simply give pleasure to the world; these are works that do not nourish the spirit, but rather are set about and decked with vanities, being founded only on mental pleasure and recreation. (83) [Translation by E. C. Riley]

The distinction made by Suárez de Figueroa between divine works and profane works is the same made by the canon between those that teach and those that delight.
It appears possible that Diego de Obregón has followed this distinction in his understanding of *Don Quijote*. Perhaps he has adopted the position that the book itself is a profane work and that its characters do not advance any divine or devotional purpose. Accordingly, one might tentatively conclude that the designer of these plates has been instructed by the printer or by others associated with the book's production that *Don Quijote* had no edifying purpose and that Don Quijote himself had no educational purpose, and so, generally, he tried to persuade the reader to this conclusion. With a transferral of the qualities of the book to its namesake in his illustrations, Don Quijote became the focus of his censure.

In sum, while the reason for which Diego de Obregón has designed his illustrations in such a way is not obvious, the speech of the canon in Chapter 47 of Part I of *Don Quijote*, and a short, supporting text from the 1615 *Plaza universal de todas ciencias y artes* of Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa suggest one motivation. Perhaps the artist has adopted the point of view that the text of Cervantes is as detrimental to the Christian commonwealth as any book of chivalry and, by extension, that Don Quijote himself should be shown as ridiculous. At least this is one rationale that would account for these illustrations. However, lacking any evidence concerning Diego de Obregón's background or any instructions he may have received from any source, this remains a conjecture.

In any case, one might still consider how, if at all, these illustrations would influence the reader and whether they might do so more than the text itself. This is a difficult and probably interminable issue. With no evidence whatsoever concerning how a contemporary reader might have read this edition, one can only say that perhaps an
attentive reader might have noticed these suggestions of the illustrations and, without reflection, might have accepted the perspective of the artist; and, with reflection, either accepted or rejected it. Or one might claim that since the images were reissued in later editions, they had a certain popularity and, accordingly, influence. One might just as easily claim, however, that because the plates were available to the printers of later editions, they were used for reasons of economy. With the evidence at hand, there is no way to balance the competing claims of text and image for the reader's understanding.
VIDA,
Y HECHOS
DEL INGENIOSO CAVALLEO
DON QUIJOTE DE LA MANCHA.
PARTE PRIMERA.
COMPUESTA POR MIGUEL
DE CERVANTES SAAVEDRA.
NUEVA EDICION,
CORREGIDA, Y ILUSTRADA
CON TREINTA Y QUATRO LAMINAS
MUY DONOSAS, Y APROPIADAS
A LA MATERIA.
DEDICADO
AL SEÑOR D. FRANCISCO
MARIA GRILLO, HIJO DEL SEÑOR
MARQUES DE CARRERETO.
CON PRIVILEGIO
EN MADRID: POR ANDRES GARCIA DE LA IGLESIA. AÑO DE 1674.
ACOSTA DE D. MARIA ARMENTEROS. SE ENFRENTA DE S. FELIPE.

Figure 1. Title Page to Volume 1.
VIDA, Y HECHOS
DE L INGENIOSO CAVALLEJO
D. QVIXOTE
DE LA MANCHA.

COMPUESTA
Por Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra.

PARTE II.
NUEVA EDICCION;
CORREGIDA, Y ILUSTRADA CON
treinta y cuatro Laminas, muy donosas, y
apropiadas a la materi.a.

DEDICADO
AL SEÑOR DON FRANCISCO MARIA
Grillo.

CON PRIVILEGIO

EN MADRID Por Roque Rico de Miranda, Impresor de Libros,
Año de M.DC.LXXIV.
A costa de Doña María Aguirre, viuda de Juan Antonio Bonet,
Mercader de Libros, en frente de S. Felipe.

Figure 2. Title Page to Volume 2.
Figure 3. Frontispiece.
Figure 4. Don Quijote Drinks through a Tube. [1, 2]
Figure 5. The Battle with the Biscayan and the Tilt with the Windmills. [I, 8]
Figure 6. The Burial of Grisóstomo and the Appearance of Marcela. [I, 13]
Figure 7. The Fight with Maritornes. [I, 16]
Figure 8. Tossing Sancho Panza on the Blanket. [I, 18]
Figure 9. The Adventure of the Fulling Mills. [I, 20]
Figure 10. Cardenio Fights with Don Quijote and Sancho Panza. [I, 24]
Figure 11. Sancho Panza's Leave-Taking from Don Quijote in the Sierra Morena.
[I, 25]
Figure 12. The Meeting with Dorotea in the Sierra Morena. [I, 28]
Figure 13. Don Quijote Knocks Sancho Panza down for Blaspheming Dulcinea. [1, 30]
Figure 14. Dorotea Appeals to Don Fernando in the Inn. [I, 36]
Figure 15. Don Quijote Discovered at Dawn Hanging by his Wrist. [I, 43]
Figure 16. Don Quijote Returns to his Village in a Cage. [I, 48]
Figure 17. The Canon and Don Quijote Discuss Books. [I, 50]
Figure 18. Don Quijote's Fight with the Goat-herder, the Penitents, and Don Quijote's Fall. [I, 52]
Figure 19. Don Quijote in Bed Talking with his Friends. [II, 1]
Figure 20. Don Quijote and Sancho Panza Meet the Cart of Actors. [II, 11]
Figure 21. Don Quijote Challenges the Lion. [II. 17]
Figure 22. Don Quijote at the Entrance to the Cave of Montesinos. [II, 22]
Figure 23. Don Quijote Attacks the Puppet-Show. [II, 26]
Figure 24. Don Quijote and Sancho Panza with the Duke and Duchess. [II, 32]
Figure 25. The Triumphant Cart. [II, 35]
Figure 26. Don Quijote’s and Sancho Panza’s Flight on Clavileño. [II, 41]
Figure 27. Sancho Panza Enters Barataria. [II, 45]
Figure 28. The Paddling of Doña Rodríguez. [II, 48]
Figure 29. The End of Sancho Panza's Governorship. [II, 53]
Figure 30. Sancho Panza's Fight with Don Quijote. [II, 60]
Figure 31. The Adventure with the Enchanted Head. [II, 62]
Figure 32. Don Quijote's Defeat by the Knight of the White Moon. [II, 64]
Figure 33. The Herd of Pigs. [II, 68]
Figure 34. Sancho Panza Whips Himself. [II, 71]
Figure 35. The Death of Don Quijote. [II, 74]
Works Cited


Romera-Navarro, M. "Pictorial Interpretations of 'Don Quixote'." *Library Chronicle of the University of Texas* 3 (1948): 46-54.


