

Don Quixote: 400 Years on the Road

BARBARA NICHOL

THE FOLLOWING CERVANTES SCHOLARS are interviewed in this program: A. J. Close, Daniel Eisenberg, Edward Friedman, Barry Ife, James Iffland, Carroll Johnson, Eduardo Urbina, and Diana de Armas Wilson.

The 3-part program (3 hours) can be obtained on CD or cassette for \$34 (Canadian), taxes and shipping included; ordering details at <<http://www.cbc.ca/ideas/transcripts/index.html>>. To order using a credit card, call (416) 205-7367, or you can send a check or credit card information to: Ideas Transcripts,¹⁸ Box 500, Station A, Toronto, M5W 1E6, Canada.

The program was transcribed by Christina H. Lee and the transcription edited by Daniel Eisenberg (who wrote the footnotes).¹⁹

¹⁸ In fact no transcript of this broadcast is available for purchase, only the audio files.

¹⁹ Also, the interviews required some “touching up” in the interests of readability. Here is an example of the revision, from my own words:

Verbatim: “The people who were descendants of the Jews were faced with the whole reasons for discriminatory measures in Spain. For example, to go to the New World, you had to come up with documents that said that your bloodlines were pure, there was not trace of Judaism involved in it. But people who were part of that class were, to some extent, outsiders of society. People who were barred from lucrative jobs, from prestige. And this definitely, I believe, was a factor of both Cervantes’ moderately economic success and even in his moderate success as an author within his own time.”

Revised: “The people who were descendants of the Jews were faced with a whole series of discriminatory measures in Spain. For example, to go to the New World, you had to come up with documents that said that your bloodlines were pure, that there was no trace of Judaism in them. But people who were part of that class were, to some extent, the outsiders of society, people who

Some words of James Iffland had been mistakenly attributed to Edward Friedman; this has been corrected here and on the audio version currently for sale. All participants have had the opportunity to review the transcriptions and make corrections.

The variations between *Quixote* and *Quijote*, and between *Cervantes'* and *Cervantes's*, reflect the pronunciation of the speakers.

PART I



PAUL KENNEDY: I'm Paul Kennedy and this is *Ideas*.



PAUL KENNEDY: In a poll released last year, the novel *Don Quijote* was voted the best and most central work of literature of all time. There were a hundred writers polled. The survey was conducted by the Norwegian Nobel Institute. The Institute was choosing 100 titles to make up a library of world literature. They weren't necessarily seeking a number one book, but *Don Quijote* came very much in the lead. It earned fifty percent more votes than any other title.

Don Quijote came out in two parts, Part I in 1605, and Part II ten years later. It's now published as one enormous book. And most of us haven't read it. Or we've read it a bit of it in school. Or we've seen *Man of La Mancha*. Or we've seen a picture of the hero and the windmills. So many of us will have asked, when we saw the results of that poll in newspapers last year: "Why *Don Quijote*?" The question is "Why *this* book?" Tonight on *Ideas*, the beginnings of an answer: points of view from some of the world's leading experts on the book, as the three-part series gets on the way.

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were barred from lucrative jobs, from prestige. And this definitely, I believe, was a factor in both Cervantes' moderate economic success and even in his moderate success as an author in his own time."

20 This symbol is used to designate a musical interlude.

Part I, Chapter 1. In a village of La Mancha (I don't want to bother you with its name) there lived, not very long ago, one of those gentlemen who keep a lance in a lance-rack, an ancient shield, a skinny old horse, and a fast greyhound. Three quarters of his income went into his pot of stew (which contained a good deal more cow than sheep), the cold salt beef he ate most nights, Friday's beans and lentils and Saturday's leftover scraps, and sometimes a slender young pigeon for Sunday. All the rest ended up in a heavy broadcloth coat, velvet breeches he wore on feast days (with velvet slippers to match), and the fine quality homespun he wore, with great dignity, during the week. He lived with a housekeeper who was over forty, and a niece who hadn't reached twenty, plus a boy for the fields and the market, who spent as much time saddling the old horse as wielding the pruning knife. Our gentleman was getting close to fifty, but strong, lean, his face sharp, always up at dawn, and a devoted hunter. It's said his family name was Quijada, or maybe Quesada: there's some disagreement among the writers who've discussed the matter. But more than likely his name was really Quejana. Not that this makes much difference in our story; it's just important to tell things as faithfully as you can. (I, 1; 13)²¹

BARBARA NICHOL: And so Miguel de Cervantes starts out, telling his tale, he says, as faithfully as he can. But the story—he tells us it's a true story—is gathered up from more than one account, most of it collected by an historian, a Moor, Cide Hamete Benengeli. The story is about a man who went mad reading what he believed to be true stories. Don Quijote took as truth medieval tales of wandering knights and ladies fair. But in this book, the book about this man, are many stories and many voices speaking. Told as faithfully as it can be, the story of Don Quijote is a kaleidoscope, a hall of mirrors, a puzzle: fractured, conflicting, reflecting points of view. It was written in Spain at the start of the seventeenth century, a society that was making every effort to keep variety in check.

CARROLL JOHNSON: Cervantes was born into a society that was officially monolithic, mono-religious, monolingual, mono-cultural, and it was characterized by, you can almost say, a mania for exclusivity.

²¹ Part, chapter and page references have been added. The page numbers refer to the translation used in the broadcast, that of Burton Raffel (New York: Norton, 1999).

BARBARA NICHOL: Carroll B. Johnson is a professor at the University of California at Los Angeles. His specialty is early modern Spanish literature. Among his publications on *Don Quijote* are the books: *Madness and Lust* and *The Quest for Modern Fiction*. He's the author of *Cervantes and the Material World*.

CARROLL JOHNSON: During the Middle Ages, in the Iberian peninsula, there were three ethnic, linguistic, religious groups that were coexisting for a period of seven hundred years or so. In 1492, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabel of Castile threw the Muslims off the Iberian peninsula as a political entity, and immediately following that, decreed religious unity, religious conformity. It was suddenly against the law to be a Jew or a Muslim. The Muslims were just sort of forcibly converted to Christianity. It was a huge population. They spoke a different language. The Jews were offered the opportunity to continue to be Jewish but do it somewhere else, outside of Spain, or to continue to be Spanish but do it as Christians.

In the course of these events, a society is created where officially everyone is Christian, everyone subscribes to certain national values, to a certain kind of national ethos. Underneath, the society is divided into those who had always been Christian and the newly converted, who were called New Christians, and their descendants. The New Christians were sort of systematically excluded from full participation in the power structure. The key to getting ahead in that society was to have the right kind of blood. Now, Cervantes' family may or may not have been a family of New Christians. Circumstances suggest that this is probably where they were coming from. But the point is that within Spanish society, Cervantes is one of these kind of semi-marginalized, semi-outsiders, who is able to bring to bear a critical perspective that's denied to people who are full members, grown up in it, and never have reason to question anything.

BARBARA NICHOL: Miguel de Cervantes was born in 1547. His father was a barber-surgeon, which was on the lowest rung of the medical ladder. The father was deaf. There were lots of children and there was very little money. When Miguel de Cervantes was young, the family moved around a lot, the father trying to improve their fortunes. At one time, he was jailed for debts. Chances are our author received nothing more than a standard education for the time. Details are scarce. Four centu-

ries of scholarship have turned up very little about the author's youth. And for centuries scholars have been busy digging and disputing their findings about Cervantes, discussing and disputing the man Cervantes invented: Don Quijote. Who was *he*?

CARROLL JOHNSON: When the book starts, Don Quijote has no identity. The salient feature of him as a character is his anonymity and his identification as a member of a group. He's introduced as an *hidalgo*, that is, a member of the absolute lowest rank of the nobility, a group of aristocrats whose aristocratic status was constantly in danger of slipping away from them, who lives out in the country: the text says "one of those *hidalgos* who would keep a dog, and a lance, and a shield." He eats the same menu seven days a week, fifty-two weeks a year. He has two suits of clothes, one for weekdays, one for holidays. His life is a paradigm of monotony. He doesn't have a name. His name might have been Quijana, might have been Quijada, or it might have been Quesada.

Well, in that society, one's identity is a function of one's lineage, in two senses. One is either an *hidalgo*, some kind of an aristocrat, or a commoner. And, just as important in that society, one is either an old Christian or a New Christian. This guy has no identity, because nobody knows what his family name is. So he begins an absolute *tabula rasa*. The only thing that distinguishes him from many of these other country *hidalgos* who keep a lance and a dog and so on, and whose economic status is precarious, is that this guy is a voracious reader. He reads chivalric romance. He is so taken up in the reading of these books that he reads them all day; he stays up all night reading them; he sells off part of his small landholdings, which provide his livelihood, in order to buy more books to read.

The result of the round-the-clock reading schedule, according to the text, is that his brain dries out, and the consequence of that is that his mind becomes unbalanced. He loses his judgment; he goes crazy, in a word. And in this new state of mental alienation, induced by the physiological experience of the brain drying out from lack of sleep—which, by the way, is up-to-the-minute with contemporary scientific theory of the late sixteenth century—he conceives this project. He decides what he needs to do is to actually live one of these books. So this is the project: he is going to transform himself into a knight-errant and he is going to travel around doing the things that knights-errant do, both in order to strike a blow for good in the world, and also to win fame for himself. That is, through this new identity to achieve a kind of existential vali-

dation. So he sets about willfully transforming himself from this anonymous country *hidalgo* into a knight-errant on the model of those in the books that he's read.



A. J. CLOSE: These are stories about the doings of knights-errant, knights who wandered the fields and forests in search of adventure.

BARBARA NICHOL: A. J. Close on the literature of chivalry. Anthony Close is a Reader of Spanish at the University of Cambridge. Among his books are *The Romantic Approach to Don Quijote* and *Cervantes and the Comic Mind of his Age*.

A. J. CLOSE: They are set in dreamy and distant lands, for Spaniards that is. These include Great Britain and Brittany (France, that is, northwest France). They're set in a period shortly after the death of Christ. And it's a very fabulous world, which dresses up the medieval code and practice of chivalry, projecting it back in time. It's a world of dragons, princesses, enchanters, dragons, princesses, palaces, tourneys, dwarfs, serpents, monsters, and above all, knights and knights-errant wandering fields and forests in search of fame and adventure. And it was hugely popular in Spain in the sixteenth century. There were about eighty or ninety chivalric romances produced beginning with most the famous of them all, *Amadís de Gaula*, which came out in 1508.²² Many of them were wrist-breakingly heavy tomes in several parts. So this was a massive amount of literature. It was by far and away the most popular genre. And you've got all kinds of people reading it. Saint Theresa of Avila confesses that she was an enthusiast of chivalric romances in her youth. Saint Ignatius Loyola, before he converted and turned to the religious life, was a very worldly courtier. And when he was wounded at the siege of Pamplona (this was in 1521), lying on his sickbed, he asked to be brought his favorite reading, which was chivalric romances. Well, they didn't have any available and so they brought him *The Lives of the Saints* instead.

They weren't all enthusiastic supporters of the romances. There was a very long tradition of moralists and churchmen who thundered against

22 [Ed. note: 1508 is the date of the earliest surviving edition of *Amadís de Gaula*, but it was almost surely not the first edition.]

them as frivolous, unedifying, implausible, and all the rest, and Cervantes follows in that tradition, though his objections are artistic rather than moral.

DANIEL EISENBERG: They're a type of early novel, which deals with the adventures of a royal protagonist that might be separated from his family; he doesn't know he is royal, until finally he is reconciled with his parents and goes on to become the king with his parents' death, and he can't go riding around the world anymore.

BARBARA NICHOL: Daniel Eisenberg is the editor of the journal of the Cervantes Society of America.

DANIEL EISENBERG: They fulfilled some of the role that we see today in serials, in soap operas. Or even a good comparison is the type of short movie that was seen back in movie theaters a generation ago. You'd have the adventures of Tom Mix, for example. Each installment would show the person getting out of one scrape and go on and end up in another scrape. And that was the point in which the adventure would end, and you'd have to come back the following week to find out how the person got out of that particular scrape.

CARROLL JOHNSON: He has a helmet inherited from his grandparents' generation, but it's incomplete. He doesn't have the part that covers the knight's face, so he builds that out of cardboard and takes several days. He tests it with his sword and it flies to pieces.

BARBARA NICHOL: Carroll Johnson on Don Quijote as he shapes himself and his surroundings into proper chivalric form.

CARROLL JOHNSON: So he re-does it, puts a couple of iron bars inside to reinforce it. This time, however, he refrains from testing it. And this I think is the beginning of Quixotic wisdom. That is, instead of subjecting the new helmet to some kind of an empirical demonstration, he just imposes his will on it. "It's a good helmet, not because I've seen it resist a blow, but it's a good helmet because I need it to be a good helmet."

He's got a horse. The horse he has is a decrepit old nag, it's the kind of animal that in Spanish is called a *rocín*. He can't rename the horse and effect a change that way, and out of that, the word Rocinante emerges. It's kind of a little pun, which the narrator explains. *Ante* means before, so this horse was a *rocín* before.

So he's very satisfied with that name, and he moves on into renaming himself. It takes him a week, and he comes up finally with his name "Don Quijote" in imitation of the most famous knight-errant in all the books he has read, a man named Amadís de Gaula. He decides that "Don Quijote" by itself is not enough. Amadís was not just Amadís, but Amadís *de Gaula*, "of Wales." He names himself Don Quijote de la Mancha, which is the part of Spain that he lives in.

So after he's done that, there's only one attribute of a knight-errant that remains, and that is the lady fair. He thinks for a while about that. And apparently there was a farm girl in a neighboring village that he had kind of worshiped from afar. She had never understood that he was interested in her. He decides that this girl will be the lady of his thoughts. Her name is Aldonza Lorenzo, a name that just won't do for the lady fair of a knight-errant. So he thinks for a while and he renames her, and she becomes "Dulcinea," which is a name that has resonances not only to chivalric literature but also to another kind of highbrow literary form called pastoral literature. She is from the neighboring village of El Toboso, so she becomes Dulcinea del Toboso.

Both of these names are composed of two parts: the Don Quijote part and the Dulcinea part are reaching up to assimilate these people into the world of chivalric literature. The *de La Mancha* and *del Toboso* del part are pulling them down to earth. La Mancha is a region in Spain that really doesn't have much to bring it anyone's notice. It's generally flat, they grow some wheat, they raise sheep. There are no big cities, not the site of any famous battles, or anything like that. So to style yourself as from La Mancha is to actually detract from any kind of prestige that might be associated with the place where you are from. El Toboso is a little town in La Mancha and in Cervantes' time, El Toboso did have a little claim to fame, which was that it was populated almost entirely by *moriscos*, that is, Spaniards who were the descendants of Muslims who had been converted to Christianity around 1492 to 1500, people who were defined in that society as outsiders. It's from El Toboso that Don Quijote picks his girlfriend.

BARBARA NICHOL: Dulcinea del Toboso, the light of his life, beauty most rare. Sancho Panza, the local peasant, who will become Quijote's squire, is most enthusiastic at the choice. He knows the girl whom Don Quijote has now renamed Dulcinea.

"Oh ho!" said Sancho. "Then the lady Dulcinea del Toboso is..."

otherwise known as Aldonza Lorenzo?"

"That she is, said Don Quixote, "and she's worthy to be mistress of the entire universe."

"I know her well," said Sancho, "and let me tell you, she can throw an iron ball as far as the strongest boy in the whole village. Praise the Lord! but she's a damned good girl, well built and straight as an arrow, and as strong and brave as they come...and what a voice! Let me tell you, one day she got up in the village bell tower, to call some of their boys, working in one of her father's ploughed fields, and even though those fellows were more than a mile off they heard her as if they'd been standing at the foot of the tower. And maybe the best thing about her is that she hasn't got a finicky bone in her body, ... she can crack jokes with everyone, and make faces... It's been a long time since I laid eyes on her, and she must have changed: women who are always out in the fields...their faces really take a beating." (I, 25; 155-56)

BARBARA NICHOL: We never meet Dulcinea del Toboso. Well, perhaps we see her once in an episode the author says he cannot guarantee it's true. In the Cave of Montesinos, Dulcinea quietly flees when she sees our hero, but sends to him an emissary. Dulcinea wants to know, says the emissary, if she can borrow six bucks.



PAUL KENNEDY: Tonight on *Ideas* you are listening to *Don Quijote: 400 Years on the Road*, produced and presented by Barbara Nichol.

BARBARA NICHOL: As the book starts in the prologue, we find the author stymied by his task. But a friend comes to his rescue. He offers his advice: "stay focused on the task at hand." He says this: "keep yourself focused on demolishing the whole false, irrational network of chivalric romances despised by so many, yet adored by so many more. Do this and what you have accomplished will be no small affair." Was this what Cervantes was after in writing the book? Some say yes, some say no. As in each and every detail of the author's life and work, it sometimes seems that there are not two sides, but many.

DIANA DE ARMAS WILSON: Montaigne called them "wit-besotting trash."

BARBARA NICHOL: Diana de Armas Wilson is Professor Emerita of English and Renaissance Studies at the University of Denver. She's the editor of the Norton Critical Edition of *Don Quijote* and the author of *Cervantes, the Novel, and the New World*.

DIANA DE ARMAS WILSON: They were trash. Other people called them filth, excrement, gangrene. One chronicler called them "scorpion oil." In other words, they were poisonous. I think they were highly sexual, and they were romances. They gave human beings who read them a very odd idea of what life was. But Cervantes, I do want to stress, was never censorious. He preferred to laugh at chivalry.

DANIEL EISENBERG: In the second half of the sixteenth century, they had clearly passed the peak of their popularity. However, I do not agree with those people that say that this was just a pretense that Cervantes was using, and really he didn't care very much about these books.

His intentions changed so much, and I don't believe there is one set of intentions that we can apply to the book as a whole. But I will say what he was doing when he began the work: I'm convinced that he was writing it to destroy the popularity of Spanish chivalric literature. I think he wanted to do that because he thought it was harming the country, that Spain would be a greater country if there were no more chivalric literature, and people were reading about the *true* heroes that Spain had. This chivalric literature, by the way, is always celebrating foreign heroes, that's a convention of it: people from France or Greece, or Thrace or Italy. I think Cervantes' concern with these works was genuine, and he really did believe that they were harmful and he really was out to get rid of them.

CARROLL JOHNSON: What is overt on the surface of the discourse is that this book is a satire of an existing literary genre. What he says in his prologue to Part I is, in effect: "I am taking on the books of chivalry." And there are people today, professional readers of Cervantes, who still consider that that is the stated intention, that's the real intention, and any other concerns that may have come along since simply do violence to Cervantes' original intention.

I don't really know how serious he was about satirizing the existing literary genre. Certainly he is very, very concerned about existing literature. It's a book that depends on virtually all of the forms of literature

that were circulating around when in the 1590s he sat down to write it. This is the period of the revival of pastoral literature from antiquity, literature about shepherds and shepherdesses who exist in kind of an idealized country setting and who devote themselves mainly to falling in love. Late in Part II, when Don Quijote is defeated in battle and, as a result, is forced to take a one-year break from the exercise of knight-errantry, he decides that what we'll do is become shepherds.

BARRY IFE: Cervantes was fascinated by genre.

BARBARA NICHOL: Barry Ife is the Cervantes Professor of Spanish at King's College, London. Among his publications on the subject are *Reading and Fiction in Golden Age Spain* and the upcoming *The Origins of the Novel in Spain*.

BARRY IFE: He loved taking the expectations that readers had of certain kinds of work, and playing with those expectations, defeating them, wrong-footing readers, and this novel is in many ways like a walk-around, as if it were an art gallery. You go from one room to another: this is the chivalric room; that's the pastoral room; this is the Italian short story room, and so on. And you can walk through a whole anthology of European fiction of the time. And that's very pleasurable. I'm sure that he had in mind a whole batch of readers: quite sophisticated, quite experienced readers, who wouldn't just laugh at the slapstick in the book, but would have a nice knowing smile on their faces. They recognized episodes not just from chivalric novels, but from other works of fiction that they read.

BARBARA NICHOL: In Part I, Don Quijote proceeds on Rocinante into the world. He comes upon an inn. He takes it to be a castle. He meets two prostitutes out front. He thinks they are noble damsels. He's made a knight, dubbed by the innkeeper who plays along with Don Quijote's madness. And Don Quijote's off again, attacking passers-by he takes to be wrongdoers: meddling, causing trouble, being violent, taking beatings. Finally, he is rescued by an acquaintance who happens by. He's taken home. And this is the end of what scholars call the first sally.

On the second sally, Sancho Panza on his donkey is by his side. Sancho Panza thinks that Don Quijote will one day make him the governor of an island. Don Quijote has said so and he believes it too. What follows is a series of adventures, the attack on the windmills being the

most famous. He thinks they are giants. He mistakes two flocks of sheep for armies. There are adventures and the stories of adventures: the interpolated stories told by characters whom they encounter on their journey through the back country of Spain. Among these stories is "The Captive's Tale," "The Story of the Man Who Couldn't Keep from Prying" (titles vary with translations), the stories of Cardenio and Lucinda, of Don Fernando and Dorotea. Part I becomes a tangle of characters and stories; some of them are sorted out by chance reunions. As we make our way along with Don Quijote and his squire, we are there as lovers reunite, old misunderstandings are explained, loose ends tied up.

Finally, as Part I ends, Don Quijote is captured and brought home by worried friends. They bring him home imprisoned in an oxcart. Don Quijote's imagination meets this test; he believes he's been enchanted. How else a great knight-errant such as he be contained in such lowly style?



BARBARA NICHOL: By the time this book came out, Cervantes was getting old. He was almost sixty. He had more than his share of failures and hard times. He'd spent a lifetime, off and on, reading, and doing what he could to make a name by writing. Among his literary endeavors, he'd made a little headway as a poet. He had some plays produced. He published a novel, *La Galatea*. It was a pastoral novel, shepherds and shepherdesses. Cervantes promised a second part of *La Galatea*. On his deathbed, he was still promising.

But *Don Quijote* was quickly popular. This didn't make Cervantes rich. The publisher made money and there were lots of pirated editions, but people loved Don Quijote. And although the patron to whom Cervantes dedicated the book didn't care much for it, the author was now able to attract another patron. After Part I of *Don Quijote* came out, Cervantes published the very highly regarded *Exemplary Novels*, a book of long short stories. He published Part II of *Don Quijote* and *Persiles and Sigismunda*, a novel released after his death.

DANIEL EISENBERG: When we look at the *Exemplary Novels* and *Don Quijote* Part II and the *Persiles*, these were all dedicated to the same person, the Count of Lemos. And since he was dedicating successive works to the same patron, we take this as indication that he really was getting some significant reward. Perhaps in these final years of his life, he

was finally able to devote himself full-time to writing, and that's why we see so many of his works completed and published in the final years of his life. However, it also seems that the Count of Lemos kept Cervantes at a certain distance. Giving him financial support was not the same as hiring him to be his secretary, by the way; that was another avenue that men in letters could pursue: to be employed as a secretary by a noble. And the Count of Lemos had occasion to hire a secretary during Cervantes' life and during this period when he was Cervantes' patron, and we know that Cervantes applied for that position and didn't get it.

BARBARA NICHOL: But why not? In fact, it's something of a theme in Cervantes' life, that he tended to be overlooked and unrewarded. He was, for example, a soldier when he was young. He was wounded in a naval battle, the battle of Lepanto. According to reputable accounts, he fought with what could only be called storybook valor. He took two gunshots in the chest. He permanently lost the use of his left hand.

On the way home to Spain, his ship was overcome by pirates. He was captured and spent five years as a captive, held for ransom in Algiers. Four times he tried to escape, attempting to save other captives as well, and stepping up to take the blame when these schemes failed. Somehow though, home in Spain, he didn't get positions he applied for to the Crown. And in the wake of his adventures, he spent many years traveling the back roads of Spain, collecting goods and taxes for the government. He was once jailed, innocent though he apparently was, on a matter related to these accounts.

But why was Cervantes not given the job of secretary to the Count of Lemos? Possibly, because of questions over his bloodline. And it's possible it had to do with an accusation of homosexuality, leveled against him at the time of his captivity in Algiers. But to return to the writing of the novel, it seems that by the time that the work was underway, he might have taken on some pessimism about his future as an author.

DANIEL EISENBERG: It was not a work, at least at first, that he had set particularly high hopes for. What he really wanted to do, if he could have done what he wanted to do, was to be the writer that would write, let's say, the equivalent, for the time, of the Great American Novel. In his case it would have been the Great Spanish Poem, that would have had the equivalent prestige.

We have in Part I a number of pieces that are just sort of stuck into the work. And people complained, and even at the time they complained,

that Part I was not very unified, not very well put together, that it had things that were stuck in it because he made a book out of it, and I think that's exactly what he was doing. That he had written part of Part I, and "yeah, we're going to write a book, so I've got this story and it relates to the topic, so I'm going to put it in there." It started out, I think Cervantes scholars would agree, as a work that was not envisioned as having the scope or the size or the extension that the book ended up having.

EDUARDO URBINA: This book was written late in life, very late in life for Cervantes.

BARBARA NICHOL: Eduardo Urbina is a professor of Hispanic Literatures at Texas A&M University and the director of the Cervantes Project.

EDUARDO URBINA: It was published at the end of his career, at the end of his life, at the end of many, many frustrations, disappointments, failures in his personal life, both as a writer and as an individual, as a human being. And for twenty years preceding the publication of the *Quijote* in 1605, we have twenty years of silence. Cervantes does not publish anything from 1585 to 1605, twenty years. It's almost like a compendium of a lifetime.

I don't think Cervantes wrote the book all at once or with a particular plan, or from beginning to end or anything like that. I think it's an accumulation of writings, writings that he wrote for other reasons, at other times, in other genres, and in other contexts. It's an accumulation of personal experiences. So it is indeed a book in which he sort of collected everything that he had seen, done, suffered, written all his life. And in a very sort of experimental and serendipitous way, he started putting it together. He started to connect it. He was confronted with a challenge, the challenge of "how am I going to make a whole out of all these parts?" And I think the talent of Cervantes, and the magic of the book as a conclusion, as a result, is that somehow he managed to do it. He managed to connect all these things and to make them one, one book. Not perfectly, but he managed to do so.

And by the way, I think that the genius, so to speak, is to have made his main character a madman, because that provided the solution to mixed worlds, mixed layers, mixed levels, because the mind and the vision of the madman allows for all this variety. The other thing that is strange about it is that it's also a very, very funny, a very entertaining

book, a very joyous sort of book, not the kind of book you would expect from a person that had suffered and that had so much pain in his life, so much disappointment. When he started to conceive of the *Quijote*, the *Quijote* was conceived probably or initially as one more story, the story of this poor man that reads a bunch of books, and he goes mad. And that somehow when Chapter 7 starts and Sancho comes into the picture and they go out again, and the book starts expanding, expanding, expanding, and it's like one of those acts that you see of jugglers with one ball and two balls, and three balls, and pretty soon they have twenty balls in the air.

BARBARA NICHOL: Scholars tend to agree on this: that *Don Quijote* is a tale that grew beyond the author's expectations. And scholars like to speculate on how the writing of the book unfolded, on how the book took shape. And Cervantes encourages his readers to do this very thing. The novel makes it clear to us that the writing of the book is a journey we're very welcome to join in on. We're invited to accompany the author as he goes.

Edward Friedman is a Professor of Spanish and Comparative Literature at Vanderbilt University. He's published widely on Cervantes, including an introduction to the recent Starkie Signet Classics translation.²³ He is the President of the Cervantes Society of America.²⁴

He talks about the way in which we watch the author's work proceed. He takes an example, Cervantes' decision to provide our hero with a squire.

EDWARD FRIEDMAN: When Don Quijote goes back home after his first sally, early in Part I, and then takes off again with Sancho Panza, it seems as if Cervantes may have been thinking something along the lines of: "now that I'm going to write something that's very sustained, rather than have Don Quijote inventing things with an absent narrator talking about what's going on, let's have a dialogue partner." So he sort of goes back on the road with Sancho, and Sancho has that definite role of interpreting reality.

Elements like this, to me, make readers feel that this is something that the writer was playing around with, that he had an initial idea, but

²³ *Don Quixote*, trans. Walter Starkie, with a new Introduction by Edward H. Friedman (New York: New American Library, 2001).

²⁴ Friedman served as President of the Cervantes Society of America from 2001 through 2003.

that idea kept expanding, and that he was playing around with his options as he was writing the novel. There is a real sense of the active creation being part of the text. And *Don Quijote* has often been compared to Velázquez's painting, *Las meninas* or *Ladies in Waiting*, in which the figure of Velázquez is in the work of art. We see framed works of art on the walls. We see types of framed reality that look like pictures: for example, a framed mirror, or an open doorway with a figure standing in it. In a sense I think that Velázquez and Cervantes are saying: "the literary work is a combination of final product and a process by which that work of art is created." And each of them, it seems to me, wanted to bring that process into the work of art.

A. J. CLOSE: He's a novelist's novelist. And this is not only because he is a superb professional—he's got all the tricks of the trade—but also because of all the writers of his age and more than any other writer of his age, and as much as any writer since, he is the one who brings the novelist into the novel. He makes *Don Quijote* a story about how to read novels, how to write them, how to criticize them. People read them, write them, criticize them, burn them, discuss them madly, so it's a story about reading and also writing.

And this isn't presented in the abstract as far as Cervantes is concerned. He is constantly bringing himself into the story. Think of the various masks that he adopts within the story. The most obvious one is the personage of the Moorish historian, who is supposed to be writing, with the preposterous name of Cide Hamete Benengeli. Benengeli, incidentally, means "aubergine" in Arabic. And the reason why Benengeli's called with this aubergine-like name is that this is the epithet given to people of Toledo, and Benengeli comes from Toledo. Well, Cide Hamete Benengeli, the historian, is the clownish mask that Cervantes has put on to tell his story. And the more he hides himself behind Benengeli, the more you are aware of the fact that it is Cervantes, the puppet master, who is pulling the strings.

And this isn't the only mask he adopts. He appears in lots of other guises: the priest, for example, of Don Quijote's village. He says that he is a very good friend of Cervantes, knows him very well. Well, very good friend is just a metaphor for "I'm Cervantes." Cervantes keeps bringing himself into the story, and one of the interpolated episodes of Part I, the ex-captive's story, is based in very particular detail on Cervantes' personal experiences as a soldier, including participation in the battle of Lepanto, five years captivity in Algiers, and so on. And this autobiographical

reference is made quite plain inside the story. So, in all sorts of ways, Cervantes brings himself into his story-writing. And it's not just as the writer, the author, the narrator: it's as *me*, Cervantes.

BARBARA NICHOL: This self-consciousness in the books, this awareness of the author and the reader, of the book being a book, acknowledged in the text, this is something we might call postmodern. But Cervantes is postmodern before there was even modern. He got there some four centuries ago. In a passage from the prologue, the author talks about his misgivings about the book, now that he is faced with the task of writing the prologue.

I would have preferred to give it to the world just as it is, plain and simple, not decorating it with a prologue or an endless list of all the sonnets, epigrams, and elegies we put in the front of books. Because, let me tell you, though writing the book was hard work, nothing was harder than this preface you're reading right now. I kept picking up my pen and putting it down, over and over, not knowing what I was supposed to write, and once, when I was sitting like that, just hanging fire, motionless, with the paper in front of me, a pen stuck behind my ear, my elbow on the desk, my hand on my cheek, wondering what I ought to say, one of my friends suddenly came in, clever, smart, and seeing me so buried in thought asked me why, and I didn't hide anything from him, I told him I was worried about the prologue I had to write for Don Quijote's history, and beginning to think I neither wanted to write it nor let that noble knight's adventures see the light of day. (I, Prologue; 7)

BARBARA NICHOL: The author is worried, he tells us, that he's not going to be able to come up with proper elegies and epigrams and footnotes and sonnets, the learned citations, and one needs these to give the work an educated polish. But when the author's friend drops by, the friend whom we met earlier, he has a great solution. All those elegies and epigrams and sonnets, the author should just make them up, attribute to whatever source he likes. Who is going to prove whomever is quoted didn't say these things? Then, throw in a little Latin, as Cervantes writes: a pinch of Latin here, a pinch of Latin there. And this piece of advice:

And then, to show your learning in the humanities and in heavenly cosmography, make sure, somehow or other, you get the name of the

river Tagus into your history, and you've immediately got yourself another fantastic annotation like this: *The river Tagus was named for a Spanish King; it originates in such-and-such a place and flows down to the ocean, kissing the walls of the famous city of Lisbon, which is said to be lined with gold, etc., etc., etc.* (I, Prologue; 10)



EDUARDO URBINA: The book is not so much about reality or about the character itself, but about fiction and fictionality. The main theme of the book is the book itself. The *Quijote* is first and foremost about the *Quijote* itself, and not about Don Quijote as a character, but about the *Quijote* itself as a fiction. That is a manual, so to speak, of how to write a novel, what is fiction, what is the essence of reality. And this is something that Jorge Luis Borges, the famous Argentinean writer, wrote and imitated too: this idea that the only reality is fiction. And as a result, fiction about fiction is the most real fiction there is.



PAUL KENNEDY: *Don Quixote: 400 Years on the Road* was produced and presented by Barbara Nichol. It was the first of three parts.

PART II



PAUL KENNEDY: I'm Paul Kennedy and this is *Ideas*.

It was four hundred years ago that Miguel de Cervantes published the first part of *Don Quijote*, the story of a country *hidalgo* who goes mad reading books of chivalry and sets out as a knight-errant in search of adventure. The book was wonderfully popular when it was published. Four centuries later, it towers above world literature. Last year, in a poll of one hundred writers, it was voted the best and most central work of all time.

Tonight our look inside this famous book continues with Part II of the three-part series *Don Quijote: 400 Years on the Road*. This series is presented by Barbara Nichol.



BARBARA NICHOL: We are well into Part I of *Don Quijote*. Night is falling. Don Quijote and his squire Sancho Panza, a day of adventures behind them, despair of finding a bed for the night. Well, Sancho despairs. Don Quijote thinks it's suitable for knights-errant to suffer in such ways. But they come upon a settlement of goatherds, a group of huts where they are taken in. They're offered a warm place at the fire, and food and drink. The travelers eat their fill: salted goat and a great hard cheese. The wine horn, Cervantes tells us, was not lazing about for it kept on going around and around, sometimes full and sometimes empty, like the bucket of a water wheel. And then, Don Quijote, the recipient of simple generosity, grows thoughtful in this moment of companionship. To his now besotted and uncomprehending hosts, he talks about the time he calls "the Golden Age."

Blessed the time, and blessed the centuries, called by the ancients the Golden Age! — and not because, then, the gold...came to men's hands without effort, but because those who walked the earth in that time knew nothing of those two words, *thine* and *mine*. All things were shared, in that holy age; to obtain his daily bread, no one had to trouble himself any more than to lift his hand and gather his food from the sturdy oak trees, which freely rewarded them with their sweet, delicious fruit. On every hand there were clear fountains and flowing rivers, offering up their delightful, transparent waters. Wise and careful bees shaped their busy republic in the cleft rocks and the tree-hollows, offering the abundant harvest of their sweet work to whoever might come, freely and even-handedly. (I, 11; 59)

JAMES IFFLAND: Do you remember the speech about the Golden Age, right at the very beginning?

BARBARA NICHOL: James Iffland is a professor of Spanish literature at Boston University. He's published widely on Cervantes, with specific work on Avellaneda's book.²⁵

JAMES IFFLAND: There Don Quijote talks about a prior point in hu-

²⁵ As broadcast, the preceding and following text was mistakenly attributed to Edward Friedman, with an introduction of Friedman at this point. The introduction of Iffland has been relocated from a later point.

man history, which he describes as an ideal time. Interestingly enough, at that ideal period in human history, there was no private property. We're really talking about a form of primitive communism. He describes it as a time when there was peace, where there was enough food for everyone. People didn't have to work the earth; nature itself was abundant and generous in the way it provided food for everyone. And Don Quijote says, "Well, ever since then, things have gone downhill." He contrasts the Iron Age of the present with that Golden Age of the past. He points out that he has become a knight-errant as a kind of an antidote to the fact that we no longer have a Golden Age. Interestingly enough, a few chapters later, Don Quijote says that he was brought into the world to bring back the Golden Age, to resuscitate the Golden Age.²⁶ That's a much more radical thing than he said earlier. When he says that he was born to bring back the Golden Age, he is talking about bringing back a classless society.

BARBARA NICHOL: The novel *Don Quijote* tends to fend off interpretation. For every argument one can make about the meaning of text, there is an equally convincing other side, or many other sides. The book is like the Bible: you can find within it what you need to make your case. And certainly among the ideas that can be found within the book, there are social issues and traces of dissent.

JAMES IFFLAND: Don Quijote is trying to change not only his own social status. He's an *hidalgo*, lower nobility; he calls himself "don." He turns himself into a *caballero*; he did not have the right to do that legally at the time. He dreams about becoming a king or an emperor. He's actually into a form of social climbing.

Sancho, of course, is also trying to go up in the world. He is a poor peasant. Don Quijote convinces him that he can be governor of an island, that he can become a count.

Now, of course, all this comes off comically in the work, but it also is pointing out a real social problem of the period. There's a huge demographic crisis in Spain at the time. There had been some terrible plagues; there had been serious bouts of starvation at the end of the sixteenth century. The peasantry could not sustain itself out in the country, so many of them were abandoning the countryside. They were leaving their traditional places and going to the cities and trying to find a better way of life. So, as in a comical way, what Don Quijote is doing is adding to

26 I, 20; 110.

the problems that the Crown was having at that time. Sancho leaves his job there, which is to be a farmer, and he's off trying to go up the social ladder; in that, he is doing practically what the whole Spanish society at the time was doing. We're of course talking about the early modern period, in which people were leaving behind what we can call medieval or feudal social formations. We're entering an incipiently capitalist world and, as we know, capitalism demands physical mobility. People need to be able to move around. This was viewed by the land-holding aristocracy and elements within the church as a big problem. People were not accepting their niche in society as they did during centuries of the Middle Ages. And this whole notion of "Oh, I can be something better; I can go up the ladder," was viewed with tremendous alarm.

BARBARA NICHOL: Don Quijote intends to move above his social station, for good or ill. Is he wise or not? Well, for good or ill, he will be taking up a role he tells us that nobility's abandoned. The heroes whose careers he followed in the books of chivalry were nobility, but they were warriors as well.

JAMES IFFLAND: He makes a distinction between the model that is found in the books of chivalry: that is, a nobleman who actually carried out his original function of a warrior. The nobility was essentially a warrior class. In the books of chivalry, in a very stylized way, we find the values of a warrior class still very much intact. But of course by the early seventeenth century, the nobility had largely abandoned that function. In other words, they had been given a huge number of privileges. For example, the nobility did not pay the majority of taxes. Why? Well, they didn't pay taxes but if there were a war, the nobility was expected to mobilize, to get soldiers together, and go out and fight those wars. For a variety of reasons, including the introduction of firearms into warmaking, the nobility had essentially begun to abandon that whole function. Now all they do is hang around at the court. They dress up in fancy clothes; they use perfume. They no longer are willing to go out and risk their hide. There we have Don Quijote on a number of occasions saying: "Look, I'm doing what should be done. The nobility of my period aren't doing what they should be."

That's one thing. Then, of course, we have this curious tendency to physically attack church figures. We should realize the Don Quijote never goes into church during Part I. The only time he uses a rosary and prays is when he is doing penance in the Sierra Morena; he makes a

rosary out of his shirt tail, which is of course a very disrespectful way of putting together a rosary. And there are three moments in Part I where he physically attacks churchmen. Physically attacking church people at the time led to automatic excommunication. So Don Quijote, for all intents and purposes, is excommunicated at that particular point.

BARBARA NICHOL: Miguel de Cervantes was excommunicated twice, while working for the crown collecting goods and taxes. The Church sometimes resisted giving up what it was asked. And the Church dominating the culture as it did is very much a feature of the landscape of the story.

CARROLL JOHNSON: Along about Chapter 4 of Part I, Don Quijote is just setting out on his adventures.

BARBARA NICHOL: Carroll B. Johnson is a professor at the University of California at Los Angeles. Among his publications are the books: *Madness and Lust*, *The Quest for Modern Fiction*, and *Cervantes and the Material World*.

CARROLL JOHNSON: He meets a group of people that the narrator identifies as silk merchants from Toledo, who are on their way to Murcia to buy silk. Don Quijote, of course, identifies them as the opportunity for chivalric adventure. And the one that occurs to him on this particular occasion is to stop these people and challenge them to acknowledge that Dulcinea del Toboso is the most beautiful woman in the world. This is a typical kind of episode from the books of chivalry that were his favorite reading, and that he sets out to imitate. So he stops these guys in the middle of the road and challenges them in the manner of the books of chivalry. But before long, he is asking them to do things in a sequence: to believe, confess, swear, and defend that Dulcinea is the most beautiful. So the language of his challenge has sort of slipped off from the discourse of chivalric romance with knights and ladies into the discourse of contemporary religious polemic. Not only that, the particular people that he is addressing—anybody in that society who is identified as a merchant—is probably a descendant of Jews who were all converted to Christianity in 1492.

DANIEL EISENBERG: Spain was a country in which there had been massive conversions from Judaism to Christianity at the end of the fift-

enth century, some of them before, a few of them after.

BARBARA NICHOL: Daniel Eisenberg is the editor of the journal of the Cervantes Society of America.

DANIEL EISENBERG: It became illegal to be a Jew in Spain in 1492. The people who were descendants of the Jews were faced with a whole series of discriminatory measures in Spain. For example, to go to the New World, you had to come up with a document that said that your bloodlines were pure, that there was no trace of Judaism in them. But people who were part of that class were, to some extent, outsiders in society, people who were barred from lucrative jobs, from prestige. And this definitely, I believe, was a factor both in Cervantes' moderate economic success and even in his moderate success as an author in his own time. His father was a surgeon, which was not an M.D. as we would have it today, but a sort of trade and, by the way, being a tax collector was almost the paradigmatic Jewish occupation. This was something that the kings would constantly hire Jews to do, back when there were Jews in Spain. His grandfather was a lawyer. His great-grandfather was a cloth merchant. They all did the sort of things that were associated with Jews or descendants from Jews. And on his mother's side the same thing.



EDWARD FRIEDMAN: Just at the very beginning of Part I, in the prologue, he is a man who fictionalizes himself. He's the author who has a work of art, and he is lamenting the fact that he doesn't quite have the literary background or the inclination to write a prologue.

BARBARA NICHOL: Edward Friedman, on one of many moments when the author puts in an appearance.

EDWARD FRIEDMAN: You see that he is filling the space of the prologue by talking about the problem of writing a prologue, and he invents an alter ego, a friend who gives him advice about writing a prologue and suggests that he not take the normal route, but that he invent things and make up things, and really be a little bit irresponsible. And there is a certain challenge to authority.

BARBARA NICHOL: One can find the traces of social dissent and ar-

tistic dissent as well. Cervantes was almost sixty when he published the first part of his book. His creative life had not turned out as he had hoped. In an irony that befits the author of this kaleidoscopic tale, his many disappointments might have been the bits of sand inside the oyster.

Eduardo Urbina is a professor of Hispanic literature at Texas A&M University and the director of The Cervantes Project.

EDUARDO URBINA: It is obvious that when you see his failures in poetry, when you see his failures in the theater, and some types of narrative, such as the pastoral, that it wasn't until he discovered this sort of free, experimental way of writing that he was able to recognize his own talent as a storyteller. He was pretty much ridiculed and excluded from the high level circles of literary life in Madrid. Even though he was a member of one of these academies—writers got together and read things to each other, and so forth—he was always considered uneducated, unlearned, somebody that was trying to fake it, so to speak: that he didn't have the resources, the education, or the background to aspire to write a major Renaissance humanistic book. In fact that probably was the case, because the only really fantastic success that he had was in a book that was totally outside the norms, outside any genres, outside any of the traditional sort of Renaissance writings. That he had to invent this mode of writing and this type of narrative that now we call the novel, is indicative that his talents for narrative, for storytelling, did not surface completely until he found a vehicle to do so, but one that he had to invent himself, because there was no other way to do it.

That Cervantes died thinking that the *Persiles*, his last novel, was going to be his major work, his claim for eternal fame, is indicative that even in 1616, Cervantes still was trying to write something serious, something according to the respected norms and canons, and still had not quite himself realized what he had done with the *Quijote*, because he thought that the *Persiles* was going to be his greatest work. And obviously we know that that did not happen.



Just then, they came upon thirty or forty windmills, . . . and as soon as don Quijote saw them he said to his squire:

“Destiny guides our fortunes more favorably than we could have expected. Look there, Sancho Panza, my friend, and see those thirty or so wild giants, which whom I intend to do battle and to kill each

and all of them, so with their stolen booty we can begin to enrich ourselves. This is noble, righteous warfare, for it is wonderfully useful to God to have such an evil race wiped from the face of the earth."

"What giants?" asked Sancho Panza.

"The ones you can see over there," answered his master, "with the huge arms, some of which are nearly two leagues long."

"Now look, your grace," said Sancho Panza, "what you see over there aren't giants, but windmills, and what seem to be arms are just their sails, that go round in the wind and turn the millstone."

"Obviously," replied don Quijote, "you don't know much about adventures. Those are giants, and if you are frightened, take yourself away from here and say your prayers, while I go charging into savage and unequal combat with them."

Saying which, he spurred his horse, Rocinante, paying no attention to the shouts of Sancho Panza, his squire, warning him that without any question it was windmills and not giants he was going to attack. So utterly convinced was he they were giants...that he neither heard Sancho's cries nor noticed, close as he was, what they really were, but charged on, crying:

"Flee not, oh cowards and dastardly creatures, for he who attacks you is a knight alone and unaccompanied." (I, 8; 43–44)

BARBARA NICHOL: From the famous windmills scene from Part I.

Finally with the publication of the book, Cervantes had won himself a popular success. And then, a decade later, came Part II.

Barry Ife is the Cervantes Professor of Spanish at King's College, London. Among his publications on this subject are *Reading and Fiction in Golden Age Spain* and the upcoming *The Origins of the Novel in Spain*.

BARRY IFE: Everything everybody knows about *Don Quixote* comes from the first half of Book I, the first quarter of the work. The tilting at windmills, the episode of the flocks of sheep, all of those famous episodes come fairly early on in the book. And I guess what happens is that the readers work beyond that and then they suddenly stop recognizing things from the popular perception of the book. And there is no doubt that by the middle of Book I, it gets very complicated. You've got Chinese boxes of stories within stories. And I think the great tragedy of *Don Quixote* is that few people make it through to Book II. And Book

II, which he published ten years after Book I, is a very, very interesting sequel. It raises lots and lots of issues. It's a continuation, but in many ways, it's a radically different book, because what Cervantes does in Book II is make Don Quixote famous. When we start Book II, it starts with one of Quixote's neighbors rushing in and saying: "There's a novel about you on the market. People are reading *Don Quixote* Part I." So Cervantes incorporates the first book into the second, and he makes Quixote famous. Whereas in Book I whenever Quixote goes out into the street or into the countryside, people wonder who on earth he is, because he is a throwback from 150 years earlier, a knight-errant. In Book II, everybody he meets says "Ah, I've read about you, you are Don Quixote, you're famous," and that completely changes the dynamic between Don Quixote and the rest of the world.

BARBARA NICHOL: In Part I, Cervantes lets the reader in on what he, the author, is up to in the act of composition. He takes us with him as he undertakes the book. And in Part II, he has a further twist to offer. He shares with us what it is to have ten years ago published the famous novel, *Don Quijote*. He takes up, for example, in Part II complaints the critics made of Part I. A common grievance, then as now, concerned long stories, the interpolated tales, told by characters our hero comes across.

Diana de Armas Wilson is a Professor Emerita of English and Renaissance Studies at the University of Denver. She's the editor of the Norton Critical Edition of *Don Quijote* and the author of *Cervantes, the Novel, and the New World*.

DIANA DE ARMAS WILSON: He was certainly criticized for what they called "a bewildering succession of inset tales." I guess they just want straight plot, Don Quijote and Sancho. In fact, in Part II, Don Quijote himself would say, "Wasn't my story, the story of my life, interesting enough not to be punctuated all the time by these inset stories?"²⁷ One critic, a kind of famous Oxford don, called them "the padding of a tired author."²⁸ There's another critic, a Victorian, Ormsby, who called the ta-

27 "I have no idea why the author relied on novellas and irrelevant stories when there was so much to be written about me" (II, 3; 378).

28 The allusion is to Salvador de Madariaga: "The rapid succession of episodes which suddenly break into the main narrative precisely towards the end of [Part I]...is less the rich reward of fresh inspiration than the padding of a tired author who disperses in minor tasks an effort no longer sufficient for his main creation." (Don Quixote. *An Introductory Essay in Psychology*, revised edition with additional chapter, reprint of 1961 ed. [London: Oxford University Press,

les commonplace, just filled with intrigue and he especially trashed one of them, and that's the "The Tale of the Curious Impertinent." He called it as "a nauseous story."²⁹ Well, I mean, I happen to think that these inset stories are dazzling psychological masterpieces. They really all do connect with and they comment upon among each other and also on the main plot. I would like to mention the wonderful tale of Cardenio who was a erotomaniac; he goes mad for love. And it's interesting to me that this tale must have caught Shakespeare's eye, since there is evidence that Shakespeare wrote on or may have jointly authored a lost play called *Cardenio*, that we are still looking for.³⁰

EDWARD FRIEDMAN: In Part II, when there's a discussion of how readers have responded to Part I, the biggest issue is that readers seem to have felt that the incorporation of one of the interpolated stories, "El curioso impertinente," or "The Tale of Ill-Advised Curiosity" it's been called, is interesting but doesn't really belong in the text.

BARBARA NICHOL: "The Tale of the Curious Impertinent," "The Tale of Ill-Advised Curiosity": the title varies with translation. It's the story of a man who convinces his best friend to test his wife's fidelity. He has no reason to suspect his wife and it all ends in disaster.

EDWARD FRIEDMAN: What I like to mention is that right before that appears in the text, there is a discussion of what's more valuable, fiction or history. And in the novel, what follows is a work of pure fiction, and then "The Captive's Tale," the story of a man that has been captive as Cervantes was in North Africa, who talks about his experiences. There is a real interesting juxtaposition of discussion of fiction, discussion of real

1966], p. 80).

29 Ormsby's "Translator's Preface" was not included in the vanished and much-lamented revised edition prepared by Joseph R. Jones and Kenneth Douglas and published by Norton in 1981. It is available at: <<http://gutenberg.com/eBooks/Adelaide/c/c4id/preface1.html>> (23 Dec. 2006), and also at <http://www.csdl.tamu.edu/cervantes/english/ctxt/DQ_Ormsby/intro_DQ_Ormsby.html> (23 June 2006).

30 On the survival of the lost *Cardenio* of Shakespeare and Fletcher in an eighteenth-century adaptation, *The Double Falsehood* of Louis Theobald, see my *La interpretación cervantina del Quijote*, trans. Isabel Verdaguer (Madrid: Compañía Literaria, 1995), Chapter 4, p. 135, n. 94, available online at <<http://users.ipfw.edu/jehle/deisenbe/interpret/ICQcap4.htm>> (23 Dec. 2006). While it is also available at the Biblioteca Cervantes Virtual (<http://www.cervantes-virtual.com/servlet/SirveObras/12159952008097182976624/p0000004.htm#I_7_>, 23 Dec. 2006), the footnote numbers of their text do not match those of the printed book.

life stories, and then, the presentation of pure fiction, the presentation of a real life story. And what I think is interesting is that the fictional story is in many ways more realistic and more verisimilar than the so-called real life story that follows it. So, it's one detail, but it's the idea that nothing really is out of place, and I think it's very hard to think of abridging *Don Quijote*.

A. J. CLOSE: For Cervantes, the inclusion of interpolated episodes, in Part I and Part II, was absolutely essential.

BARBARA NICHOL: A. J. Close is a Reader of Spanish at the University of Cambridge. Among his books are: *The Romantic Approach to Don Quijote* and *Cervantes and the Comic Mind of his Age*.

A. J. CLOSE: What the Renaissance appreciated in books was the more the merrier, and the more different, the better. So, the inclusion of episodes would have been considered essential by Cervantes on the grounds of variety. Now modern readers are, as were some seventeenth-century Spanish readers, much more interested in the doings and characters of Quixote and Sancho than of Cervantes's romantic heroes and heroines.

BARRY IFE: At the time, in his time, he was criticized heavily for the insertion of extraneous material in Part I, the episodes of the interpolated novels. And it's common to say that Cervantes took that criticism on board and had less extraneous material in Book II. I don't think that's true. I think he has just as much episodic material in Book II, but he just hides it better. He stitches it together more seamlessly.

BARBARA NICHOL: In Part II, Cervantes lets the reader know he's heard all their complaints about Part I. He doesn't seem too cowed. He joins in. His characters will gripe about aspects of the book his critics pointed out. Very famously he acknowledges some obvious mistakes, places in Part I where a copy edit might have been abused.

A. J. CLOSE: Cervantes composed it off his cuff. He improvised as he went along. He didn't plan. The famous omission of how Sancho's donkey got stolen in mid-Part I, is the most famous example of all. Suddenly, in the middle of Chapter 25 of Part I, Sancho's donkey is no longer there, without any explanation of how it disappeared. And it reappears again very late in Part I, in Chapter 42 and again in Chapter 46

with no explanation as to how Sancho recovered the donkey. Well, this is just one example of how there are various sorts of inconsequentiality, inconsistency, signs of off-the-cuff improvisation in the novel. And seventeenth-century readers found that odd. We, paradoxically, tend to find it one of the attractions of *Don Quijote*. It is so unpredictable, so zany, you never know where it's coming from, and modern readers tend to be less irritated by this feature.

BARBARA NICHOL: And Cervantes has an explanation for the mistakes that crop up in Part I. He blames the printers, and, indeed, it might have been their fault.

A. J. CLOSE: The compositors of the book, that is to say, the people who actually printed the pages simply took the manuscript as it had been given to them and they lost one page or two. Cervantes himself alludes to this. Were there editors of books? Not normally. He just sold the manuscript to a bookseller, and booksellers in those days were also publishers, and once you sold it to the bookseller that was it, as far as he was concerned. Next time he saw the book was when the book was in print.

PAUL KENNEDY: Tonight on *Ideas* you are listening to *Don Quijote: 400 Years on the Road*, produced and presented by Barbara Nichol.



BARBARA NICHOL: The petty criticisms leveled at the book, details concerning disappearing donkeys and the like, these were the sort of the criticisms Cervantes could swat away. But there was a reader of Part I who seems to have taken issue with the novel as a whole, and who brought Cervantes grief. Before Cervantes could release his second part, a false sequel was published. It was written by an unknown author, who took the name Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda.³¹

JAMES IFFLAND: There are two major camps in modern Cervantes scholarship. There is the group which, in fact, says that Cervantes *was* criticizing Spanish society of his time. Then, there is the other school, which says wait a minute, wait a minute, what we're doing is projecting our own reading of the work, our own twentieth or twenty-first century reading of the works back onto what is essentially a literary parody. Now,

³¹ As broadcast, James Iffland was introduced at this point.

the big question is: how did a Spaniard of the seventeenth century read the work?

There are only a few allusions at the time that would seem to indicate that some writers, some intellectuals of the time were, in fact, picking up on what we could call contestatory or critical dimensions of the work. In the case of Avellaneda, here we have a complete work produced by a contemporary of Cervantes. In other words, in this work, we see how at least one Spaniard at the time viewed Cervantes's Part I. And in that sense, I think, to the degree that we can find Avellaneda trying to counteract Cervantes's Part I—in other words, where he is specifically going at aspects of the work that somehow rattled people's cages—I think that we can, as I say, by trying to reconstruct the reading that we find in Avellaneda, we can, in fact, show that at least some readers at the time, were in fact picking up on those disquieting vibes.

I think he was bothered to a certain degree by the comic dimension of the work, and the way that comic dimension of the work, in very oblique ways, does in fact question the position of the aristocracy and the role of the Church at the time. Of course, Cervantes, like all authors of the period in Spain, had to take into account that everything that he wrote would go through a fairly rigorous process of censorship. So if you were going to make any kind of criticism about the system, particularly about theological matters or church matters, you had to do it indirectly. And of course Cervantes's work was approved for publication. When it came out it was very widely read, and I think that Avellaneda was a good enough reader of the first part to figure out that Cervantes was, in fact, tweaking the nose of the establishment, so to speak, and he was doing it in such a clever way that it was hard to really point fingers at him and say, "Hey, look, he is attacking the system!" So, actually, through various complicated series of maneuvers, Avellaneda tries to redirect the comical dimension in his own continuation, in such a way, at least I think and many of my colleagues think, that it comes out as being ideologically charged in a much more orthodox or conservative fashion. In *Don Quijote*, Part I, if you just look at the representations of laughter in Cervantes's *Don Quijote*, you find that laughter is going in all directions. The first people who laugh at Don Quijote in Part I are actually the prostitutes who are sitting at the door of the inn, the first inn that he visits. So this is laughter going from the lower social stratum towards Don Quijote, who is after all at least an *hidalgo*, a member of the lower nobility. Laughter goes in all directions in Cervantes, whereas in Avellaneda it's typically laughter coming from aristocrats, or a group dominated by the aristocrats, and it's

elitist laughter, a laughter which is designed to put Don Quijote in his place.

BARBARA NICHOL: So who was Avellaneda? Well, no one knows for sure.

JAMES IFFLAND: Personally, I think that he was probably a member of the younger generation of authors. My feeling is that there is a whole batch of authors who were born around the year 1580, which would make them, say, twenty-five or thirty years younger than Cervantes. My feeling is that it was probably someone from the lower aristocracy, somebody who was trying to make his way up in the very complicated courtly world of the time, and someone who was probably very conservative ideologically, and who was somewhat upset by what he was reading in the first part of *Don Quijote*. It's also quite clear, by the way, that he was probably very close to the famous Spanish playwright of the period, Lope de Vega, who was the founder of the Spanish national theater; at least, that's the way he's looked at now. Cervantes had taken some potshots at Lope in Part I, and Avellaneda says himself in his prologue that Cervantes should stay away from Lope. So clearly, at least in my opinion, Avellaneda was somebody who belonged to Lope's circle. Actually, some critics theorize that it may have been Lope himself; I don't think that's a possibility.

BARBARA NICHOL: Whatever the tensions were between Cervantes and the circle he defended, and it was an influential circle at the time, it's clear relations were bitter. A sort of bickering went back and forth between their work and his.

JAMES IFFLAND: Avellaneda, in his prologue, is incredibly insulting towards Cervantes. He refers to his age: Cervantes was probably about sixty-seven when Avellaneda publishes his work. So Avellaneda makes cracks about Cervantes's age, he makes cracks about the fact that Cervantes had a bad hand, the use of which he lost because of a battle wound, that he was a *manco*. And he says, "I am going to publish this so that he won't make any money with his continuation." In other words, he wants to sabotage any kind of financial benefit that Cervantes can derive from the publication of his own Part II. But he also claims that

Cervantes made cracks about him in his prologue to Part I.³²

DANIEL EISENBERG: In the latest issue of the journal of the Cervantes Society of America is a review essay of a book that came out in Spain last year, which does say... I mean, the title of the review article is "Now We Know Who Avellaneda Was."³³ And Avellaneda has been identified with a person called Jerónimo de Pasamonte who, in turn, is the basis for the character Ginés de Pasamonte, who is present in both *Don Quixote* Part I and Part II, and, in fact, is the one who stole the donkey. So the pieces start to fall together. It's clear also that there was some enmity between Cervantes and this character, Jerónimo de Pasamonte, but we don't know the details of what it is.

BARBARA NICHOL: The content of the false Part II. This would have provided to Cervantes with extra sorrow. To begin with, Dulcinea is not on the scene. Here is a Don Quijote whose heart is not steadfast, not the romantic idealist we meet in Cervantes' work; someone who would give his life for a chaste and perfect love. And then we see our hero humbled, manipulated by a noble. His name is Don Álvaro Tarfe. Tarfe makes a laughing stock of Don Quijote. He makes of him a plaything, a pawn of the nobility. In this version of *Quijote*, the false Part II, Quijote and his squire travel to Saragossa and Madrid. They make their way through cities where they end up in some struggles with the law, and they have a traveling companion. No lady fair: she is a prostitute, an ugly one, a tripe seller who's passed her prime, named Barbara. At the end of false Part II, Don Quijote is locked up in an asylum for the mad, in Toledo. Sancho Panza is a paid buffoon, after-dinner entertainment. Barbara is living in a home for worn-out prostitutes. A degrading end for all.



JAMES IFFLAND: One thing that readers of Part I notice is how important the romances of chivalry are in terms of establishing the struc-

32 This prologue is excerpted in the Norton edition of the Raffel translation, pp. 765–67.

33 Helena Percas de Ponseti, "Un misterio dilucidado: Pasamonte fue Avellaneda" [review article of Alfonso Martín Jiménez, *El Quijote de Cervantes y el Quijote de Pasamonte. Una imitación recíproca*] *Cervantes* 22.1 (2002): 127–54, <<http://www.h-net.org/~cervantes/csa/articulo2/percas.pdf>> (6 Feb. 2006). Subsequently, Percas has published "La reconfirmación de que Pasamonte fue Avellaneda," *Cervantes* 25.1 (2005 [2006]): 167–99, <<http://www.h-net.org/~cervantes/csa/articulo5/percas.pdf>> (19 June 2006).

ture of Cervantes's Part I, whereas when we read Part II, one notices very early in the reading process that it's no longer the romances of chivalry but Cervantes's own Part I and the false second part that really are the basic points of contact with the literary past. It also creates its own sense of irony because Cervantes was playing around with the idea that what he was writing was the "True History of don Quijote." And when a false sequel appears, that really makes that so-called "true history" the true history, if the other is false. So there is a whole new system of ironies that really can come into play in Part II. I think his own Part II is much, much stronger because of that intervention and that invasion into his personal space. I think the way he deals with that is fascinating and really makes the novel stronger.

BARBARA NICHOL: So Cervantes now has something else to offer, as he shares with us what it is to be the author of this book. He's folded in the false Part II as well. And he makes it clear he's angry at the intrusion of Avellaneda, that he will best and thwart him. And as for Avellaneda, at the end of the false Part II, it looked as if he was threatening to go another round.

JAMES IFFLAND: Avellaneda says a couple of things at the end of his Part II that would worry Cervantes. First, he suggests that there is going to be a continuation but that it would center on Sancho. Secondly, he says that there are rumors that Don Quijote was freed from the insane asylum in Toledo and that he went off on another series of adventures. The rumor also says that his squire this time was actually a woman disguised as a man, so the new Sancho is a woman disguised as a man, and that there were a series of adventures which took him through a number of cities of Old Castile. So, obviously when Cervantes is looking at the end of this work, he is saying: "Oh, my God, this is going to go on!" and "How can I stop it?"

One of the most important potential changes is the whole matter of Don Quijote's death. Now here I'm sure I'm going to have a lot of disagreement from some of my colleagues with "modern" interpretations of the works or, at least, interpretations of the works which go back to the Romantic period. Our Don Quijote is the "Man of La Mancha" Don Quijote, very much a product of Romantic premises. And in that reading of the work Don Quijote becomes a semi-tragic figure, a poor fellow who is following his impossible dream, who's too good for this world and therefore must die. That's pretty much an axiom in much of Cervantes

criticism nowadays and also in the “Man in La Mancha” way of looking at the work. I personally wonder whether Cervantes really planned to have Don Quijote die at the end of his Part II. After all, Don Quijote is only fifty years old. He is not ancient by any means. Cervantes, of course, knows that at the end of the false Part II there is mention of further adventures. Does he want his creation to be exploited by that rival, by that enemy Avellaneda? How can he prevent further exploitation of his creation? Well, one way of doing it is having him die off. And if you look at the way that the end of the authentic Part II shapes up, it’s quite clear that Cervantes wants Don Quijote dead so that Avellaneda or anybody else will not be able to use him. Again, there’s nothing in the logic of the text which requires him to die.

BARBARA NICHOL: And in the final paragraph of the real Part II, our final moment in the chronicles of Don Quijote, Don Quijote has now died. The author of the work has this to say:

Don Quijote was born only for me, and I for him; he knew how to act, and I how to write; only we two are a unity, in spite of that fake...scribbler who dared — and may dare again — to record with his fat ostrich-feathered quill such badly drawn adventures for my brave knight, who is far too weighty for his shoulders to bear, and is a subject his frozen brains could never take on — so warn him, if you happen ever to meet, that he’d better let the weary, powdered bones of Don Quijote rest in their tomb. (II, 74; 746)

BARRY IFE: I think, from my point of view, the only thing I would criticize is that Part II does run out of steam towards the end. I think there is a very simple reason for that: in order to wrong-foot Avellaneda’s spurious Part II, he took Quixote’s path and brought him back along the same route. And there are a couple of episodes that duplicate each other as he retraces his earlier steps.

BARBARA NICHOL: Whatever the effects of Avellaneda’s book, his presence on this earth provided for a lovely bit of literary revenge. In Cervantes’ real Part II, the story of the real Quijote, we run into a character who’s just back from the gates of hell. And at the gates of hell she saw some devils playing tennis. They played with rackets made of fire instead of wood. And they didn’t play with balls; they played their game by hitting back and forth some books, and the books that they were hitting at

the mouth of hell? Copies of Avellaneda's false Part II.



JAMES IFFLAND: The false Part II provides us with a rather amazing moment in literary history for a variety of reasons. In Chapter 72, with only two more chapters left in the work, Don Quijote checks in at an inn and runs into none other than Álvaro Tarfe.

BARBARA NICHOL: Don Álvaro Tarfe is the character from the false Part II who sets up Don Quijote for ridicule. He shows up in the real Part II. And Don Quijote asks from him his statement that the work he was invented for, the false Part II, was not the story of the real Quijote.

JAMES IFFLAND: We have this remarkable situation in which Don Quijote is trying to prove that he's the real thing. He is trying to prove that the other work is false, and yet, out of that fake work, in walks this character who begins to dialogue with him. And so, Don Quijote says, "Look, I want to set things straight." And he calls in the local mayor with a notary. And we have Don Álvaro testifying before the notary that this is the real Don Quijote. It's a strange labyrinth that Cervantes is putting together here. Again, this brings us into a very tricky area. In other words, how can we say or to what degree are we justified in saying that Cervantes's Don Quijote is the real thing, as opposed to Avellaneda's? They're both literary characters. Ontologically, what's the difference between one and the other?



PAUL KENNEDY: On *Ideas* tonight, Part II of the three-part series, *Don Quijote: 400 Years on the Road*, produced and presented by Barbara Nichol.

PART III



PAUL KENNEDY: I'm Paul Kennedy and this is *Ideas*.



PAUL KENNEDY: It was in 1605 that the first part of *Don Quijote* was published. It's the story of a man who's driven mad by reading fiction. He reinvents himself according to the literature of chivalry. He will be a knight-errant and a local peasant girl he barely knows, he will imagine her his lady fair, his Dulcinea. On his horse, named Rocinante, and with his squire, Sancho Panza, he set out looking for adventures. And so Miguel de Cervantes divides the simple framework and hung upon it images and stories that stayed with us for centuries.

Tonight, the final part of three programs on the book's enduring power. *Don Quijote: 400 Years on the Road* was produced and presented by Barbara Nichol.



BARBARA NICHOL: It's Part I, and it's raining. Don Quijote and his squire Sancho Panza are traveling the back roads of Spain. They've recently been foiled in one adventure, but they will now succeed in another. They come across a barber-surgeon who is one his way from one town to the next. Cervantes' father was a barber-surgeon, it turns out, and traveled a great deal in search of work. This barber-surgeon in the book is wearing his barber's basin on his head to protect his hat from rain. Don Quijote spots the basin on the surgeon's head and decides that he is wearing not a basin, but a legendary helmet, a marvelous enchanted object: Mambrino's helmet. Quijote spurs his horse and charges at the surgeon, who jumps down off his mule and runs away. Don Quijote wins Mambrino's helmet, a victory. In the wake of this great deed, Sancho Panza talks of his regret that no one will know of Don Quijote's exploits, of a brave feat such as this. But Quijote disagrees. He points out that once a knight has roamed the world, the word gets out. How a knight such as he can one day expect, for instance, to be known and welcomed far and wide. Entering an unfamiliar city, the children will be the first to see him coming.

He's already known for his deeds, and when the little boys see him coming through the city gate they tag along after him, and run all around him, shouting: "Here's the Knight of the Sun," or the Serpent, or whatever sign he rides under and in the name of which he has accomplished great deeds ... So they'll all run around proclaiming your exploits, and soon, responding to the yelling and clamor-

ring of the boys and the other good citizens, the king of that realm will come to the window of his royal palace and, the moment he sees the knight, will recognize him by his armor, or perhaps by the device on his shield...and the king will meet him halfway up the great staircase, and wrap his arms around him, and give him ceremonial kisses on the cheek, and then he'll lead him by the hand to the queen's own chambers, where the knight will find her with her daughter, the princess, who'll of course be one of the most beautiful, polished damsels anyone could unearth, no matter how hard they tried, anywhere in all the known parts of the world. So what will happen, the moment they meet, is that the princess will fix her eyes on him, and he'll fix his on her, and they'll each think the other more divine than human, and without knowing why or why not, then and there they'll be tangled in love's intricate net, and their hearts will swim in sorrow, not knowing how they can give utterance and voice to their yearning and their love. (I, 21; 123–24)

BARBARA NICHOL: And so Don Quijote described a scene typical of the books of chivalry, upon which he fashioned his new life. These fantasies of his, of brave deeds and ladies fair, found purpose in a life in which adventure and romance were in very short supply.

CARROLL JOHNSON: Don Quijote belongs to a class of people at the lowest end of the aristocratic spectrum.

BARBARA NICHOL: Carroll B. Johnson is a professor at the University of California at Los Angeles. Among his publications are the books *Madness and Lust*, *The Quest for Modern Fiction*, and *Cervantes and the Material World*.

CARROLL JOHNSON: The society, like all societies in Europe, was divided into nobles and commoners. Don Quijote is a noble, but he is a very, very minor noble. He belongs to a class that was known as *hidalgos*. Among all of Spanish aristocracy, the *hidalgos* did not have the right to call themselves "don," but like all other aristocrats, they were expected to live on their land, and live off what the land would produce, that is, without working. This aristocratic state was standard across Europe and has the Latin name of "otium cum dignitate," leisure with dignity. Well, Don Quijote is a very, very minor aristocrat, living at a time where the Spanish economy was suffering galloping inflation generally due to the

influx of precious metals from America, which produced what we might call the hundred-dollar-cup-of-coffee effect. He has to live on what his land can produce, and he's just being squeezed by inflation. And he is sort of imprisoned in his own status as an aristocrat. In terms of the affective part of his life, he is a bachelor, and as far as we know, he has never been married. He lives with two women: a housekeeper, who is about his own age, and his niece. And my idea of the sort of unspoken emotional part of his day-to-day existence in this household is that he is a perfect candidate for what a few years ago was known as mid-life crisis, a resurgence in mid-life of the problems of adolescence, kind of a second adolescence. OK, so this guy is a fifty-year-old bachelor, lives by himself, with these two women, one of whom, his niece, has grown from a little adolescent into a young woman about "not quite twenty," the text says. And precisely the same period in his life where he is going through all of this *Sturm und Drang* of second adolescence: bad combination.

The way I read the book, there's the suggestion, although never overtly stated in the text, that what's bothering this guy, besides his precarious economic situation, is uncomfortable feelings toward his own niece, which of course he attempts to repress. My idea is that he throws himself into the reading of this particular literary genre that's characterized by sex and violence as a way to take his mind off what's sitting there across the table from him at mealtimes, and so on and so on. That line of defense, that is, reading, losing himself imaginatively in these adventures, doesn't seem to do the trick. The only thing that's left is to physically get out of there and psychically dissociate himself from that intolerable situation. And I think that's what motivates his insanity. Psychosis is sort of the last-ditch desperate defense that human beings can mount against intolerable ambient pressure, and I think that's what happens to Don Quijote.

A. J. CLOSE: He was fascinated by character, and this is what distinguishes him from other Spanish writers of this time. He considered drawing characters his specialty. He focuses on them, and if you just flip through the pages of *Don Quijote*, you can see that hundreds and hundreds of pages of it are devoted just to talk, just to dialogue; not to the narration but dialogue, what one character says to another, how another character reacts.

BARBARA NICHOL: He was fascinated by character, Cervantes, and by what these days we call psychology, and the watching under a magnifying glass the tiny wheels and cogs that move life along. This is one

aspect of the book that scholars talk about, when asked about the new ways the novel broke new ground.

CARROLL JOHNSON: If you know this book, you kind of have an entry into all kinds of modern fiction. I think what later writers have seized on mostly is the idea of a book about a human life in the process of forming itself in some kind of dialectical relationship with its circumstances. According to the Hungarian theorist George Lukacs, that's what distinguishes a novel from other kinds of narrative fictions, that dialectical relationship. A character starts out in the world, really, not formed. The character's identity is problematical, in doubt. He is trying to convince himself that he really is who he thinks he is, or who he wants to be. And as the work progresses, he comes in contact with other people, institutions, and even physical objects. And as a result of these interactions, by the end of it, his character has evolved in some way, and chances are that the environment has also been changed as a result of this interaction. It's a back-and-forth: I say one thing; you counter with something else that I hadn't thought of, that goes against what I'm saying. I am forced then to accommodate myself in some way to take into account what you've said to me. I think a dialogue is more the back-and-forth, where a dialectic leads to a series of conclusions. The classical Hegelian definition is that a thesis that's countered by an antithesis that leads to some kind of a synthesis which in turn becomes the new thesis for the next go-around, and so on. Somebody has called this the Cervantine principle.

A. J. CLOSE: Criticism since about the mid-nineteenth century has recognized that *Don Quijote* is a very important work of transition between, let's say, the medieval epic or the chivalric romances, which were forms of medieval epic, and the modern novel.

BARBARA NICHOL: A. J. Close is a reader of Spanish at the University of Cambridge. Among his books are *The Romantic Approach to Don Quijote* and *Cervantes and the Comic Mind of his Age*.

A. J. CLOSE: The reason why it's such an important hinge work is because what you get in *Don Quijote* is the equivalent of a medieval epic or a chivalric novel, but located psychologically in the brain of Don Quijote, because he, as far as he's concerned, is living a chivalric romance. He is a hero of chivalric romance, which he regards as true history. Now this relocation of medieval epic in the brain of the hero, and with the

hero's delusions projected very realistically against the studied, realistic psychological way, and projected very realistically and also ironically and satirically against the backdrop of ordinary, everyday contemporary society, this was a very major step.

If you think of some of the great nineteenth-century novels—for example, think of *Madame Bovary*, think of *The Pickwick Papers*, think of *Vanity Fair*, and *Martin Chuzzlewit*—what you get is something rather similar. That is to say, in *Madame Bovary*, a heroine who is fed by too much reading of romantic literature and sees herself in terms of the escapist fantasies of romantic literature, and tries to live them out, with disastrous results, because she is not taking account of the truth of her circumstances. She is married to a rather dull doctor in a drab Normandy town, and she's surrounded by very prosaic and humdrum people, yet she has these great dreams of romantic adventure, and she has a succession of lovers and the love affairs turn out disastrously, and eventually she dies committing suicide. Flaubert said of *Don Quixote*, it's the book that I knew by heart, before I ever could read even.

Well, that's just one example. You get the influence of Cervantes in the same kind of way in Jane Austen, in Fielding, in Mark Twain, in Dostoevski, and hundreds of others I could name. And what you get in the great eighteenth-century novelists, and they took it from Cervantes, whom they admired deeply, was the sense of an individual experience lived through time. When a reader reads a novel, he or she identifies with the hero or heroine, and when he or she's finished the novel, feels as though a great chapter of his own life is being closed in a certain way. This sense of living with characters throughout their career or a significant part of it is something the eighteenth-century novelists introduced, and it's something they got with *Don Quixote*. Because before *Don Quixote*, you never had stories as organically unified and continuous. Stories were a higgledy-piggledy hodgepodge of different elements. If you think of the *Decameron* of Boccaccio: what it is is a hundred novels, a hundred short stories, one after the other, with no unity between them, really. And if you think of chivalric romances, what you get in chivalric romances are an ocean of stories, different adventures happening to different characters, but again, no particular unity between one adventure and the next.

BARRY IFE: For starts, one thing that is inescapable about *Don Quixote* when you see it on the shelf is that it is a very long novel.

BARBARA NICHOL: Barry Ife is the Cervantes Professor of Spanish at King's College, London. Among his publications on the subject are *Reading and Fiction in Golden Age Spain* and the upcoming *The Origins of the Novel in Spain*.

BARRY IFE: This is in an age that was used to either short stories or novella, the long short story length, the fifteen-twenty thousand-word length, which was a genre in which Cervantes also worked. So, simply producing a large-scale narrative itself based on a life of an individual: this was perceived to be quite a novelty. Of course, the other thing is that the seventeenth-century English reading public was used to what we call today romance, escapist literature. And even in the Spanish context, *Quixote* is one of a relatively few number of works that's definitely not escapist; they deal with the here and now. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, a reader of the novel in Spain would have expected as a matter of course for that novel to be set in England or France or some far-away place. It's escapist. That's where the world of romance and fiction was: somewhere else. It didn't happen on your own doorstep. In the second half of the sixteenth century, Spanish fiction came home. And that's really quite staggeringly new in European fiction, that ability to find fiction on your own doorstep, to find the world around you, the places that you know, have been incorporated into a work of fiction. And I think that's an aspect of *Don Quixote* that the English writers picked up on, and appreciated, and developed.

DIANA DE ARMAS WILSON: He introduced what were called the common realities into prose fiction.

BARBARA NICHOL: Diana de Armas Wilson is a Professor Emerita of English and Renaissance Studies at the University of Denver. She's the editor of the Norton Critical Edition of *Don Quijote* and the author of *Cervantes, the Novel and the New World*.

DIANA DE ARMAS WILSON: I mean, a few examples. Don Quijote will talk about poverty and necessities. Sancho talks about the slave trade; the galley slaves talk about their petty crimes, their sex addictions. The Lady Belerma alludes to her menopause, which I know is a first in Western letters. The character Anselmo confesses to an eating disorder and I could go on and on.

A. J. CLOSE: Despite the fact that Don Quijote and Sancho are much larger than life and daft as two brushes, for generations of readers, the way in which they react to life is profoundly true to human experience.

BARBARA NICHOL: A reason that the book endures: what A. J. Close calls “exemplariness.” The author captures how it is that people of all periods behave. He uses an example from Part I. Don Quijote is captured and transported in a cage atop an oxcart. This, to Don Quijote, makes no sense, such degradation for a great knight such as he. It can’t be so; he must be enchanted.

A. J. CLOSE: The nerve that Cervantes hits there is the typical tendency of people, despite the fact that they’re wrong, to justify themselves for the reasons about being right. And this goes together with self-delusion, with arrogance, and all the familiar psychology.

BARRY IFE: You can put it in a relatively small category of great works of literature. You might include *The Iliad*, *The Odyssey*, a small number of other works of that sort, that just have a universal dimension to them. It’s a commonplace of literary history and criticism that there are not very many stories. Some people say there are three stories, three grand narratives, some people say there are seven. But basically, all the novels that have ever been written are variations on a small number of stories. What *Don Quixote* is about is a range of those grand narratives, but it’s fundamentally about anachronism. It’s about a man who espouses a set of values that no longer apply in the society in which he lives. He is anachronistic; he is trying to recreate a heroic age, an age of chivalry that’s gone past, and he’s trying to rescue those values and apply them in his own world. And what he meets with is brutishness, indifference, hostility, and so on. And that tension that is set up between his own ambitions and what the world around him is telling him: that’s almost a universal human situation.

BARBARA NICHOL: It’s about anachronism; it’s about chivalry; it’s about reading and writing and books. It’s about myriad things, as Barry Ife would be the first in line to say. And it looks at them from many often conflicting and convincing points of view. The book cannot be solved, summed up, and laid aside. And so for different generations, the novel opens up in different ways.



DANIEL EISENBERG: The first intimation that the book was a classic, a book that deserved to have some special treatment, took place in the eighteenth century and in England.

BARBARA NICHOL: Daniel Eisenberg is the editor of the journal of the Cervantes Society of America.

DANIEL EISENBERG: In 1737 was the first luxury edition of *Don Quixote*, and the same person who published this luxurious edition commissioned the first biography of Cervantes. And it is primarily in England and in Germany that really the case for Cervantes' greatness and *Don Quixote's* greatness was made. And we reached even a point where you had to have read *Don Quixote*, because if you were into literature, that was just the book that everybody read, the book that was in everyone's library. And there were many translations and editions taking place at that time.

BARRY IFE: It appeals in different ways to different generations of readers through the ages. In a couple of years time, Part I of *Don Quixote* will be 400 years old, and it's gone through at least three or four different forms of life during that period. If we were able to ask Cervantes what he was trying to achieve, and what his contemporary readers thought about the book, undoubtedly he would say that his aim was primarily recreational.

A. J. CLOSE: In the seventeenth century, particularly in Spain, but also in England, the reaction of readers to *Don Quijote* was very light-hearted. They loved it as a work of broad, rollicking, burlesque parody. The Spaniards could easily take that attitude, because they were very familiar with Cervantes's parodic references to chivalry books, the genre which he's trying to demolish. And that awareness is uppermost in their minds, and the fact that Cervantes is a superb writer of farce—he's very graphic, he's very vivid, he's got a terrific sense of humor—this encourages that kind of reaction.

And as a result, in seventeenth-century Spain, Cervantes wasn't put on a classic pedestal. They considered him more or less as a kind of P. G. Wodehouse. But the way that seventeenth-century Spanish readers saw Cervantes was as a terribly inventive writer, extremely amusing, the

creator of legendary characters, extremely popular, but perhaps a little bit light-weight to be put on a classic pedestal. They would have put other writers on that pedestal automatically, but Cervantes, they had their doubts. For instance, the great mid-seventeenth-century writer Baltasar Gracián, who is the author of a great allegory of man's pilgrimage through life, *El criticón*, forbids the reading of *Don Quijote* to the man of mature judgment, along with other signs of youthful frivolity, like playing the guitar, whistling, carrying on one a locket with an image of the lady, being French—I don't know why that should be a sign of youthful frivolity but it is for Gracián—, wearing green costume.

DANIEL EISENBERG: In the eighteenth century, in Germany especially, we have the exaltation of a hero in conflict with society. It's really the first time we find the exaltation of the isolated hero: the individual can in fact be right and society can be wrong; this has to do with the intellectual turmoil that followed the French Revolution, which was a great blow to ideas of progress, to ideas of societal harmony. And one of the responses to it was, in fact, to withdraw and realize that society was just pretty messed up. And these people found their paradigm for the virtuous hero in conflict with society in *Don Quixote*. And they did tend to dwell on the noble aspect of *Don Quixote*, and the comic material within the book was something that they found disturbing and tended to overlook. When we see *Don Quixote* as a representative of a conflict of hero in society, that has really been with us ever since the eighteenth century.

BARRY IFE: By the nineteenth century, the heroic or noble aspect of *Don Quixote*, as a little man who struggles against the system, who upholds unfashionable values, that's the aspect of *Don Quixote* that's celebrated, the so-called romantic approach to *Don Quixote*. The twentieth century saw the work as essentially a study in intertextuality, perspectivism. I think it was regarded as a masterpiece of narrativity; it was fascinated by the various layers of narrators, the fact that the story is told by upwards of a dozen different people in different voices, sometimes contradictory, sometimes not. And now as we're going into the twenty-first century, we're looking again at some of the historical, contextual aspects: what it tells us about seventeenth-century Spain, what it tells us about Cervantes's approach to some of the issues of his own age.

BARBARA NICHOL: And so in the past century or so, our hero has

fought his way through the thickets of literary fashion. The book seems to respond to whatever new approaches its students bring to bear.

Edward Friedman is a professor of Spanish and Comparative Literature at Vanderbilt University. He's published widely on Cervantes, including the introduction to the recent Starkie Signet Classics translation. He is the president of the Cervantes Society of America.

There are new approaches, he says, well suited to a novel which focuses, as this one does, on the acts of reading and writing.

EDWARD FRIEDMAN: In more recent decades, we've gone from basically trying to understand the author's mind and really seeing the author as the key figure, to focusing more and more on the reader, and then finally blending the two together very nicely. But definitely, I think the whole question of what's been called "reader response theory" and looking at how readers devise strategies to interpret texts, to fill in gaps, to find indeterminacies and see what they can do with it. And this is a novel that really lends itself so beautifully to that.

BARRY IFE: I think it all comes down to this key element of recreation. He says in the prologue to his short stories that fiction is like a billiard table, a game of billiards. You step up, you have a game, you enjoy yourself, you don't do any harm to anyone, and what you derive from that is recreation. And he obviously felt very strongly about that. He was a professional writer. He had to appeal to an audience and he tried to give his audience what he knew would entertain them and amuse them. Fiction for Cervantes was clearly fun. It was fun for his readership. And it was stuff to play games with. Picking up on his own metaphor of the billiard table, it's material you can knock around, you can reshape, you can play with. It's not like history; it's not sacrosanct. I mean, he was quite an ambitious writer; there's no doubt about that. He was always pushing the envelope; he was always trying to do something that hadn't been done before, something that would astonish you. The key concepts in his work are verisimilitude, on the one hand—you mustn't tell anybody anything that's completely implausible—, but on the other hand, you must astonish them. And in order to astonish them, you've got to tell them something extraordinary. So playing around with those boundaries is what he enjoyed most. And once you do that, you're covering a lot of the ground that the novel covered in the subsequent 400 years. And in fact, he has an argument that I think I would espouse, which says that what we think of as the classic realist novel in the nineteenth and

early twentieth centuries was actually just a passing phase in the history of the novel. And the novel really has rediscovered its playful roots in the second half of the twentieth century. And those playful roots are in Cervantes and the writers that made Cervantes possible.

PAUL KENNEDY: Tonight on *Ideas* you are listening to *Don Quijote: 400 years on the Road*, produced and presented by Barbara Nichol.



BARBARA NICHOL: It's the very day that Don Quijote has won Mambrino's helmet. He and Sancho see coming toward them a chain gang of galley slaves, criminals. There are twelve of them escorted by two guards. Don Quijote stops the gang; he questions all the slaves. Why are they in chains? What did they do? They tell their tales and convince Quijote that they don't deserve their fate. Don Quijote attacks the guards and sets them free. What are we to make of what then takes place?

A. J. CLOSE: Don Quijote has just liberated the galley slaves, and he gathers them around him and tells them to go loaded in chains to pay homage to his lady Dulcinea. They answer him by pelting him with stones and running off. That's the end of the adventure. Right, you can make it mean what you like. You read this as an exemplary story with a right-wing message. That is, the folly of nurturing a snake or a miscreant, then complaining when it bites you. But, you can also read it as an exemplary story with a left-wing message. That is to say, about the tragedy of trying to aim for utopian solutions in a mean and nasty world. And so you can have two opposite kinds of exemplariness and, in fact, a great deal more.

And Cervantes's typical attitude in this adventure and lots of others is laid back, ironic, non-committal. He just doesn't take sides. And that encourages the possibilities of interpretation. One of the reasons for the multiplicity of interpretations of *Don Quijote* is the very original attitude Cervantes takes towards writing comic literature in counter-reformation Spain. Because of the morally committed, religiously committed atmosphere of the period, he assumes with his contemporaries that literature ought to have a didactic and moral improving message. But on the other hand, the age's very strong sense of decorum, what's appropriate to each

genre, makes him very wary about seeming to preach in works of comic entertainment. And so he adopts a very original solution, which is to include in his work all the improving, moral discourses of his age, practically all of them: political, educational, moral, religious, you name it. And to adopt towards them a rather ironic, detached attitude, or to put them in the mouth of Don Quijote, who expresses them in his idiosyncratic way, not necessarily a crazy way, but certainly an idiosyncratic one. And as a result, readers of *Don Quijote*, ever since about 1700 onwards, have been asking themselves whose side Cervantes is on. "Is he joking? What's he joking about?" asked the philosopher Ortega y Gasset in 1914. And as a result, *Don Quijote* strikingly confirms a truism about the literary classics, that is to say the capacity to be reinterpreted in new ways by each succeeding generation.

BARRY IFE: Any generation, any age can find itself mirrored in the book. And I think that was because, although *Don Quixote* is set in the here and now of 1605, when Quixote leaves his village, goes out into the open road, and stays at inns and meets goatherds, and shepherds, and travelers, and so on, it's very much the here-and-now of 1605. Cervantes was interestingly non-committal about that world. If he had views on the Spain of 1605, he coded them very deeply in the narrative. So the fact that he presents a complex, layered, but broadly non-committal picture of his world, I think, does help to promote that universal quality that the book has. It's not parochial; it's not obviously of its age. And because it has that kind of neutrality in the voice, it is able to speak to audiences across many different periods of time.

DIANA DE ARMAS WILSON: It's a book about meaning itself, about how meaning gets in to things, how it confounds the senses, how it generates illusions. So it's a book that sees that world as a kaleidoscope of meaning and asks us to sort through multiple interpretations. And there's one confusing point in the novel, when nobody is quite sure of what happened in the Cave of Montesinos, and the narrator turns to us and asks us: "Reader: you decide."

BARBARA NICHOL: Don Quijote in Part II is lowered into a deep dark cave. Half an hour later, up on top, Sancho Panza and a companion

bring him up. But time is very different underground. Don Quijote says that he has been gone for quite some time. He says that down below he fell asleep, and he awoke to find a palace. He consorted in the cave,

he says, with characters from legend, and ran across the peasant girl he thinks is the enchanted version of his lady fair. He lent her money. Did this take place? Did it not? The author says he can't tell help us here.

EDWARD FRIEDMAN: Cervantes understands certainly intuitively that reality isn't just out there, that reality has to be interpreted, and that there are multiple perspectives. And there are so many interesting ways in which he plays with the idea of perspective within the novel. Sometimes it's very subtle, but the idea is that in one early episode, for example, he has characters talking about a woman who's the cause of death of a suitor that she rejected. And the idea is that we get a really full vision of her; many people talk about her. We see her as cruel, and unfeeling, and evil. When she comes on stage, she gives a speech that presents a totally different perspective, her perspective, and that changes the whole story. And Don Quijote, in a sense, protects her against the people who would strike her and follow her.

BARBARA NICHOL: Marcela appears at the suitor's grave. She's very beautiful. Because she is so beautiful, the unsuccessful suitor loved her. In fact, she's loved by many of the men, who have gathered to denounce her. She makes her case. She says:

Heaven, you say, has made me beautiful — so very beautiful that you are moved, unable to help yourselves, to love me, and because of the love you show me I am obliged, you say, as also you desire, to love you. I know, by the natural understanding God granted me, that everything beautiful is lovable, but I do not understand how, because it is loved, that which is loved for its beauty is obliged to love whoever loves it. Further: it can happen that he who loves that which is beautiful is himself ugly, and since that which is ugly ought to be hated, it's very wrong of him to say: "I love you for your beauty; you must therefore love me, even though I'm ugly." ... And tell me: if Heaven had made me ugly instead of beautiful, would it be right for me to complain about you, because you did not love me? (I, 14; 77)

EDWARD FRIEDMAN: Cervantes understood that there are multiple perspectives. When you talk about questions of history, when you talk about questions of truth, you have to see them as much more relative than absolute. And I think, in many ways, it seems to me, that *Don Quijote* looks ahead in a very precocious way to what would become the realistic novel or the naturalistic novel of the nineteenth century. And he seems to be saying: "well, you can have realism, but sooner or later when realism reaches its heights, you're going to be standing back a little and look at ways to react against realism. In fact, we really want to look at literature not as being life, but as being insufficient to talk about real life." And this is really what Cervantes does before there were those realistic novels to react to. Now that we are privy to what comes after *Don Quijote*, we can appreciate Cervantes' achievement a bit more, because we understand that he really was intuiting what was going to be following what he did by centuries.



BARBARA NICHOL: Part II. It begins with the start of the third sally and ends with Don Quijote's death. Early in this part, Quijote decides that he will visit Dulcinea, his lady fair in El Toboso, her hometown. But as we know, as the reader knows, there's no such person. And Sancho Panza knows it too. But Sancho, when they arrive in El Toboso, comes up with a solution. He finds a local farm girl passing by and points her out: "There is Dulcinea!" He counts on Don Quijote's madness to find a way to believe that this is so. And Don Quijote does not let him down. She does not look like Dulcinea should. She is none too attractive and she smells. And so she must have been enchanted, and he must save her from this evil magic.

CARROLL JOHNSON: From then on, Dulcinea is enchanted. And Don Quijote's job is to get her disenchanting, restored to her pristine form, because that's obviously the first priority of knightly duties. So that gives the second part a kind of structure that the first part didn't have. In the first part, they went along encountering adventures pretty much at random. Now there is a purpose to Don Quijote's adventures. He's got to find a way to get Dulcinea disenchanting.

BARBARA NICHOL: In the course of their pursuits in Part II, Quijote and his squire meet up with the Duke and Duchess. The Duke

and Duchess are idle, and spoiled, and cruel, and they know who Don Quijote is, and they decide they will have fun at his expense. By means of elaborate events they stage, the Duke and Duchess convince our pair that Dulcinea can be disenchanting by one means: Sancho Panza must beat himself, whip himself 3,300 times. So disenchanting Dulcinea becomes Sancho's unpleasant task to undertake.

Meanwhile, in an unrelated plot, Don Quijote's lost a battle with another knight. And the terms of their battle were these: if Don Quijote were to lose, he would agree to leave off being a knight-errant for a year. Don Quijote loses and he and Sancho Panza head for home.

But back to Dulcinea: Sancho Panza carries out his beatings. At least to Don Quijote's knowledge, he whips himself 3,300 times. But this presents another problem, in Carroll Johnson's reading of the work a problem that he will not solve.

CARROLL JOHNSON: He and Sancho are on their way back to the little village in La Mancha. Naturally he's dejected because he can't be a knight for a year. They've got this sort of enforced sabbatical. Interestingly enough, what they decide to do in the sabbatical is to become shepherds, literary shepherds, as to adopt a different literary lifestyle than the one they've been in now, which is the chivalric style.

So, there are on their way back to their village; Sancho has found a way to complete the beatings that are supposed to disenchant Dulcinea. The effect of this is to recreate the crisis in the existence of Dulcinea that they managed to avoid back there when they were at El Toboso, when Sancho enchanted her, and kind of "put her on ice." There was no need to go looking for her. There was no need to question whether she really exists or not.

Now, all of that's back on the table, except that in the course of what's been going on in Part II, Don Quijote has become physically debilitated. And more importantly, I think he's become mentally debilitated. Physically, he's been defeated in Barcelona by another knight. He's been trampled on by pigs, he has been kind of beaten up by the Duke and Duchess. He is, in fact, chronologically older than he was when he started out, and he was middle-aged to start with. And psychologically, in the course of Part II, one of the differences between the two parts is that in Part I, Don Quijote imposes his will onto his circumstances beginning with testing the helmet. He looks at windmills, he needs giants, the windmills become giants and so on. In Part II, people know about him, people have read Part I, so they cater to him. They create situations

where he can be a knight-errant with all the appropriate costumes and props, so that he doesn't need to use his imagination and the force of his will, the way he needed to do all the time in Part I. So his imaginative faculty—his ability to engender the kind of situation that he needs in order to be Don Quijote—has got flabby; he hasn't been using it. And as a result, he's losing it.

So that all this kind of comes to a head when Sancho completes the whippings and Dulcinea is supposed to be disenchanting. It means that all the problematics of her existence are suddenly back on the table, but Don Quijote doesn't have the imaginative force anymore to keep thinking of a way to preserve the myth of her existence. And I think that's what finally beats him.

He goes back home, and is reunited with the two women that he lives with. And one of them, his niece, kind of makes fun of his advanced age and the idea that now he's going to go be a shepherd, and he couldn't be a knight. And he thinks he's young, but in fact, he's old; and he thinks he's OK, but in fact, he's decrepit, a whole series of quite unpleasant things. His housekeeper, who is more sympathetic, doesn't want him to go out being a shepherd either, exposed to the inclement weather and so on. And she encourages him to adopt the lifestyle of one of the gentlemen they have met in their travels, who is just deadeningly conformist, who is kind of a country *hidalgo* like Don Quijote, but whose life has no meaning to it, no narratable dimension to it. It's just a round of the same exercises that are repeated, like Don Quijote at the beginning. And this is all too much for Don Quijote. And as I read the text, I think there comes a point right here where he just packs it in; he just gives it up.

BARBARA NICHOL: But he doesn't give up everything. He dies, but he does not renounce the idea that he, not his circumstances, will determine his identity, will determine who he'll be.

CARROLL JOHNSON: On his deathbed, he appears to be going to be recouping his original identity. What happens, actually, is that he assumes a new identity. He said: "I used to be Don Quijote and now I'm not. My name is Alonso Quijano," which if you go back to the First Part, you discover was not one of the original possibilities of what his name might have been before he became Don Quijote. And he adds a nickname, "El Bueno," "the Good," onto this Alonso Quijano, which has never entered any of this before. So, what people think is that instead of recouping his original place in society and his original sanity, he adopts a new identity

solely for the purpose of dying an exemplary death, and getting himself off stage forever.

BARBARA NICHOL: Cervantes died in 1616. He was married and lived with his wife only briefly. They had no children. He had an illegitimate daughter from an affair. She had no children. From what we know, Cervantes has no descendants.



Could there be anything more satisfying than to see, as it were, right in front of our eyes, an immense lake of bubbling, boiling pitch, crawling with hordes of wriggling serpents, and snakes, and lizards, and all sorts of fierce and terrifying animals — and then, right out of the middle of that lake, there comes a doleful voice, saying: “You, knight, whoever you may be, staring out at this fearful lake, if you yearn for the treasure hidden under these black waters, show the strength of your brave heart and hurl yourself into the middle of this black and burning tide, for otherwise you cannot be worthy to set eyes on the noble wonders hidden here, nor will you ever behold the seven castles of the seven enchantresses who lie under this blackness.” And then the knight, barely waiting for the doleful voice to finish, and not bothering to stop and consider the fearful danger into which he’s putting himself — not pausing even long enough to strip off the heavy weight of his armor — commends himself to God and to his lady and throws himself right into the boiling lake, and without knowing what to expect or where he will come to, suddenly finds himself on a flowery meadow, incomparably lovelier than the Elysian Fields themselves. (I, 50; 338)



PAUL KENNEDY: On *Ideas* tonight, Part III of the three-part series, *Don Quijote: 400 Years on the Road*, produced and presented by Barbara Nichol. The music was by Claire Laurens. Technical production Dave Field. The associate producer is Liz Nage. Readings were by Greg Kelly. Translations are from the Norton Critical Edition: Burton Raffel. Barbara Nichol thanks Donald McCrory, María Antonia Garcés, James Parr, Burton Raffel, and Hugh Graham.

You can order an audio copy of this 3-part series for \$34, taxes and

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The Executive Producer of *Ideas* is Bernie Lucht, and I'm Paul Kennedy

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