QUIXOTES AND QUIXOTISMS IN THE HISPANIC ENLIGHTENMENT

INTRODUCTION

CATHERINE M. JAFFE
Texas State University

Early in Part II of Cervantes’s novel, don Quijote voices his concern that the book an Arab historian has written about his adventures may have misrepresented him so badly that he would be unrecognizable. The bachiller, who has read the book, replies:

—Eso no— respondió Sansón—; porque es tan clara, que no hay cosa que dificultar en ella: los niños la manosean, los mozos la leen, los hombres la entienden y los viejos la celebran; y, finalmente, es tan trillada y tan leída y tan sabida de todo género de gentes, que apenas han visto algún rocín flaco, cuando dicen: «Allí va Rocinante». Y los que más se han dado a su lectura son los pajes: no hay antecámara de señor donde no se halle un Don Quijote: unos le toman si otros le dejan; éstos le embisten y aquéllos le piden. (II, iii)

Cervantes thus reflects in the fictional world of his characters the bond his novel had forged between readers across all lines of age, rank, and gender. Don Quijote’s peculiar power to unite its audience in a community that would immediately understand references to the novel allowed its readers and other writers to engage in “imaginative expansion” and produce the “afterlife of character” that was a typical response of eighteenth-century readers, according to David Brewer (2).

While the importance of Don Quijote to the development of the English and American novel has been widely studied by scholars such as Ronald Paulson, Wendy Motooka, Sarah F. Wood, and Scott Paul Gordon, to name only a few, eighteenth-century Hispanic continuations, adaptations, and imitations of Cervantes’s novel have not received the same degree of critical attention. The three articles that follow are based on papers presented at the 14th International Congress for Eighteenth-Century Studies in Rotterdam in 2015 to celebrate the four-hundredth anniversary of the publication of Cervantes’s Don Quijote Part II. The articles explore the Cervantine influence and the quixotic trope in novels written between 1786 and 1822: Ana Rueda writes about Spanish continuations of Don Quijote based on Sancho Panza; Mark Malin discusses an anticlerical British novel set in Spain; and Catherine Jaffe analyzes a colonial Mexican didactic novel. Looking at the quixotic characters’ romps through the “textual commons” opened up by Spain’s most famous author, the articles collectively show...
that the novelists imagine communities of readers that claim *Don Quijote* as a national treasure while critiquing their own national identity during a period of revolution, war, and social and political transformation (Brewer 1-24).

In Part II of Cervantes’s novel, Altisidora describes her vision of devils in hell dressed in Flemish lace collars and cuffs batting around Avellaneda’s apocryphal continuation of *Don Quijote* Part I:

>Dijo un diablo a otro: «—Mirad qué libro es ése». Y el diablo le respondió: «—Esta es la segunda parte de la historia de don Quijote de la Mancha, no compuesta por Cide Hamete, su primer autor, sino por un aragonés, que él dice ser natural de Tordesillas». «—Quítádmele de ahí— respondió el otro diablo —, y metedle en los abismos del infierno: no le vean más mis ojos.» —¿Tan malo es?— respondió el otro.» «—Tan malo— replicó el primero —, que si de propósito yo mismo me pusiera a hacerle peor, no acertara». (II, 70)

The following articles attempt to rescue, in part, these late-Enlightenment continuations, imitations, and adaptations of *Don Quijote* from such a netherworld of neglect by reinserting them into the story of quixotism in the Hispanic world and beyond.

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**THE SQUIRE AS HERO: SANCHO PANZA IN EIGHTEEN-CENTURY CONTINUATIONS OF DON QUIJOTE**

**ANA RUEDA**  
University of Kentucky

In Spain alone, the eighteenth century produced thirty-seven editions (Aguilar Piñal 209) and a plethora of adaptations and continuations of Cervantes’s two-part masterpiece *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha* (1605, 1615). The Spanish Enlightenment celebrates the satirical aspects of a novel that purged the pernicious fantasies in chivalric works while addressing the social defects of Cervantes’s society, as Aguilar Piñal remarks (209). Moved by the novel’s satirical spirit, eighteenth-century writers imitated the *Quijote* to remedy all kinds of wrongdoings in their society and

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1 Here and throughout, I use the Spanish language spelling for the character’s name and for the book titles, with a “j” instead of the English language “x”, to distinguish these from other uses.

2 Beyond the Spanish-speaking world, Sarah F. Wood reveals in *Quixotic Fictions of the USA, 1782-1815* Cervantes’s masterpiece as a generative literary source that shaped the early American period.
advance new lines of thinking. The eighteenth century also launched regional Quijotes removed from La Mancha, such as Alonso Ribero y Larrea’s Quijote de la Cantabria (1786). This regional focus continued well into the nineteenth century, as in Luis Arias de León’s the Historia del valeroso caballero don Rodrigo de Peña dura (1824), in which a knight from León reads too many books of the Enlightenment by French philosophes and loses his mind.

Continuations of the Quijote in eighteenth-century Spain are not as abundant as are imitations, even though, as Joaquín Álvarez Barrientos indicates, continuations did not differ from imitations in purpose: all aimed to put forward a concrete reading of a given aspect of their reality and to grant it prestige through the use of Cervantes’s work (“El Quijote de Avellaneda” 17). Given that the cultural climate was hostile to novels (Ferreras 21-23), Cervantes’s well-respected novel would indeed lend them credibility. Continuations, however, distinctively explore storytelling in ways that extend beyond the ideological, meta-literary intention of their satirical component. By paying attention to character development, plot, and other aspects of narrative interest they renegotiate the proportion of inventio and imitatio to create novels that address concerns specific to eighteenth-century readers. Continuations capitalize on Cervantes’s second hero, Sancho.

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3 Francisco de la Justicia y Cárdenas publishes El Pescator de Don Quijote (1745) to satirize the “andantes piscatores”; Donato de Arenzana uses his Don Quijote de la Manchuela (1767) to ridicule the simpletons who aspire to higher education; in Quijote sainetero Manuel del Pozo scoffs at bad poets who moralize (1769); Cándido María Trigueros’s Teatro español burlesco o Quizote de los teatros (1802) proposes reforms in the theater. For additional examples, see Aguilar Piñal, 211. Dramatic works inspired by Cervantes include Rafael Bustos Molina’s El Alcides de la Mancha y famoso Don Quijote (1750) and Antonio Valladares de Sotomayor’s zarzuela Las bodas de Camacho (1772). For other titles, see Álvarez Barrientos, "El Quijote de Avellaneda" 40, n1. Some plays, such as Las caperuzas de Sancho (1776) by José Santos, also choose to focus on the Squire. Among those authors who resort to don Quijote to introduce new ideas, Álvarez Barrientos mentions Pedro Centeno, who wrote El Teniente del Apologista Universal. Primera salida de Don Quijote el Escolástico and the Apéndice a la primera salida de Don Quijote (1788 and 1789 respectively), which brought him problems with the Inquisition (Álvarez Barrientos 15).

4 Another example is the so-called Quijote asturiano by Juan Francisco Siñeriz, published in Paris in 1837 and translated to Spanish. See López Navia (s.a.) and Álvarez de Miranda ("Sobre") for nineteenth-century imitations of the Quijote.

5 Imitations include Vida y empresas literarias del ingeniosísimo caballero Don Quijote de la Manchuela (1767) by Cristóbal Anzarena (pseud. of Donato Arenzana); El tío Gil Mamuco (1789) by Francisco Vidal y Cabasés, and Historia fabulosa del distinguido caballero don Pelayo Infanzón de la Vega, Quijote de la Cantabria (in 3 vols., 1792, 1793, 1800) by Alonso Bernardo Ribero Larrea.
Panza, who outlives don Quijote and usurps his protagonism. They engage in dialogue with Cervantes’s Quijote and toy with Benengeli’s role by refashioning him as a character or as the author of fictitious memoirs. Continuations rewrite some of the better-known episodes of the Quijote and create novel adventures, alter the nature of established characters, and experiment with a variety of narrators. They also show sophisticated framing techniques that dramatize some of the complex issues with regard to the authorship and the intellectual debate surrounding the Quijote in the eighteenth century. Thus, continuators write in the shadow of Cervantes and, as we shall see, against Avellaneda’s continuation, which was greatly admired outside the Spanish Peninsula in detriment to Cervantes.

Two continuations are worth exploring here: Jacinto María Delgado’s Adiciones a la historia del ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha (1786), written in two parts, and the anonymous Historia del más famoso escudero Sancho Panza (1793), also in two parts, written by different authors. Thus, the bipartite structure of each of these novels makes the second part a continuation of a continuation. This chain is further complicated by the only “true” continuation of the Cervantine work not written by Cervantes: Avellaneda’s apocryphal Quijote, published in 1614 and not reprinted in Spain until 1732, and not again until 1805, to coincide with the anniversary of Cervantes’s work. Avellaneda’s continuation not only triggered Cervantes’s Part Two of his Quijote in 1615, it also contributed greatly to what has been called the author’s “canonization” in both Spanish and world literature. Thus, the continuations helped crystalize Cervantism, a field focused on the life and works of the author, and Quixotism, a behavioral pattern that lent itself to satire, but also an area of research in its own right (Aguilar Piñal 207; Álvarez Barrientos, "El Quijote de Avellaneda" 18).

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6 For information on the problems of authorship and erroneous attributions, see Toledano Molina (131) and Mancing (14).

7 Other works include Pedro Gatell’s La moral del más famoso escudero Sancho Panza… (1791); Alejandro Ramírez y Blanco’s Respuestas de Sanchico Panza a dos cartas que le remitió su padre desde la insula Barataria… (1791); D. A. A. P. y G.’s Instrucciones económicas y políticas dadas por el famoso Sancho Panza, gobernador de la Insula Barataria, a un hijo suyo, apoyándolas con refranes castellanos, en que le prescribe el método de gobernarse en todas las edades y empleos (2nd impr., MDCCXCI).

8 The First Part of El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha, 1605, had two continuations: Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda published in Tarragona in 1614 the Segundo tomo del Ingenioso Hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha, known as Quijote de Avellaneda or The Apocryphal Quijote; the second continuation, published by Cervantes himself, Segunda parte del ingenioso caballero don Quijote dela Mancha, was published in Madrid in 1615, prompted by Avellaneda’s.
If Cervantes’s mock epic was indeed intended to make readers abhor the phony stories contained in chivalric novels, we are left wondering what his design has to do with the deeds that his poor squire must perform in eighteenth-century continuations. *Adiciones* and *Historia* aim to banish quixotism from eighteenth-century society by killing Don Quijote’s legacy in his squire and using the latter as a vehicle for moral and societal reform. Sancho often serves as a laughing stock and endures the cruel tricks to which he is subjected only to end his life prematurely from risible yet fulminant deaths. In both works Sancho is put through challenging tests that require his serving in positions above his humble status and dealing with sudden changes in fortune that appeal to his vanity. He serves as a satirical instrument of the ostentatiousness of the Spanish Enlightenment, a period drawn to good taste but compelled to curb fatuous ambitions above one’s station and interested in progress but anchored in traditional ways of life that demand social immobility. In these works, Sancho’s new status quo, as Mayor or Consultant respectively, requires that he give up his wanderings as squire in order to be useful to the community and serve farmers’ needs. He is praised for speaking the truth, but he must suffer ridicule and reform himself from his quixotism, or his sanchism, which are perceived as transmitted diseases and fueled by foreigners’ negative perceptions of Spanish culture. Without Don Quijote’s shield, Sancho is left to fight enemies whom he cannot decode properly. Don Quijote’s former enemies (the Priest and Sansón Carrasco) are turned into Sancho’s friends, not by some sort of “enchantment,” as his master would have it, but possibly because eighteenth-century writers recognized the powerlessness of the illiterate Sancho without men of learning and thrown into a duplicitous world that passes lies for truths. Thus, continuators refashion the iconic pair of Knight and Squire into that of Administrator and Scribe, where Sancho is the brutally honest administrator accompanied by a learned scribe.

The lighter first part of the *Historia* quickly turns somber in its second part, and *Adiciones* unfolds into an extremely harsh satire. Eighteenth-century continuators of the *Quijote* are complicit in the hoaxes Sancho endures as Mayor of his town and as Consultant to the Duke. He is scoffed at for not accepting who he is, which destroys his charming rusticity and his sound reasoning. Sancho’s dead-on, disarming verdicts that speak the truth are unsuitable to bring enlightenment, and Baroque disillusionment (*desengaño*) prevails. The archetype of Fortune is spun over and over to invariably point the finger at eighteenth-century “vices” —some of them imported— such as pomposity, luxury, conceitedness, and self-love. The corrective behavior is conveyed through two well-known Golden Age motifs: The *Corte-Cortijo* (Court-Country) motif and the ubiquitous *Ser-Parecer* motif (Being vs. Appearances). Sancho eventually chooses the Country over the Court, but the Early Modern motif takes on a new spin in the context of the Age of Sensibility. It is refashioned to make room for the
display of emotions, as evidenced through abundant tears, moving family scenes, and inconsolable pain for the loss of don Quijote, all associated with the simple and wholesome country lifestyle. These emotions are set off against machinations and intrigues associated with the Court, which are the source of deep melancholy and suffering for Sancho. The *Ser-Parecer* motif runs parallel to the Court-Country motif to denounce a personal and collective weakness among eighteenth-century Spaniards: a quixotic aspiration to a station above one’s means. The archetype of Fortune and the two motifs are thus recontextualized for an eighteenth-century readership.

**Borges’s “Pierre Menard, Author of the Quijote” as a Reading Model**

Jorge Borges’s 1939 short story “Pierre Menard, Author of the *Quijote*” provides insights into what it entails to rewrite the celebrated work from another historical period and culture. A sophisticated turn-of-the-century French symbolist, Menard does not aim to continue, transcribe, imitate, or update the seventeenth-century novel, but to *compose* it: Menard’s “admirable ambition was to produce a number of pages which coincided – word for word and line for line– with those of Miguel de Cervantes” (Borges 91). The narrator in Borges’s story deems that Menard’s unfinished masterpiece is not only his single most innovative piece of writing, but that it surpasses Cervante’s work due to the author’s “deliberate anachronism and fallacious attribution” (35). Borges’s famous story is, of course, a satire, but it raises the question of whether the meaning of literary works is entirely dependent on the historical and social contingencies in which they are read. If Menard comes to the *Quijote* through the experiences of Pierre Menard (Borges 91), how do eighteenth-century writers come to the *Quijote*? How do they interpret the canonical text by rewriting or by writing continuations of the *Quijote*? If we grant, as Borges’s story suggests, that no text is independent due to its inherent duplicity (both in its unfolding and in its parodic relationship to its model), no writer has claim to originality. Following John Barth’s 1967 essay “The Literature of Exhaustion,” we may posit that eighteenth-century continuations of the *Quijote* loosely imitate the form of the novel and that their authors imitate the role of author, thereby engaging in a literary activity that is inherently anachronistic. Writing, reading, and interpreting then become a form of *haute couture*, for they require skilled manipulation to work pleats, tucks, and creases into the text or fabric with the use of metafictional threads. If in Borges’s story Menard’s version is superior –albeit identical– to that of Cervantes, it is only so in that it problematizes aspects of writing that are relevant to Menard’s contemporaries.

If Borges’s story is to provide a reading model for interpreting these continuations, which in themselves are interpretations of the Cervantes story, how “Pierre Menard…” is framed becomes paramount. The narrator wishes to write a eulogy because misleading accounts of the deceased
Menard have begun to circulate and “a brief rectification is imperative” (Borges 88). Like Borges’s narrator, continuators of the Quijote in the eighteenth century had to sort through many texts to address questions relevant to the life of the author, his sources, reception, and canon formation; in their particular case, they also wished to rectify the direction that quixotism was taking in Spain and abroad. The erudite historian, philologist and writer of the Enlightenment Gregorio Mayans y Siscar (1699–1781) was charged with writing a biography of Cervantes, a writer about whom very little was known and whose literary enterprise was shaped by an apocryphal continuation. Alain-René Lesage, who adapted Cervantes’s novel into French, valued Avellaneda’s continuation more than Cervantes’s work, which is partly why Avellaneda’s continuation was admired outside of the Spanish Peninsula in detriment to Cervantes:9 “the esteem in which foreigners held the novel triggered rejection and suspicion among Spaniards, many of whom understood it as a critique of Spanish customs” (Álvarez Barrientos, “El Quijote de Avellaneda” 21).10

Eighteenth-century continuators turned to Cervantes’s Quijote but stumbled against his characterization of Sancho, unable to reconcile his simplemindedness with the slyness and wit that he oftentimes displays.11 Quixotism was an object of mockery in Spain and abroad (Delgado 2), which helps explain why the Spanish Enlightenment deplored that its contemporaries read Cervantes’s novel only for its laughter. More than anything, eighteenth-century continuators of the Quijote intend to correct this tendency by pointing out that Cervantes’s satire contains “a wealth of virtues” (Gatell n. p.).12 Like the narrator in “Pierre Menard,” eighteenth-century narrators—and the authorial prefatory materials—inevitably comment on their didactic or corrective motivation to write a continuation

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9 According to Álvarez Barrientos, some Spaniards, among them Blas Antonio Nasarre and Agustín de Montiano y Luyando, also showed a preference for Avellaneda’s Quijote. Montiano, for instance, noted its superb portrayal of Sancho and “la rusticidad graciosa de un aldeano” (“the funny rusticity of a country man”) (n. p., quoted in Álvarez Barrientos, “El Quijote de Avellaneda” 24).

10 “la admiración de los extranjeros por la novela causaba rechazo y sospecha en los nacionales, muchos de los cuales la entendían como una crítica de las costumbres españolas.” I have adapted all quotations to modern Spanish orthography and provided my own translations unless stated differently.

11 For instance, Gatell, in his rewriting of Cervantes’s work La moral del más famoso escudero Sancho Panza (1793), remarks that “at times, his sanity and simplemindedness burst out and he seems as crazy as his master” (34) (“a veces su cordura y sencillez se disparan y parece tan demente como su amo”).

12 “caudales de virtud.”
to the Quijote. Continuations also allow their authors to “correct” Cervantes’s Quijote by providing new information designed to fill in possible gaps in the story, such as the famous disappearance of Sancho’s donkey and its reappearance several chapters later, and to speculate over what happens to Mambrino’s helmet.\footnote{In Historia a gypsy steals Sancho’s donkey and then Sancho’s wife Teresa informs him that the donkey is back in the stable (136+). And in Adiciones, Chapter XI describes the discord that ensued over Mambrino’s helmet over whether it should be placed in a museum at the Academy of Argamasilla or be given as inheritance to the Barber.}

Before Menard’s Quijote, eighteenth-century Spanish writers produce decentered Quijotes that reflect critically upon themselves, folding onto themselves. For instance, in Historia (1786) the villagers wish to hear Sancho tell an adventure that is already published and one that is not out yet, which makes his audience—and the external reader—compare Sancho’s retelling against Cervantes’s and that of his Arab historian Benengeli; in turn, the continuation unfolds new adventures for Sancho, a literary game already undertaken by Cervantes in response to Avellaneda’s continuation.\footnote{Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda is the pseudonym of the person who wrote a sequel to Cervantes’s Don Quijote. Avellaneda’s identity has been the subject of many theories, but there is no consensus on who he was.}

Unsatisfied with merely re-producing the Quijote story through imitations and too early to anticipate writing it \textit{ex avo} Menard-style, continuators build on existing material to revive the Quijote by creating new adventures for its second hero, Sancho Panza. These usually begin soon after the death of his master and end when the former Squire meets his own death.

Even though Óscar Barrero Pérez observes a thematic lack of focus among the imitators and continuators of the Quijote in the eighteenth-century (103-121), the two continuations selected here use the second hero of Cervantes’s novel as protagonist and conduit for some of the reforms that the Spanish Enlightenment wished to implement. Thus, Sancho sets out to favor farmers, facilitate commerce, reward the virtuous, respect the Church, and deal effectively with the problem of vagrancy. In this regard, Sancho incarnates the quixotic ideal of utopia while the authors are intent on setting right—also quixotically—all that is wrong in their century. The utilitarian aim is inextricably tied to putting an end to quixotism, but in the process these continuations only reinforce it. Pedro Gatell’s stated goal in \textit{La moral del más famoso escudero Sancho Panza} (1793)\footnote{In his prologue to \textit{La moral} Pedro Gatell announces that his objective is to write the story of the most famous Sancho Panza “from the glorious or enviable death of his master Don Quijote de la Mancha, until the last hour of his life and his burial” (n.p.). His rendering of the story does not, however, fulfill this objective as he has} is to stop quixotism and...
sanchism\textsuperscript{16} in his century so that instead of imitating the iconic couple in their madness and lack of good judgment, his contemporaries imitate them in their sanity and exemplarity (Gatell n. p.).\textsuperscript{17} Does his moral spin suggest that quixotic quests have no place in the eighteenth century and that the only conceivable quest is to benefit the common good through practical reforms? Strikingly, the continuations do not simply highlight the positive moral points that the satire hides. Instead, they turn Don Quixote’s two main arch-enemies—the Priest, who strives to abort the knight’s multiple quests and to return him to the village, and Sansón Carrasco, who defeats him as The Knight of the Mirrors—into loyal friends who pull him out of trouble.

We must ask: Is this shift a plot necessity for masterless squires or a critique of Sancho’s under-enlightenment? Is Sancho not good enough to extirpate quixotism from the face of the earth, especially in light of the fact that, according to Historia, what Spain needs is “more Sanchos” (“hacen falta más Sanchos,” 321) to rectify all the wrongdoings that afflict the country? And if he is good enough, why didn’t more continuators clone Sancho in the eighteenth century? Sancho’s limitations may be backfiring or pointing implicitly to the shortcomings of the Spanish Enlightenment, thus fueling Spain’s Black Legend instead of helping eradicate quixotism.\textsuperscript{18}

Sancho receives high praise from the intellectuals of the Spanish Enlightenment for his well-grounded resolutions as Governor of the Ínsula Barataria. The continuations ensure that Sancho’s sound judgments find new positions of power where his plain reasoning ability can shine: he is appointed Consultant to the Duke in Adiciones and Mayor in Historia. Don Quijote’s dubious authority as a mad knight is countered by Sancho’s real power in positions that, unlike the hoax of Cervantes’s Ínsula, can affect the Squire and the Knight together again performing the quests with which the reader is already familiarized.

\textsuperscript{16} In parallel fashion to Don Quijote’s madness, Sancho Panza allows himself to be seduced by his master’s promises to the abandonment of his family and his honest work as a farmer, which is a form of quixotism or sanchism.

\textsuperscript{17} “lejos de imitar a aquellos dementes y fuera de juicio, los imiten cuerdos y ejemplares,” n.p.

\textsuperscript{18} “Black Legend” or Leyenda Negra indicates “an unfavourable image of Spain and Spaniards, accusing them of cruelty and intolerance, formerly prevalent in the works of many non-Spanish, and especially Protestant, historians.” http://www.britannica.com/topic/Black-Legend. While it is associated with criticism of 16\textsuperscript{th}-century Spain and its colonial empire, the Black legend remained particularly strong throughout the 18\textsuperscript{th} century. Kant, Voltaire, and other philosophes of the Enlightenment propagated anti-Spanish sentiment by pointing to the cruelty of the Spanish Inquisition and Spain’s backwardness.
people’s lives. Still, in highlighting Sancho’s virtues as the proclaimer of truth and the enforcer of justice, eighteenth-century writers struggle to reconcile his unshakable, common-sense rationality with the fact that his sanchism can lead him to quixotic fantasies that dupe him easily. In plain mockery, the author of Adiciones (1786) has Benengeli consult a wise physicist to determine whether Sancho is an astute or rustic man; in turn, the physicist writes an outrageous treatise explaining how different energies can inhabit one’s soul. Whether Sancho is portrayed as a fair-minded politician or a rustic fool, or both, he is reinstated to satirize the corrupt eighteenth-century Spanish society; a society obsessed with luxurious French fashions and with ostentatious nobility titles while deficient in education, prone to pretentiousness while lacking in infrastructure, wanting of agricultural reforms, but unable to curtail the proliferation of vagabonds and paupers in cities and countryside.

Delgado’s Adiciones a la historia del ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha

Delgado’s Adiciones presents itself as a translation from Arabic to Castilian Spanish and a continuation of Cide Hamete Benengeli’s 74th chapter of his Quijote. Sancho resents his bad fortune, for he is again keeping pigs and goats after he has served as squire for don Quijote and governed an Ínsula. As someone “hidalguizado” (7), or transformed into an hidalgo –his former master’s social station–, he must now find a suitable position. Sansón Carrasco, the Barber and the Priest contact the Duke and Duchess, who in Cervantes’s Part II of the Quijote take extreme measures to ridicule don Quijote and Sancho. All agree that, in spite of his ignorance, Sancho performed with wisdom as Governor of the Ínsula Barataria, and the Duke employs Sancho as Inspector of his villages and Consultant. The villagers attempt to refine Sancho in preparation to going to Court. The well-meaning but naïve Priest is tricked by Don Aniceto, a fashionable afrancesado and a liar who pretends to be Cardenio’s cousin and passes for a “Profesor de Caballería” (87), a teacher of urban manners. He gives Sancho a ridiculous French outfit and instructs him on how to walk with affectation. Sancho’s wife, Teresa, acts as a petimetra in demanding that as wife of a Consultant she get a carriage, nice dresses and some slaves. Sansón Carrasco is the voice of reason and entrusted with denouncing what is occurring at a national scale in the imitation of foreign fashions. In a meta-literary tour-de-force, the Priest argues that Don Aniceto is trustworthy because, as Cardenio’s cousin, he knows what happened with don Quijote in the episode of Sierra Morena. Sansón Carrasco tries in vain to enlighten the Priest by reminding him that anyone who has read the Quijote would know that. The innkeeper in El Toboso, who has also read the Quijote, is not fooled and insists that the Duke has made Sancho Consultant “in keeping with their festive humor” (“por seguir su humor festivo” 132). Adiciones not only establishes interesting meta-literary
dialogues with the text it is supposed to be a continuation of, but it also puts on center stage the act of reading and interpreting the *Quijote*, which informs how characters perceive their reality.

*Adiciones* restages the iconic don Quijote and Sancho Panza in a novel pairing: Sancho Panza as Consultant to the Duke and Sansón Carrasco as his Scribe. In doing so, Sansón Carrasco imitates Sancho in leaving his family to become a Squire, which reinstates the quixotism that the satire critiques. The continuation thus pays homage to Cervantes’s *Quijote*, since a reversal of Fortune intervenes in what looks like an enchantment (“cosa de encantamiento” 121): the former Squire is now the master and the former Knight of the Mirrors his servant. In the same vein as the Knight and Squire, Sancho-the Consultant and his Squire-Scribe set out to redress eighteenth-century wrongs by implementing policies such as the elimination of *adehalas* (142), an added tax in the commerce of food products, and payments to Beneficiaries of the Church who do nothing but amass useless relics in bizarre museums. Sancho and Sansón Carrasco also issue new edicts designed to cultivate barren land, put orphans in hospices, and eliminate vagrancy.

In keeping with the overall satire over people’s conceitedness and ambitions to a status beyond their station, *Adiciones* makes Sancho the joke of elaborate and mocking ceremonials, similar to those that don Quijote and Sancho endured in Cervantes’s *Quijote* at the hands of the Duke and Duchess. To take possession of his new position as Consultant, Sancho undergoes a flamboyant ceremony presided by strange characters dressed in tunics and by virgins who wash and manicure him, amidst much incense and smoke. Soon after, Sancho must respond to staged appeals and inspect the Duke’s possessions. Sancho shows good judgment in his decisions but fails to see that the Duke and Duchess have orchestrated the hoax and are behind the masquerade. Their cruel joke works because Sancho and his wife Teresa are blinded by their social ambition. Teresa wishes to be a marchioness and to see Sancho as a marquis. The Duke and Duchess play off this weakness, and all the characters busy themselves to manufacture a proper lineage for the Panzas and a coat of arms done “in good taste.” In *Adiciones* to grow vain is equated with a form of quixotism, as the characters fear that the Panzas will end up with don Quijote’s madness, “although of a different kind” (“aunque por diferente estilo” 311).

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19 The Panzas, supposedly of Galician lineage, exhibit odd blazons such as mustaches and chickens, which an expert in heraldry will transform: “we’ll do something in good taste to improve the looks, because here we like to do a good job and according to our clients’ preferences” (“se hará cosa de gusto, que vestiremos con mejor ropage, porque acá gustamos de que la cosa vaya bien hecha, y a gusto de los interesados” 307).
The Duque proposes a remedy: to make Sancho Baron instead of Marquis, for that title does not require money. Sancho is “baronized” and undergoes another bombastic ceremony in which he must “recant all mundane incomes and live in poverty, ensure that nobody in his family chooses honest employment, and prefer the proliferation of lazy people and vagabonds who are useless to the Republic, even if they starve to death” (332-3). The theatrical apparatus is therefore meant to serve as a corrective tool for Spaniards’ vacuous pursuit of nobility titles. After another ostentatious celebration, Fortune is invoked to remind the reader of how ephemeral is worldly happiness (345) and to describe Sancho’s sudden death. He dies of a stroke caused by an excessive supper consisting of udder from an unbroken calf. His posthumous glory is linked tongue-in-cheek to Alexander the Great and Homer. Fortune also intervenes in Cid-Hamete Benengeli’s attached apocryphal Memoirs, one of the many paratexts of the Adiciones, to elevate Cervantes’s Arab historian from slave of a captain to chef in the Duke’s kitchen (365), which fictionalizes Cervantes’s pseudo-historical source (Benengeli) even further and engulfs it under the author’s satirical intent.

The anonymous *Historia del más famoso escudero Sancho Panza*

In the anonymous *Historia del más famoso escudero Sancho Panza*, the story begins three years after don Quijote of la Mancha dies. The Priest, Sansón Carrasco and the Barber attempt to cure Sancho from his dream to live the pastoral life in imitation of yet another literary genre: pastoral novels. Sancho hates farming and enjoys telling—or retelling—stories of the time when he served as the squire for don Quijote. The adventure of the Armies earns the respect of the villagers, who fail to comprehend how don Quijote could have confused herds of sheep and rams with armies of different nations and praise Sancho’s good sense. Even though Sancho is illiterate, the exposure to his master and their travels together have given him a world-view that the rest of the villagers lack. So they make him their Mayor, an opportunity that he welcomes to avoid working the land. Reputed as a man of the world, he is commissioned as a wedding consultant and organizes everything with great success. He is also called to mediate a dispute between two towns, which he performs successfully, but he must fight one of the cardinal sins in the eighteenth century: self-love. Women in the village laugh at Sancho and dump a pitcher of water on him, which brings him to his senses. The narrator also castigates Sancho by giving him an ugly bump on his forehead on his first day as Mayor, which forces him

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20 “abjura[r] de toda renta mundana […] vivir en pobreza; […] defender que ninguno de tu familia se dedique a arte y oficio, por honesto que sea, prefiriendo que aumenten el número de holgazanes, vagabundos, inútiles en la República, aun cuando se mueran de hambre.”
to exercise his authority from his window to avoid ridicule. Even worse, during the town festivities a runaway young bull charges against Sancho, who lands on the ground with his legs up in the air. Mauled by physical and moral blows, the final test to his self-love occurs when Sancho rejects the adulation of a preacher, which results in even higher ratings as Mayor.

This Sancho would have also pleased eighteenth-century reformers of the Spanish Enlightenment. He takes measures to curtail the high price of wheat and creates silos to store wheat and goods that make the community rich and happy; he improves the drainage of the village fountain; he also selects edifying plays to be performed during the village festivities. The Duke and Duchess visit the village and offer to return him to Ínsula Barataria as Governor, but Sancho chooses his current life as Mayor. His former master’s archenemy Sansón Carrasco attributes this to “a pleasant superiority” (“una superioridad agradable,” 278) in him that benefits the community. Sancho issues decrees that compensate virtuous men, founds schools, and goes to church to teach by example. He has people write laws on education designed to serve God and society, for his goal is to create “good Christians and good servants to the King and good citizens” (“buenos cristianos y buenos vasallos y ciudadanos” 292). Sancho, an unlikely character to serve as an instrument of education during the Enlightenment, manages to transform the ignorant into wise men, not through science but through virtue. He also defends Spaniards from the foreigners who come under the subterfuge of “civilizing” them, rejects dishonest deals, and imparts justice.

The second part of the novel is continued five years later by a different author—a Menard of sorts—who creates new adventures that do not stray too far from the plan of the first author. Lacking the finesse and the humor of the first part, this continuation takes a more dramatic turn for Sancho, who incarnates a well-known eighteenth-century motif: Virtue in Distress (“una infeliz inocencia perseguida” 151). Sancho’s successor is a corrupt Mayor who revengefully frames Sancho for having done justice to a cousin of his while he served his term. The Mayor sneaks contraband at night into Sancho’s stable and imprisons him. After painful walks through Spain’s haphazard legal system, the author brings an Interim Mayor from a neighboring village into the story to counter the actions of the first Mayor and to restore order through his exemplary behavior. Eventually, virtue is rewarded and Sancho is freed with the help of his loyal friends, the Priest and especially Sansón Carrasco, an educated man who knows how to navigate through the frustrating Spanish legal system and whose secret actions to liberate Sancho make him the hero de facto. In an interesting narrative twist, the narrator joins Sancho’s lawsuit when the Judge entrusts

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21 For a discussion on this topic in eighteenth-century Spanish literature, see Rueda "Virtue in Distress."
him with carrying Sancho’s legal papers to Madrid (234), thereby becoming one of the characters in the novel. This is relevant because the narrator sides with the proper execution of the law, without challenging its vagaries. The narrator confirms this reading by drawing a clear lesson for his readers: choose carefully who you make head of a town and arbiter of the laws (234). Sancho acknowledges his “folly” (“desatino,” 256) and is cured from his quixotism of having left family and home to imitate his master’s lunacy. He dies from jaundice four days after he is acquitted, which may strike the reader as an anti-poetic justice but is nevertheless befitting of the somber tone of this continuation.

Conclusions

In highlighting Sancho’s virtues as the proclaimer of truth and the enforcer of justice, eighteenth-century continuators of the Quijote struggle to reconcile his unshakable, common-sense rationality with the fact that his sanchism can lead him to quixotic fantasies that dupe him easily. Portrayed as a fair-minded politician and as a rustic fool, Sancho is reinstated in Spanish letters to satirize the vainglorious eighteenth-century Spanish society and to serve as conduit for some of the reforms that the Spanish Enlightenment wished to implement: favor farmers, facilitate commerce, respect the Church, and deal effectively with the problem of vagrancy. Sancho incarnates the quixotic ideal of utopia while the authors are intent on setting right—also quixotically—all that is wrong in their century. The common goal is to stop both quixotism and sanchism so that instead of imitating the iconic couple in their madness and lack of judgment, eighteenth-century readers imitate them in their sanity and exemplarity, as Gatell already observed in his own continuations. This moral spin indeed suggests that the only conceivable quest in the eighteenth century is to benefit the common good through practical reforms. Oddly enough, the continuations do not simply make visible the positive moral points that the satires hide. Sancho, a severely under-enlightened character, might not be able to fend alone against the quixotism that he inherited, even though the Historia posits that what Spain needs is “more Sanchos” (321) to set things straight.

Unlike Pierre Menard, eighteenth-century inheritors of Cervantes’s legacy do not attempt to write the Quijote but another Quijote incarnated in Sancho. They provide Sancho a learned squire, Sansón Carrasco, to redress eighteenth-century wrongs. The restaging of the oppositional couple of don Quijote and Sancho draws new forms of exemplarity and satire from the Cervantine model. New meta-literary elements rewrite the continuation of the “historia verdadera” (true story) as inscribed in the “second part” of Part I (chapters 9-14) of Don Quijote through the manuscript of Cide Hamete Benengeli. Further, Benengeli’s Memoirs playfully document fiction, anticipating Borges’s modus operandi. Nevertheless, like Pierre Menard, Delgado and his peer writers remain largely unknown or wrapped in the
obscurity of their anonymity, waiting perhaps for another Borges to bring them to life through the power of fiction. The story, which began more than 400 years ago, left not only characters without a novel of their own, but also writers eclipsed by Cervantes who nevertheless had lives and wrote novels.

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QUIXOTIC QUESTS AND TEXTS: ENLIGHTENMENT QUIJOTES AND VARGAS, A TALE OF SPAIN

MARK MALIN
Randolph Macon College

Don Quijote was an immediate best-seller when Part I was published in 1605. The second part of the novel came out ten years later, just a year before Cervantes died, in 1616, and four hundred years later we celebrate the novel and its influence. During these four centuries, other writers have looked to the Quijote; they have imitated and continued it, or have otherwise turned to it for inspiration. Now, its iconic characters are found not only in literature but throughout pop culture as well. From political candidates whose campaigns are called quixotic or who are portrayed fighting windmills in caricatures on editorial pages to a Peanuts cartoon by Charles Schultz in which Peppermint Patty marvels that Marcia will be reading the novel during summer vacation, to the don and his squire pitching manchego cheese in a Trader Joe's newsletter, quixotism has made don Quijote and Sancho Panza famous well beyond the sphere of hispanists and literary critics.

Just what quixotism and quixotic mean though is open to interpretation. Dictionary.com defines quixotic as: “resembling or befitting Don Quixote. or, 2. extravagantly chivalrous or romantic; visionary, impractical, or impracticable. and 3. impulsive and often rashly unpredictable.” 22 In political cartoons, candidates are called quixotic because their quest for election is considered impractical or impulsive. The quest to create another Quijote, as Avellaneda found out in 1614, was similarly impractical as Cervantes used his characters to attack Avellaneda’s characters and the novel itself, and the apocryphal continuation did not reverberate the way Cervantes’ novel did. Spanish Enlightenment texts such as Don Quijote de la Manchuela (1767) or El Quijote de la Cantabria (1792-1800)

22 The URL for the definition is http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/quixotic
(to name only a couple) share the quest of trying to create another *Don Quijote* or replicate it, as they imbued their texts with enlightenment values.

Beyond the continuations or adaptations of the novel mentioned, *Don Quijote* was greatly admired in Enlightenment Spain. Álvarez Barrientos and Jurado Santos, among others, have noted that in Spain it was the novel’s verisimilitude that attracted commentators as they sought to see in it the tenets that fit their values (Jurado Santos 281; Álvarez Barrientos, *La novela del siglo XVIII* 173). Citing Cotarelo, Álvarez Barrientos suggests that there were basically two paths taken by writers: those who imitated it or those who continued it (*La novela del siglo XVIII* 124). José Marchena, the 18th-century literary preceptor, acknowledged the supremacy of the *Quijote* when he commented on what Montesquieu had written about it, saying that “[e]ven if Montesquieu’s exaggerated opinion were true that there is no Spanish work worth reading besides this one [the *Quijote*], in it we would have one which would be worth an entire library….?” (343, my translation).

In his *Elojio a Cervantes*, José Mor de Fuentes admired both the tenets of the novel as well as Cervantes’ use of prose, and he both praised Cervantes and imitated the *Quijote* in other works as well (Malin 137). Another Spanish writer, but writing in England to where he emigrated in 1810, José María Blanco White, in the prologue to *Luisa Bustamante*, his unfinished novel written in 1839, remarks: “Bien quisiera yo, amigos lectores españoles, tener la pluma de Cervantes para con ella ganar vuestra benevolencia en favor de la narración que me propongo escribir” (25). In his *benevolentiae*, Blanco admits to his own quixotic enterprise, but only hopes to aspire to the greatness that Cervantes achieved.

Discussing just what quixotic means, Aaron Hanlon explains how slippery the terminology related to the influence of Cervantes’s masterpiece is. He notes that critics have mused on what it means “to call a narrative ‘quixotic’” many times, and he tentatively distinguishes between associations between works that bear “resemblance to *Don Quixote* (the text) or *Don Quixote* (the figure)” (“Towards a Counter-Poetics” 143). The direct influence of the novel was not limited to Spain. Hanlon and many other critics, including Ronald Paulson in his *Don Quixote in England*, or Edwin Knowles, have noted that its influence was, in fact, as great in England as it was in Spain. Paulson writes that “[b]y 1700 at least, *Don Quixote* was an immensely popular work in England, [and] one that we can

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23 Ana Rueda goes into more depth about some of these texts in her article in this cluster. She also discusses the role of Avellaneda’s novel in the canonization of Cervantes’ text.

24 Montesquieu, for his part, had one of his characters make the remark that the *Quijote* was the only worthwhile piece of Spanish literature in his *Lettres persanes* (cited in Marchena 343).
be sure everyone we discuss in this book had read and probably reread” (xi). Henry Fielding, as he points out, announced on the title page of his 1742 *Joseph Andrews* that his novel is “Written in Imitation of the Manner of Cervantes” (Paulson ix-x), and this is but one of a myriad of English writers who felt Cervantes’s influence. However, as we will discuss later, how they imitated him, or what aspects of the novel they emphasized changed from one generation of writers to another. Though written early in the nineteenth century, another English novel in which the imprint of the *Quijote* is palpable is *Vargas, a Tale of Spain*, whose authorship was formerly widely attributed to José María Blanco White, long associated with the mores of the Spanish Enlightenment, and who was living in exile in London at the time of the novel’s publication in 1822. In *Vargas*, we also see the anxiety of influence that *Don Quijote* exerted over others who attempted prose fiction. Published anonymously, its author turned to Cervantes’s novel to flesh out the plot, but *Vargas*, as we shall see, was based on another Spanish novel, *Cornelia Bororquia* (1801).

Before going into quixotism in the novel, it is worth exploring the theme of the authorship of *Vargas* and its relationship to *Cornelia*. Martin Murphy, Antonio Garnica, and Manuel Moreno Alonso, among many others, following Méndez Bejarano’s lead, were convinced that Blanco was the author of *Vargas*. These critics credit Blanco for its authorship because they felt that only a Spaniard from Seville, living in London in 1822, would be familiar enough with Spain, Spanish customs, and with *Don Quijote* to have written the text. They also suggest that only someone with such strong anti-Catholic sentiments as Blanco could have authored the novel (Durán López 393-94). The one critic who never did feel that Blanco wrote *Vargas* was Vicente Llorens and his doubts were finally substantiated by Fernando Durán López in an article from 2013. Durán López too questioned Blanco’s authorship because to him the reasoning that Blanco could have been the author simply did not equal “Blanco was the author,” so he began to search for just who the author could have been (395). Serendipity led him to another Spanish-themed novel entitled *Félix Alvarez or Manners in Spain…*, which was published by Alexander Robert Charles Dallas (1791-1869) in 1818. In this text he found stylistic traits that others cited in *Vargas* as being consistent with Blanco’s style (396). Regarding the internal evidence that led others to feel certain that Blanco was the author, Durán López concludes that: “Una vez que conozcamos la peripecia de Alexander Dallas, … se verá que la mayor parte de tales evidencias internas se ajustan a su perfil igual que al de Blanco” (394). Dallas served in the British army during the Spanish War of Independence, so he knew Spain and its customs well. And, as we have already seen, the *Quijote* was well known in England.

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25 For more about Llorens and his doubts on the matter, see the Durán López article (393).
Seeking further evidence that Dallas may have been the author, Durán López found his autobiography, published posthumously by his widow in 1871, and in it Dallas confesses to having written the novel (cited in Durán López 397; in the original on p. 167).26

Regarding the evidence that the author of *Vargas* had to have known the *Quijote*, Durán López writes: “respecto al cervantismo de *Vargas*, incontables europeos cultos, y Dallas también, leyeron y admiraron al Ingenioso Hidalgo” (395). Dallas was also familiar with other of Cervantes’s writings, and he mentions *La gitanilla* in the notes to his poem “Ramirez,” which is about the War of Independence (250).27 Dallas also explicitly mentions his familiarity with the *Quijote* in his autobiography. In describing one particular experience in the war, he writes: “It was quite clear that to have proceeded in the ordinary way would have left the troops to starve, and the hazardous experiment I was making was in fact the only alternative. Andres and I went forth that morning very much like Don Quixote and Sancho Panza” (*Incidents* 57-58).28 We will have more to say about the influence of and imprint of Cervantes’ novel in *Vargas* later on, but I will turn now to the influence of the novel *Cornelia Bororquía*.

In declaring that he was indeed the author of *Vargas*, Dallas specifies in his autobiography that the novel “detailed the history of Cornelia Bororquia” (*Incidents* 167). The question then is just how Dallas might have come to know this novel.29 Though Dallas could have seen an edition of

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26 In his autobiography, Dallas writes: “Encouraged by my friend the bookseller, I occupied myself in writing another work, a story mainly founded on one of the Spanish chronicles, which detailed the history of Cornelia Bororquia. This was called ‘Vargas, tale of Spain.’ It was a long time before this was finished, but I had engaged to write it for Mr. Baldwin, by whom it was published. This attracted more attention than its predecessor, and was reviewed in some of the periodicals with favour; the manner in which the features of Spanish character were portrayed, led to the idea that its author was Spanish, and it was attributed to Blanco White” (*Incidents* 167). While I quote from Dallas’s autobiography, it is thanks to Durán López’s article that I found a copy of it in Google Books (397). In the Biblioteca Nacional, the copy of *Vargas* is now attributed to Dallas while the translation of it still lists Blanco White as the author.

27 I cite from a notice about the poem’s publication in a Boston publication, *The Athenæum*. For more, please see the list of works cited.

28 His wife, Anne Briscoe Dallas, published the text posthumously under the title *Incidents of the life and ministry of the Rev. Alex. R. C. Dallas* ….

29 There were more than twenty editions of *Cornelia* printed in the first half of the 19th century in Spain, and it was translated into French, German and Portuguese and I recently found an English translation, which dates from 1844. The translation can be found in the July 27, 1844 of *The New World*.
the novel while he was travelling in Spain, it seems likely that he knew of it from an edition published in London in 1819. This was three years before the publication of Vargas and coincides with a time in his life in which Dallas turns from a potential career in law to taking vows as a Protestant minister. The London edition of Cornelia, edited and greatly expanded by another Spanish exile living in London named Diego Correa is a very interesting one, as are the details of how Correa ended up in London. Correa had been sent to Philadelphia as part of a plot to carry out an assassination of Napoleon, which was not successful. From there he ended up in Cuba, and was later sent to Gibraltar where the English governor arrested him and sent him back to Spanish authorities who then sentenced him to ten years of hard labor in Ceuta. After impassioned pleas to British officials in Spain, and with the help of others in England, Correa was eventually freed and allowed to sail to London. There, he wrote for the liberal newspaper El español constitucional and he published the aforementioned edition of Cornelia. Antonio Garnica, as has already been mentioned, believed that Blanco was the author of Vargas and Garnica felt that Blanco could have read the novel in Spain before leaving for London, but that the publication of the London edition would not have gone unnoticed by him either (89-90). Rubén Benítez, on the other hand, in his

30 For more details on Correa’s life, see Manuel Hernández González’s biography, which is in his edition of a collection of Correa’s writings entitled Entre dos mundos y otros escritos: Diego Correa.

31 For more on this situation, see Correa’s letter to Fernando VII published in London in 1819 and entitled: Letter transmitted to Ferdinand VII by Don Diego Correa, ex-captain in the Spanish Army, in that imminent crisis when the king was proceeding to destroy and trample of the political Constitution of the Spanish Monarchy, sanctioned and sworn to by that nation, and acknowledged by England, Russia, and the other Allies of Spain, in the war of the Revolution against Bonaparte; with various documents and papers, relative to his imprisonment by general Smith, Governor of Gibraltar, who delivered him to the Spanish Government, which sentenced him to ten years Confinement in the fortress of Ceuta (with cost of suits), from whence he was claimed. In consequence of the earnest Remonstrances in the Hon. the House of Commons, by the representatives of the British Government. Published by the author, in vindication of his patriotic character. While Gil Novato mentions this version in English translation in his Diccionario biográfico del trienio liberal (155), the Spanish version of this document was published a year before in El Español Constitucional from 1818 (229+), and continued in early 1819 in the same publication. In Entre otros mundos, Hernández González includes a fragment of the original in Spanish as representative of Correa’s writings.

32 For more on his activities, see Gil Novato’s Diccionario biográfico del trienio liberal (155). See also Moreno Alonso’s La forja del liberalismo … (324, 332). While these sources detail his activities in London, as does Hernández González’s biography, they do not mention his edition of Cornelia.
article on *Vargas*, while he similarly concluded that Blanco White was the author of *Vargas*, wrote that Blanco must have learned of *Cornelia* from the London edition, though he does not bring up the issue of Correa’s editorship (91-92).³³

Now that the issue of the authorship of *Vargas* has been cleared up, thanks to the research of Durán López, it seems that Dallas, in all likelihood, knew of *Cornelia* through Correa’s edition, and this seems even more likely given what William Walton says about Correa and *Vargas* in the note bound into the edition of *Vargas* in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid.³⁴ This note, which has previously been cited as proof that Blanco was the author of *Vargas*, also confirms that Correa was the editor of *Cornelia*. In the note, from William Walton, dated Oct 3, 1855, and addressed to Benjamin Wiffen he says that he is sending along to Mr. Macnay to then be forwarded to Oswaldo Lodge, as requested, the three volumes of *Vargas* along with what he calls a “curious brochure” that was circulated by Captain Correa in London to members of a Spanish cache. This curious brochure presumably was *Cornelia*, and this is also what Rubén Benítez concludes (93). This cache could have included Dallas. While we cannot be sure that Dallas and Correa knew each other, it does corroborate that Walton knew him. In fact, Martin Murphy points out that “William Walton, the translator of Puigblanch’s *La inquisición sin máscara*, supported him in his campaign to obtain an indemnity from the British government” upon his release from Ceuta (241). Walton mentions his friendship with the

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³³ There is a good bit of confusion in the bibliographic record regarding the identity of the editor of the 1819 London edition of *Cornelia*. Benítez writes that the editor was a “Don A.C. y G.” (92), citing Dufour’s 1987 edition of the novel. In Dufour’s 1995 edition of the novel for Cátedra, he writes that the London edition “se trataba de la tercera edición corregida y aumentada por A.C. y G. Bajo tales iniciales se ocultaba (apenas) el capitán Antonio Correa y García, entusiasta liberal que había sido internado en el presidio en Ceuta …” (22). Martin Murphy also refers to him as “Don Diego Antonio Correa y García” (“Luis Gutiérrez, Novelist and Impostor” 241). To clear up this issue, I cite the title page of the 1819 edition, which reads: “Tercera edición corregida y aumentada por Don D.A.C. y G.” It is published by E. Justins, who also printed his letter to Fernando VII. The editor of this edition certainly is not Correa y García, but rather Diego Antonio Correa y Gorbalán.

³⁴ The native of Tenerife continued a career as a liberal newspaper correspondent that he had begun when he wrote for two papers in the Cádiz of the Cortes (*Entre dos mundos* 100+). About *El español constitucional*, Hernández González writes jocosely that *El Español Constitucional* was published by “un liberal exaltado, Pedo Pascacio Fernández Sardino, and it will be “el órgano y portavoz de los exiliados españoles en Londres” (120). In his additions to the novel, Correa both comments on Spain’s 1812 Constitution and openly attacks Fernando VII.
publisher of *Vargas*, Baldwin, whom Dallas also knew (Incidents 167). And, while he errs on the identification of the novel’s author, Walton certainly puts Dallas, Blanco and Correa in a similar circle of acquaintances.  

35 Given all the coincidences, it does seem likely that it was through the 1819 London edition that Dallas knew *Cornelia*.  

*Vargas* was based directly on *Cornelia*, but the influence of *Don Quijote* on the text is also palpable. The *Quijote*’s influence begins with the invention of a second fictional author to whom credit is given for the writing of the book. Antonio Garnica Silva, in a comparative study of *Cornelia* and *Vargas*, notes though that it is not only in the play between “Cide Hamete Benengeli/Cornelius Villiers de los primeros capítulos, sino sobre todo en la inclusión de entretenidos argumentos secundarios que, relacionados de alguna manera con el tema central, añaden a la novela complejidad, misterio e interés” (90-91). I would like to explore how Dallas drew from the *Quijote* in more detail as well as to suggest what it was in Cervantes’ novel that drew Dallas to it.  

36 Garnica concludes, writing about *Cornelia Boroquia*, that the novel’s plot is “totalmente adecuado para los distintos propósitos que ha tenido la novela: crítica anticatólica, crítica antirreligiosa … y, en una versión volteriana del tema, una romántica llamada a la tolerancia religiosa” (81-82). However, while *Cornelia Boroquia* is anti-Inquisition, as Noël Valis has written in her book *Sacred Realism*, “[t]o categorize *Cornelia Boroquia* as simply an anti-clerical novel, does not do it justice” (77). In fact, the novel makes it clear that it is not religion in itself that is harmful, but rather, as a defrocked priest named Casinio convinces the protagonist, Bartolomé Vargas, “El espíritu religioso es muy útil en las sociedades pero es muy perjudicial cuando se hermana con él la política” (63). Casinio emphasizes that it is corrupt officials, both religious and political, that blemish its

35 Regarding the authorship of Vargas, Walton writes that: “Vargas’, as I before said, is partly founded upon it and the appreciation of one could not be perfect without a sight of the other. At the time everyone conversant with Spanish affairs, considered Blanco White as the author among whom was Lord Holland. Baldwin, the publisher of Vargas, in conversation acknowledged the fact to me more than once, notwithstanding the disguise attempted in the preface. No other than a native and a Sevillano, could have written such a work. If I remember well, B. White gave me the copy in question, but in a subsequent period he regretted having written the novel, and endeavoured to suppress and call it in” (note bound in to Vol.I of the edition of *Vargas* in the Biblioteca Nacional). While Walton does assert that Blanco was the author, Durán López, I think correctly, suggests that we have to take into account the time that lapsed between the publication of the novel and the writing of the letter (Durán López 399).

36 While Garnica highlights the entertaining quality of the episodes, Lockhart, a contemporary reviewer of the novel, wrote on the author’s scant ability to compose a fictitious tale (cited in Garnica 91).
complexion and not religion in and of itself. The novel, in fact, is not so narrow in its commentary, criticizing, for example, a litany of Spain’s ills, anticipating reforms that would be part of the Constitution of 1812. In his edition of the novel, Correa seizes upon these elements as he openly attacks Fernando VII and perceived flaws in the Constitution. Vargas, however, is much narrower in its scope as Dallas uses the strongly anti-Inquisition stance of Cornelia, and fleshes out the plot by drawing on Don Quijote for his own ideological purpose to more broadly attack Catholicism rather than just the Inquisition. Dallas’ adaptation of Gutiérrez’s novel, as Garnica suggested for Cornelia, is perfectly suited to his ideological goals of assailing Church doctrines.

For readers not familiar with the plot of Cornelia Bororquia, it is worth summarizing it in broad strokes. In the novel, the Archbishop of Seville has kidnapped the eponymous heroine at the beginning of the novel because she has refused to give in to his attempts to seduce her. Convinced, however, that it is her lover, Bartolomé Vargas, who has abducted her, Cornelia’s father, the governor of Valencia, sends his friend Meneses in search of Vargas. Eventually, through a series of letters, Meneses learns the truth and informs Cornelia’s father of the real identity of his daughter’s abductor. Meanwhile, the Archbishop has Cornelia interned in Seville’s Inquisition prison and continues to attack her virtue. After one attempt, Cornelia takes the knife that Lucía brings in to cut the bread, and stabs the Archbishop in self-defense. In the throes of death, he vindicates her and

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37 I do agree with what Ana Rueda notes in Cartas sin lacrar that “Meneses cuestiona la religión, mientras que Vargas adopta una postura acusatoria al estamento del clero” (310). Meneses, Vargas’s confidant in the novel, is strident in his criticism of religion, but Vargas’s faith in religion is restored by Casinio’s logical arguments. I thank Ana for her perceptive reading and her helpful comments on this article. In a note, she remarked that “There’s quite a range of opinions among the different characters [in Cornelia] and the reader is, of course, a participant in the debate.”

38 The novel points out issues such as the lack of rights of Inquisition detainees, the ability of its officials to confiscate prisoners’ personal effects, the inability of those same prisoners to know what they are being accused of or who their accusers were. He also criticizes the lack of freedom of press, and all these issues were addressed by the Cortes de Cádiz, in the Constitution itself or in edicts published subsequent to its promulgation. For more on this, see my article on Cornelia and the constitution (Malin, "Cornelia Bororquia," 727-34).

39 Cornelia also owes a debt of gratitude to the Quijote, as Dufour, in his edition of the novel for Cátedra, notes. In a footnote to letter 28, from Vargas to Meneses, he alerts the reader that the letter recalls the scene between don Quijote and the cabreros. He notes too that the letter was added to the third edition to soften criticism of the Church (166).
blames himself for her situation, but the Inquisitors still find her guilty of crimes against the Church and she is executed in an *auto da fé*. Dallas will take the skeleton of this plot, especially its anti-Inquisition stance, and even more heavily lean on *Don Quijote*, as has already been mentioned, to stretch the scant action of *Cornelia* to a three-volume novel.

Dallas weaves together a plot in large part based on episodes from the *Quijote* as a rhetorical strategy to malign Catholicism, and this is very much in keeping with some of his other writings, as *Vargas* is not the only work in which Dallas attacks the Papacy and the Romish Church. His sermon “The Light Thrown by Prophecy on the Recent Development of Papacy” is one of a number of other examples of anti-Catholic writings. He writes in his autobiography that one of his missions was to debunk Catholicism and convert Irish Catholics (18-19). He also translated *The Spanish Reformed Church* … which was a Declaration of a group of Spaniards who met in 1868 to propose reforms and create a Spanish Protestant Church as a protest against the Catholic Church.

The episodic nature of *Don Quijote* provides the perfect vehicle for Dallas’s attacks as in his travels from Zaragoza to Seville Vargas visits a number of sacred sites and witnesses a number of celebrations based on Catholic liturgy and rituals commemorating local saints. In his article on the influence of Cervantes in Britain, Edwin Knowles maintains that in the 17th century, “English interpretations … emphasized only the surface farce” of *Don Quijote* in large part due to both a bad translation and to “uncordial social and religious affiliations between Spain and England of this era…” (267, 272). He maintains, however, that by the 18th century, they enjoyed the comic aspects, but also “esteemed the satire…” (267). Dallas takes advantage of the satiric implications, the narratological complexity of Cervantes’ masterpiece as well as the episodic nature of Don Quijote’s travels through the Spanish countryside to flesh out his plot. Just as Don Quijote points out the injustices of 17th-century Spain by commenting on practically every aspect of his society from slavery to the folly of war to politicians’ empty words, Dallas borrows from the plot of the novel as both the narrator and the characters will comment on plot twists.

Dallas’s indebtedness to Cervantes’ novel is profound as a partial recounting of borrowings will show. Similar to the *Quijote*, especially Part I of the novel, much of the action takes place at an inn. Like in Cervantes’ work, there are the surprising coincidental arrivals of a variety of characters to the same inn. There is a donkey that disappears and then later reappears, there is a braying scene, wine is spilled from animal skins, and there is even a scene in which unction is applied to cure wounds, which reminds us of the goatherds who treated Don Quijote’s missing ear, and, well, the list of similarities would go on (I: 195-97, 202, 213). Dallas also borrows from Cervantine narrative devices, announcing to readers what is coming up. In Part I, chapter eight, for example, the narrator explains what has been happening in separate scenes while he has been busy explaining another:
While I have been introducing Master Rock to my reader, poor Vargas has been kindly received at the White Moor, where, having been placed under the care of Father Cachafuto … who, like the goatherds in chapter 10 of Part I of the Quijote, gave him an unction and a potion to cure his wounds (215). In another scene that also leans heavily on Volume I of Cervantes' novel, Vargas stays at an inn near a famous hermitage, at which several muleteers have also stopped. The muleteers staying at the inn help the innkeeper make fun of the postas boy, and it turns out that they are wine vendors, selling wine in animal casks, called borrachas (202). They all try to trick the postas boy, but he makes a plan of his own, and it includes a braying mule (that belongs to the innkeeper, but which he tries to convince the postas boy is his because the innkeeper wants to keep the boy's mule). Finally, the innkeeper gets kicked by his own mule, but uses the pigskin to stop it, and the narrator recounts that “the miserable Master Rock would, I believe, have been contented that the flood with which he was deluged had been his own blood, to have saved the discharge from his pigskin” (213). In this scene, Dallas borrows from Cervantes in an attempt to infuse the novel with humor as the innkeeper mimics Sancho in his gluttony and enjoyment of wine.

Earlier in the same volume, in a plot detail taken from Cornelia Bororquia, Vargas is headed from Zaragoza to Seville because he has just learned that his lover, Cornelia, has been abducted by the Inquisition. Coincidentally enough, he runs into Meneses, who is looking for him, believing he is Cornelia's kidnapper. The two end up in a sword fight and the injured Vargas is brought to the Castillo de Alange to recuperate. At this point, the narrator announces that the Count of Alange and his two castles “…deserve a whole chapter to themselves, and they shall have it” (155). Another example of borrowing from Cervantes' narrative technique occurs when the narrator explains that “[w]hile Meneses is making the best of his way to Seville, the reader shall get there before him, and be admitted into the recesses of the palace of the Inquisition, by means of the powerful master-key of an historian” (89). These Cervantine techniques, the coincidence and the narrator's announcement of the content of the upcoming chapter, along with the plot similarities detailed above, are but a few of the many examples of how the Quijote influenced Dallas’s style.

Dallas mentions his real life experiences and encounter with the Castle of Alange in his autobiography: “The spurs of the Sierra Morena branch down into an extensive plain in Estremadura; in the midst of this plain there is a very remarkable object— an enormous solid rock, rising some five or six hundred feet, exactly shaped as a right-angled triangle, rising on the smaller base; one side perfectly perpendicular, more completely so than the Rock of Gibraltar; and on the summit there is celebrated Ermita, to which pilgrims resorted, but how they attained the height could not divine. It is called the Rock of Alange” (Incidents 66).
Dallas admires Cervantes’ novel for its humor and Cide Hamete’s narrative technique to maintain the reader’s interest, but the real purpose of the novel, as I stated earlier, is to criticize the tenets and fundaments of Catholicism. Dallas begins his assaults on Catholicism when the narrator explains Vargas’ biography. As a young man, Vargas begins to question his faith, and talks to a Priest to try to help him clarify and affirm his beliefs. However, after he talks to the Priest, the narrator explains that Vargas left “…in greater confusion than he began, and at length got so completely entangled in the maze of traditional tenets, and so disgusted with the inconsistencies of papal infallibility, that he lost the guiding star which had hitherto directed him in his anxious search after truth …” (228-29). The novel will expand upon these inquiries into perceived inadequacies of Catholic tenets and will profess the superiority of Protestantism as the plot unfolds.

As a young man, Vargas lived with the Bororquia family (spelled Bohorquia in the novel), and, so consumed was he with the study of theology, that he did not realize Cornelia’s growing feelings for him. It is, however, not his desire to marry her and to forego celibacy when he did discover his own feelings, but his doubts about Church doctrine that led him leave the Church. The narrator explains that he was not “content to wear the cloak of hypocrisy, [and] become a teacher of those tenets which he himself rejected” (I, 232). When he told the Marquis of his decision to abandon the priesthood, Cornelia’s father responded: “I shall instantly deliver you over to the Inquisition, with an accusation of heresy” (235). To avoid the prospect of jail, Vargas leaves for England. There, to allay suspicions of being Catholic, he goes to the Church of England and praises

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41 Autobiographical elements which mirror events in Blanco White’s are one of the details in the novel that led critics to conclude that he was the author, but there are similarities between the protagonist’s life and Dallas’s own biography.

42 As revealed in both his biography and his autobiography, Dallas abandoned his study of law to enter Oxford to study for the Anglican priesthood somewhere around 1818, and he was ordained in 1821 (Religious Tract Society 18-20).

43 Dallas wrote a book against popery entitled Popery in Ireland: a warning to protestants in England, but I have not been able to consult it. It is in the British Library. He also wrote Proslavism in Ireland: the Catholic Defense Association versus the Irish Church Missions on the charge of bribery and intimidation. In 1868 he translated The Spanish Reformed Church. The Declaration set forth by the Central Consistory of the Spanish Reformed Church. With some account of the members and their meetings at Gibraltar, on the 25th April and the 1st June, 1868. Translated from the Spanish, by ... A. Dallas. Another work is Controversy with the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago, on the great questions between Protestantism and Romanism; in letters between the Cardinal and the late Rev. Alexander Dallas. In fact, his bibliography is vast.
Anglicanism, whose simplicity contrasted with the “pompous decorations” and “ridiculous emblems” of the Catholic Church (256). With the counsel of a “moderate, amiable, and intelligent clergyman,” Vargas, the narrator explains that he “… became in a short time a sincere and earnest Protestant upon the conviction of his reason” (260-61). Vargas is able to return to Spain when Cornelia’s father forgives him, and once there, he converts Cornelia to Protestantism and they are secretly betrothed.

Cornelia though falls prey to the Archbishop of Seville who attempts to seduce her. This plotline, common to both Cornelia and Vargas, allows Dallas to move from criticizing Catholic theology to reveal the hypocrisy and corruption of some of the Church’s highest officials. Cornelia responds to the Archbishop’s assaults by eviscerating him with insults that don Quijote would have been proud to have used against Sancho Panza. Cornelia tells her abductor “Hold — pollute not the air with one word more, thou livid mass of carrion corruption; thou most execrable villain, every drop of whose blood carries a crime from the heart to be hatched in thy brain. — Thou black load of deformity, dost thou not hear the thunder of the Almighty in thy ears speaking curses to thy conscience—?” (II, 112).

Since she refuses to give in to his base desires, the Archbishop has Cornelia imprisoned in the Inquisition jail. Hoping to free her, Vargas follows the post road from Zaragoza to Seville, and as mentioned earlier, convalesces from his sword fight wounds at the castle of Alange. And he stays, as did don Quijote and Sancho, in an inn, as echoes of the Quijote continue. While he convalesces, Vargas witnesses a hermit who does daily penitence for having attempted to murder a child many years previously and, predictably enough, the child turned out to be Vargas himself, as he will find out at the end of the third volume. This priest is a “bigoted ascetic, who was tremblingly alive to the enormity of his crime, but whose proud mind sought to purchase an atonement for the rooted corruptions of his heart, by insane inflictions of corporal punishment” (192). The practice of self-flagellation allows clergy who have committed crimes to receive religious atonement instead of having to face the civil judicial system. This practice and the highly secret actions of the Inquisition allow the Church to act outside the law. Dallas uses the metaphors of light and dark to compare the Reformation to Catholic orthodoxy, saying that the Reformation has shed light over the “growth of religious despotism, which thrives in darkness” (II, 212). The lack of transparency has allowed the Inquisition to enjoy unbridled power and, like Gutiérrez in Cornelia, Dallas insists on the veracity of the horror stories of its practices. He remarks that “[s]ome of the crimes recorded of the Inquisition even so far exceed the common depth of the depravity of our nature, wretched as it is, that we might be

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44 This plot detail mirrors Blanco White’s own life story, and this makes one wonder if Dallas and Blanco were not friends or at least acquaintances in London.
allowed to doubt the best authenticated historian, if there were not existing undeniable indications of their truth, in the convincing remains of that monstrous engine of fanaticism which have been handed down to us” (II, 212). In *Vargas*, Dallas excoriates the offices and practices which allow the Church to act outside the law.

After recovering from his wounds, Vargas continues his journey to Seville, and the episodes of the plot allow Dallas to use his adventures to comment on other fundaments of Catholicism. In one episode, reminiscent of don Quijote’s adventures in the Cave of Montesinos or, perhaps, when Sancho falls into a cavern on his way back to the duke and duchess’s castle after abandoning his governorship (II, I.V), Vargas unmasks the recreation of a famous miracle. Vargas takes refuge in a grotto to escape the heat outside the town of Llerena, famous for its festival venerating St. Mark. The basis for the ceremony was a priest’s miraculous taming of a bull, and each year the ceremony recreates the miracle. In the grotto, awakened by the bull that has been taken there by villagers, Vargas witnesses the giving of wine to the bull to make him drunk and then watches as they tie his legs together with fishing line. For Vargas, the townspeople were being duped and were “the gay slaves of bigotry, who hugged their chains and laughed at their own mental blindness” in a display of what he calls “disgraceful paganism” (II, 255, 259). Dallas unmasks the theater of re-enacting purported miracles, but he goes one step further at the end of the novel, suggesting that miracles were brazenly invented to dupe the public or to cover up grievous actions. To distract the crowd from attacking his companion, Vargas tells them of the trickery, revealing that “The bull is not domesticated but drunken; stupefied with the fumes of wine, and tamed by torture” (266).

Vargas does finally arrive in Seville, and he is ultimately able to free Cornelia, but to do so he also has to kidnap the Archbishop. Three months after his abduction, the Archbishop returns to Seville, and Church officials

45 Cervantine allusions continue in this scene when his traveling companion’s horse kicks the bull, recalling the scene when Rocinante wanted to “refolcilarse con las señoras facas” (I, XV, 191).

46 About idolatry, he writes the following in his autobiography: “The city was all astir upon the occasion of the Corpus Christi day, so that we saw Ceuta in its holiday condition. I will not refer to the exhibition of idolatry which the procession afforded, nor to the painful evidence of devotion of the people to what they imagined to be God, in whose train number of images of various saints (so called) were carried. Though at that time I did not feel what I have since felt when I have witnessed similar scenes of Romish idolatry, yet even then I was struck by the dullness of the minds which give their worship to such objects; and the remembrance of the procession at Ceuta has often helped me to expose the delusion since it has been manifested more plainly to myself” (46).
are faced with a dilemma as they had earlier decided to make him a saint to cover up his absence. Not being able to afford revealing that the miracle attributed to the Archbishop that lead to his beatification was a farce, they decide to lock him up in prison rather than admit their invention (III, 322). 

Ridiculing the public’s gullibility, the narrator explains that “[t]he bigotry with which the people gave credit to all that was told them, was amply exemplified in this, as in many other of the miracles recorded in the Romish calendar” (315).

In conclusion, in 1819, Diego Correa published an edition of the anti-Inquisition Cornelia, to be able to comment from England on constitutional reform and to denounce Fernando VII. One of his main lines of criticism was that the Constitution insisted on the supremacy of Catholicism by declaring it the official national religion. In his Cartas de Juan Sintierra, Blanco also criticizes the Constitutional Courts for the same thing, calling it a blemish on the dawning of liberty in Spain. Correa echoes Blanco’s criticism because he felt that establishing Catholicism as the only permitted religion in Spain gave Fernando VII carte blanche to take control of the country and to revoke the Constitution. Correa did not criticize the Catholic religion but rather the Courts for making it the only religion permitted in his homeland.

In his quixotic Vargas, Dallas goes much farther as he augmented Cornelia’s plot, which he almost certainly learned about from Correa’s edition, along with his extensive commentary, with Cervantine plot details to openly attack not only the Inquisition but Catholic orthodoxy in general. Over four hundred years ago, Cervantes

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47 In his edition of the Cartas de Juan Sintierra, Moreno Alonso reprints Blanco’s comments on this facet of the Constitution in an Appendix. Blanco wrote that “El artículo 12 de la Constitución es una nube que oscurece la aurora de la libertad que amanece en España” (142).

48 Blanco was a pragmatist and he realized that the legislative structure as adopted by the Cortes would not work as he recognized the need to give a voice to the nobles and to the clergy in their own legislative body (cited in Cartas a Lord Holland . . . , edited by Manuel Moreno Alonso, 78-79). In a recent article, Javier Fernández Sebastián, instead of pointing out negative effects of the establishment of Catholicism as the official religion of the country, describes the motives of the Cortes, writing that “The objective for those liberal elites, at the turn of the nineteenth century, was … to constitutionalize Catholicism, making it the national religion, a measure which implied the abolition of the Inquisition and the subjection of the Church to civil authority” (196). Later in this same article, entitled “Toleration and Freedom of Expression in the Hispanic World Between Enlightenment and Liberalism,” he cites Agustín de Argüelles, who, twenty years after he wrote article 12, which established this provision, observed that doing so was “un error desastroso” (195).
satirized seventeenth-century Spain in *Don Quijote* and the novel’s verisimilitude, narrational style and humor revolutionized prose fiction and influenced novelists who turned to Cervantes’ text for inspiration in a myriad of different fashions. Dallas’s quixotic enterprise was more limited in scope than was Cervantes’ work in that his initiative was to lambaste Catholicism rather than to comment more broadly on late Enlightenment Spain. Returning to the definitions and descriptions of just what quixotic or quixotism is, we can conclude that Dallas was neither impractical nor impulsive, but rather that he made calculated use of plot elements of the *Quijote* to achieve his satirical goals.

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FEMALE QUIXOTISM IN THE TRANSATLANTIC ENLIGHTENMENT: FERNÁNDEZ DE LIZARÍ’S *LA QUIJOTITA Y SU PRIMA*

CATHERINE M. JAFFE
Texas State University

Recent scholarship on the Enlightenment has moved away from considerations of its universalizing narratives of empiricism, skepticism, and liberalism to elaborate a more complex understanding of the relationship between overlapping Enlightenments enabled by the transnational circulation of discourses, texts, and ideas (Astigarraga 1-8). The Atlantic has come to be recognized as “an important conceptual paradigm” for Enlightenment studies, according to Susan Manning and Francis Cogliano: “The Atlantic was a crucial space that allowed for exchange, mutual influence and conflict between the peoples of four continents; its crossing needs to be understood as both a literal action whose material conditions require elucidation and analysis, and a culturally dense symbolic experience in which ideas, beliefs, and consciousness itself were transformed” (3-4). Charles Withers suggests that, rather than looking at the Atlantic Enlightenment geographically in a national context, it be considered “as a space of margins and [...] flows” (“Where was the Atlantic Enlightenment?” 42; *Placing Enlightenment*), allowing for the movement of ideas and practices that displace the idea of periphery and center and travel between the New World and the Old.

The migration of texts back and forth across borders depends not only on linguistic translation from one national language to another but also on cultural adaptation. Stephanie Stockhorst proposes a “cultural transfer” model for translation that takes into account “the complexity, processuality, and reciprocity of intercultural exchange relations” (20). As texts circulated through the Atlantic world, they were adapted through translation to new
national contexts. Translations in turn were sometimes reintroduced to an earlier context. Reminding us that theories and practices of translation evolve over time, Mary Helen McMurrin has argued that as novels spread through translation during the eighteenth century, a common pre-modern translation theory grounded in “authority, temporality, and imitation” gradually gave way by the early nineteenth century to “a new bifurcated matrix of translation: the national and the foreign” (15). This practice of translation legitimized the nationalizing of texts to suit their audience. These models emphasize the process of the give and take of the movement of ideas and texts during the Enlightenment rather than insisting on tracing a simple movement from original text to its production in another language, culture, and nation. Imitation, appropriation, adaptation, and nationalization expand the concept of translation.

As books and ideas circulated throughout the Atlantic world in the eighteenth century, quixotism stands out as a distinctively Spanish literary model manifested in many transatlantic and inter-American adaptations. Cervantine novels, in the words of Stephen Gilman, connect this Atlantic world: “within the ocean of prose fiction there is a Cervantine Gulf Stream traceable but not rigorously surveyable” (xv). While Cervantine novels refer formally to Cervantes’s work, Aaron Hanlon proposes understanding the notoriously slippery notion of quixotism as a particular character mode (“Towards a Counter-Poetics” 142-143). Scholars have studied the process through which in the course of their circulation, translation, and adaptation, quixotism and quixotes have been detached from, or reclaimed for, their Spanish origins. Analyzing the quixotic character in the context of world literature, Hanlon points out that the uprooting of the character of don Quijote from the Spanish national context allows the quixote to become a vehicle to define other national characters: “Quixote is a model of heuristic problems arising from deracination, imitation, and distortion, a figure belonging simultaneously to the Spanish Golden Age and the wider literary world” (“Quixotism as Global Heuristic” 49-50). Amelia Dale discusses how “English interpretations, appropriations and transpositions of the figure of Don Quixote play a pivotal role in eighteenth-century constructions of English ‘national character’” (5), and Elizabeth Lewis describes the “ways both Spain and England found evidence of Don Quijote in the Spanish landscape while they also used the novel as evidence of each nation’s cultural superiority” (35-36).49

Discussions of transnational quixotism during the Enlightenment have often overlooked its colonial Latin American and Spanish peninsular

49 Françoise Étienvre describes how Spanish intellectuals in the eighteenth century came to view Cervantes’s novel as a “símbolo nacional” (103), and Pedro Álvarez de Miranda discusses the prolific linguistic production of terms associated with the Quijote in eighteenth-century Spain (“La estela lingüística” 43-69).
iterations in favor of British and American examples. During the late eighteenth century, British satirical writers from both the political right and the left employed the quixotic motif to comment on reactions to the French Revolution. Sarah Wood notes, “It was [a] promiscuously circulated and politically contested Quixote, rather than Cervantes’s Spanish original, who crossed the Atlantic with the influx of British literature imports into America both before and after independence” (“Transatlantic Cervantes” 113). Don Quijote, according to Wood, was often invoked in American fiction to “expostulate on the dangers of political extremism at either end of the spectrum” (“Transatlantic Cervantes” 122). Similarly, eighteenth-century Spanish imitations and continuations of the Quixote tended to satirize such excesses as the bad education of youth, scholasticism, and aristocratic presumptions, while early nineteenth-century Spanish quixotic imitations reveal a reactionary nationalistic discourse that denounces liberal or Napoleonic ambitions (Álvarez de Miranda, “Sobre el Quijotismo” 32-34). Francisco Aguilar Piñal identifies two tendencies of eighteenth-century Spanish quixotic satire. In the first, positive, tendency, enlightened intellectuals admiringly imitate Cervantes in order to moralize and correct society by vanquishing “los residuos barrocos de la vida y las costumbres, en nombre de la razón y del buen gusto” (210); the second, often embodied in adaptations and in characters modeled after Sancho Panza (as Ana Rueda discusses in her article in this cluster), is a negative deployment of satire to denounce quixotic vanity and pretensions to nobility and unmerited social advancement. This second aspect of eighteenth-century Spanish quixotism reflects the approach adopted by Mexican novelist Fernández de Lizardi in his quixotic novel.

**Lizardi’s Colonial Female Quixote**

José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi (1776-1827) was a Mexican journalist and pamphleteer who published political, moral, and cultural commentary in his newspaper *El Pensador Mexicano* (1812-1814). Influenced by Enlightenment philosophical rationalism, he was progressive and revolutionary although wary of certain ideas of the philosophes that might confuse liberty with libertinism (Ruiz Catañeda xii-xiii). Lizardi wrote four novels between 1816-1820, most notably *El periquillo sarniento*, considered Latin America’s first novel. He was imprisoned for his political views several times and was excommunicated for supporting Freemasonry (Vogeley, “Fernández de Lizardi” and Lizardi 30-34). *La Quijotita y su prima* (1818-1819, 1832) is a didactic novel about women’s education and conduct published during Mexico’s struggle for independence, “una novela ensayo” that the author himself classified as “una obra de crítica moral” (Ruiz Catañeda xii). Through his female quixotic protagonist, Lizardi critiques traditional values associated with Spain, such as regard for aristocratic titles and superstitious religious practices associated with Baroque Catholicism, as well as modern customs such as luxury and coquetry.
"Quixotes and Quixotisms in the Hispanic Enlightenment"

Published in installments between 1818 and 1819 and in a complete version in 1832, *La Quijotita y su prima* reflects the Enlightenment’s concern for women’s education as a crucial index for the progress of a modern society. Lizardi draws on influential Enlightenment texts for his didactic content, such as *Traité de l’éducation des filles* (1687) by the French Roman Catholic archbishop and writer François Fénelon (1651-1715) and Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s *Émile* (1762), both of which advocated a limited education for girls to prepare them to be better wives and mothers. Other influences on Lizardi’s thought on women are the *Essai sur le caractère, les mœurs et l'esprit des femmes dans les différents siècles* (1772) by French writer Antoine Léonard Thomas, “Defensa de las mugeres” (1726) by the Spanish essayist and monk, Benito Jerónimo Feijoo, and various articles by Lizardi’s contemporary, Mexican journalist Juan Wenceslao Sánchez de la Barquera, who wrote about women’s education and the amount of “ilustración” that women should be allowed (Ruiz Castañeda xiii-xvi).

Lizardi adapts the arguably most powerful literary model of Spain by creating a cautionary Enlightenment female quixote set in a colonial Mexican context, thus “domesticating empire,” to echo Karen Stolley’s phrase (1-10). Like the North American author Tabitha Gilman Tenney’s

50 María del Carmen Ruiz Castañeda, in her introduction to the Porrúa edition of *La Quijotita*, Nancy Vogeley, in chapter 7 of *Lizardi and the Birth of the Novel in Spanish America*, and Graciela Michelotti, in her introduction to her 2008 edition of *La Quijotita*, provide important context and analysis of Lizardi’s work.
Female Quixotism: Exhibited in the Romantic Opinions and Extravagant Adventures of Dorcasina Sheldon, *La Quijotita* interrogates the role of rank, race, and gender in the construction of the national subject during the birth of a new nation (Hanlon, “Maids, Mistresses” 90-94). Lizardí’s novel was published almost seventy years after Charlotte Lennox’s well-known British novel of 1752, *The Female Quixote*, and it is uncertain whether Lizardí had read either Tenney’s novel or the 1808 Spanish translation of Lennox’s novel by Bernardo María de Calzada, *El quijote con faldas* (Vogeley, Lizardí 289-290). Lizardí offers what appears to be an original interpretation of the female quixotic character, a translation through the re-gendering, appropriation, and nationalization of Cervantes’s character to a colonial Mexican context.

The young protagonist in *La Quijotita* adopts the decadent values that colonial reformers associated with Spain: a ruinous dedication to fashion and disdain for work; ignorant and superstitious religious faith; and a blind reverence for aristocratic titles. This essay argues that in Lizardí’s novel Spain is an ambivalent cultural model that serves as both the cultural foundation of Mexican society (represented by allusions to Cervantes and other Spanish writers) and as the decadent colonial ruler whose moral values must be rejected (the anti-heroic female quixote); as at once the image of modernity (progress and Enlightenment, articulated by Quijotita’s father Rodrigo), and the embodiment of an outdated social hierarchy (the fraudulent claim to an aristocratic title that finally undoes the protagonist).

As Nancy Vogeley has argued, in *La Quijotita* Lizardí not only takes up the status of women in colonial society, but also casts his analysis of women’s nature and role in society against the backdrop of race and class in Mexico (Lizardí 188). Vogeley contends that Lizardí’s novel also differs from other female quixotic models such as Lennox’s *The Female Quixote* because the author intended his novel for a primarily male audience, readers less interested in women’s political and social agency or sentimental life than were Anglo-American women consumers of sentimental novels (Lizardí 188-89). However, it seems reasonable that, given Lizardí’s frequent invocation of women’s voices in his periodical works, he would also have envisioned that his novel would be read by—or read to—women. His prologue to *La Quijotita*, for example, is comprised of a letter from a female reader sent to *El Pensador* requesting a novel that would critique the excesses of women’s behavior, as his *Periquillo sarniento* had done for men: “Sería, pues, una empresa recomendable dar a luz una obrita, que sin zaherir generalmente al sexo, ridiculizara los defectos más comunes, que en él se advierten” (xxv).

*La Quijotita y su prima* is a didactic novel, a fictionalized conduct manual, that begins with a series of conversations between Rodrigo, his wife

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51 All quotations from the text are taken from the Porrúa edition.
Matilde, and his daughter Pudenciana, the cousin of the Quijotita, Pomposa. Comparing Matilde to her sister Eufrósina, Pomposa’s mother, Lizardi portrays how good and bad parents raise their daughters. The novel also contains several connected but independent stories, but as an exemplary tale it chiefly narrates the mistaken education that leads to the misadventures and tragic end of Pomposa, contrasting it with the virtuous and rational upbringing given to her cousin. The chapters are narrated by a pupil of Rodrigo who observes the action and occasionally interacts with the characters. The characters’ names, as Ruiz Castañeda notes, are symbolic (xx). Pudenciana’s father Rodrigo (whose name recalls his castizo, Castilian heritage) embodies Enlightenment reason and authority and instructs his wife and daughter about proper female behavior. Lizardi incorporates many Enlightenment prescriptions for women’s behavior and education into his novel: he advocates breast feeding and parents’ direct involvement with their children’s education; he denounces the influence of fashion and luxury; he advocates useful education that will produce helpful wives and dutiful mothers; he proposes a new, responsible model of masculinity that supports middle-class values of sobriety, reason, virtue, education, devotion to family, and hard work. Poor Pomposa (pompous or inflated) is the victim of the bad education imparted to her by her mother, Eufrósina (mirth). The diminutives “Pomposita” and “Quijotita” that are used repeatedly in the novel emphasize her youth and reveal a condescending attitude on the part of the narrator. Eufrósina represents for Lizardi a misguided “modern” woman, a “petimetra” (1) who dedicates herself to social life, visits, fashion, and shopping, and who doesn’t bother to bring her own daughter up properly. Her flawed character is attributed to the bad judgement and indulgence of her husband, Dionisio (sensuality), who is effeminate and cowardly and consents to all his wife’s misguided desires. Spoiled by her incorrigible mother, Pomposita comes to believe that her beauty will conquer any man’s heart and that through beauty alone she deserves to marry a nobleman. Her cousin Pudenciana (prudence), in contrast, learns a trade and consults her parents before marrying wisely. After ruining her father’s fortune through her taste for luxury, Pomposa loses all her remaining inheritance when she marries, at her mother’s urging, a deceitful “gachupín” who claims to be a Spanish “marqués”. He is arrested for fraud after their marriage and Pomposa’s mother, now destitute, prostitutes her daughter. Pomposa dies, horribly disfigured, of syphilis.

The interplay between a heterogeneous colonial society in

52 Ruiz Castañeda asserts that an anonymous article that appeared in 1810 in the Semanario Económico de México (29 de noviembre y 6 de diciembre), “Diálogo entre Cecilia y Feliciano sobre educación de las niñas,” was probably written by Sánchez de la Barquera and was the source for Lizardi’s novel (xvi).
transformation and the values inherited from the imperial home of Spain and Europe underlies the antitheses between good and bad mothers, fathers, and daughters that drive the novel. In her study of “Quixotes, Imitations, and Transatlantic Genres,” Eve Bannet analyzes the importance of literary and epistolary models to the dissemination of culture and new forms of sociability in transatlantic cultures. Bannet describes transnational models of conduct in quixotic works: “In an imperial age dominated by rivalry and war, and in a world altered by social and geographical mobility, by the transnational circulation of books, and by the expansion of the reading public, quixotic texts repeatedly put into question the continued applicability of anachronistic transnational imitations in conduct and writing to different ranks, localities, and genders” (553). For the colonies fighting to distinguish themselves from the models of the colonizer and to forge an independent identity, quixotic texts offered opportunities to evaluate critically outmoded values such as, for example, the worship of aristocratic titles, that were opposed to the newly emergent middle class values of industry, domestic economy, and affective familiar ties. According to Bannet, transnational genres were adapted to a new cultural context by the adoption and variation of certain, but not all, motifs (557). Later, material from the new cultural context would be inserted, transforming the generic model (561). By employing the expectations of the original model, the new work also questioned its viability in the new cultural context (564). Satire was used by later colonial writers to serve pedagogical ends, and Lizardi’s novel, published in installments, aimed to reach through new media a wider public of middle-class readers (Johnson 159). Colonial writers Lizardi and, as we shall see, Tabitha Gilman Tenney in Female Quixotism (1801), use their female quixotes, who imitate bad or outdated models, as synecdoques of the colonial subject to critique their societies.

**Quixotism as Coquetry**

Aaron Hanlon’s proposal of the character mode of the quixote as “exception” is especially helpful to elucidate the process of cultural adaptation in Lizardi’s novel. The quixote is characterized by an imaginative response to idealistic fiction, comes from a literate but not necessarily wealthy background, and aspires to a wealthy lifestyle. The quixotic is also traditional associated with the mimetic; quixotes imitate literary models and often inspire imitations. Finally, Hanlon claims that quixotes consider themselves as exceptions and “follow imitated codes above the rules, laws, customs, and modes of scrutiny that govern their surrounding societies” (“Toward a Counter-Poetics” 151-152).

Lizardi applies his understanding of quixotism to Pomposita very clearly, but in two seemingly distinct ways. First, he describes Pomposa as ridiculously proud, a beauty who will use men’s affection to achieve her goal of a wealthy, aristocratic life. As Ruiz Castañeda observes, a superficial interpretation of the quixote as an extravagant and ridiculous madman was
common in popular colonial literature of Lizardi’s day (xvii). Lizardi attributes the girl’s delusions in part to her reading. Eufrosina owns novels by María de Zayas, seen as the time as scandalous, and other classic and Enlightenment Spanish works, but claims to have no time to read them or the serious works on education proposed by her brother-in-law Rodrigo. Pomposa reads light, amorously-themed sainetes and comedias (49). Both Pomposa and her mother are portrayed as frivolous readers, and their disordered reading and inability to discern between good and bad books show the lack of criteria and judgement often attributed to women readers in the eighteenth century (Jaffe, “Suspect Pleasure”; “Lectora y lectura femenina”). Pomposa, Lizardi insists, is not herself a bad woman, but rather is a product of a defective education; she imitates the wrong models.

Pomposa’s coquetry and claim of power over men because of her beauty, however, can also be seen as a reaction to the lessons of female subordination imparted by her uncle Rodrigo. Matilde had asked her husband to explain how he can claim that women are inferior when men treat women gallantly as idols. Rodrigo refers to the works of Fénelon and Thomas, mentioned above, to claim that although women’s spirits or souls are the same as men’s, women are inferior to men physically. They are therefore subject to men and owe men obedience, but in turn men must treat women with respect, and their honorable treatment of the weaker sex is an index of civilization (27-37).

Pomposa’s mother, however, rejects this subordinate status and encourages the girl to think very highly of herself, her beauty, and her power over men, and Lizardi satirizes her pretentiousness as quixotism. After debating with his fellow students various nicknames for the young Pomposa that would refer to her beauty, pride, and vanity, such as “la Aventada,” “la Venus,” “Medusa,” “la Desdeñosa,” the witty Sansón Carrasco declares that the girl really ought to be called “la Quijotita” because:

Don Quijote era un loco y doña Pomposa es otra loca. Don Quijote tenía muy lúcidos intervalos en los que se explicaba bellamente, no tocándole sobre caballería; doña Pomposa tiene los suyos, en los que no desagrada su conversación; pero delira en tocándole sobre puntos de amor y de hermosura. El fantasma que perturbaba el juicio de don Quijote era crecerse el más esforzado caballero, nacido para resucitar su orden andantesca; el que ocupa el cerebro de doña Pomposa es juzgar que es la más hermosa y la más cabal dama del mundo, nacida para vengar su sexo de los desprecios que sufre de los hombres…. (166-167)

As in Hanlon’s quixotic character attributes outlined above, Pomposa has an imaginative sense of her own worth derived from her reading. She aspires to wealth and prestige and considers herself an exception to the middle-class values of work, respect, and modesty represented by her uncle’s family. Pomposa’s quixotic coquetry is a rebellion against social
hierarchy in which women are destined to occupy a subordinate position. She is not an idealist like Cervantes’s don Quijote, however, because her values are flawed and narcissistic. Unlike other females quixotes, such as Lennox’s Arabella and Tenney’s Dorcasina, Pomposa does not desire an ideal love that would transcend the economic and class interests of matrimony. She is rather a perverse idealist.

Quixotism as Saintly Heroism

Pomposa also displays a second type of quixotism, religious heroism, that is related to her coquetry through her misguided education and sense of exceptionalism. Although Cervantes subtly criticizes Baroque Catholic practices in his novel, don Quijote steadfastly denies that he is like a saint; rather, he imitates chivalric heroes like Amadís of Gaul when he does penance—in the name of his lady, not of God—in the Sierra Morena. Lizardi shares Cervantes’s anti-clericalism and more openly ridicules Baroque Catholicism by criticizing superstitious practices, a central aspect of Catholic Enlightenment reform (Lehner, Smidt). As James Riley observes, Spanish Bourbon reformers of the Church had tried to suppress Baroque practices, but they ironically alienated the colonial intellectual elite as well as the masses, setting the stage for the difficult nineteenth-century relations between State and Church in Mexico (374). Riley stresses the similarity between the spiritual beliefs of Indians, mestizos, and the Creole elites: “The pursuit of ascetic rigour as an avenue to mystical experience drew Inquisition attention both to the wives of Creole bureaucrats and to illiterate indigenous beatas (holy women)” (382). Lizardi draws attention to this mixture of orthodox and syncretic religious practices in Mexico with his Quijotita.

Pomposa, neglected by her mother, listens to the ghost stories told by her indigenous servants and becomes extremely superstitious. A beata who represents the most retrograde aspects of Catholicism encourages her fears and inculcates in her the most superficial practices of her religion, all with her mother’s approbation. After believing she hears ghosts and devils in her room, Pomposa decides to dedicate herself to a religious life and attends many masses and Church festivals with her mother. She reads books about saints that inspire her to go live as a hermit in imitation of the twelfth-century Saint Rosalía of Naples: “Había dado Pomposa en que era santa y que para hacer milagros no le faltaba sino vivir en el yermo. La vieja beata con sus elogios y cuentos la alucinaba más cada día” (238). Pomposa asks herself, “¿Qué me detiene para ser ermitaña? Todo lo tengo: cílios, disciplinas, ceras, Cristo, novenas, libros de votos, ampolletas y calavera. Estoy prevenida de todo como las vírgenes prudentes…” (238). Like don Quijote, the girl costumes herself for her role. She dons “una vieja carpeta verde” that she fashions as a “saco” or tunic and escapes from her house to begin imitating her saintly heroines: “¡Adiós, mundo engañoso y miserable; adiós placeres venenosos, gustos acíbarados, compañías y amistades...”
Lizardi’s narration of Pomposa’s pilgrimage to the rural outskirts of the city abounds in colorful details that describe the heterogeneous Mexican *pueblo*. The colonial government attempted to monitor and control the bodies of the “populacho” and its disorderly activities, such as drinking pulque, which was regulated rather than banned because it was important to the local economy and for tax revenue (Carrera 116). The spaces Pomposa travels through while escaping from the city taint her body and she becomes a living example of why women were seen to be susceptible to cultural mixing and moral laxity. After waiting until dark in “la pulquería que llaman de los Loquitos” (238), Pomposa makes her way to “la garita de San Cosme,” the fortified gate regulated by a drawbridge that symbolizes the border between the metropolis and the countryside, the urban and rural, through which the authorities attempted to control the flow of goods and people in the colony. The Spanish soldiers who guard the gate would normally frequent the local pulquerías where they boasted of their exploits fighting against the French in Spain, “pues que por la mayor parte eran de gachupines las tropas que destinaban a esos puestos…” (239), another example of the social, racial, and cultural mixing that occurs in these suspicious public spaces.

When Pomposa attempts to escape the city through the gate, the guards at the “garita de San Cosme” are attending a wake for a young woman in a nearby house. One of the soldiers, a “gallego desmoralizado,” jocosely insults the dead girl and claims that he had seen “unos reverendos más rollizos que los jatos y comadrejas de su convento” entering her house. A “lego fernandino español” praying at the wake accuses him of blasphemy and threatens him with the Inquisition, while the other soldiers, inspired by the funereal scene, tell tales about “espantos, apariciones y demonios” (239). Later, when the “gallego” is guarding the gate and its drawbridge, Pomposa gives him a severe fright as she passes through dressed, “según le pareció, de su mortaja, con un santo cristo colgado al cuello, y su corona de flores ajadas y deslucidas” (240). This mixture of heretical beliefs, official corruption, and repressive authority occurs in the hybrid spaces thorough which Pomposa travels.

Pomposa’s passing through the “garita de San Cosme” represents the circulation of peoples, beliefs, and ideas between imperial, colonial, and indigenous cultures in the city. It also prefigures Pomposa’s own death as a syphilitic prostitute at the novel’s end, for her wandering about the city alone ineluctably associates her with the “public” quality of the fallen woman. Lizardi emphasizes this lapse when Pomposa’s foolish mother posts a sign announcing that the girl is missing: “Quien hubiere hallado una niña bonita como de quince años, que se extravió anoche como a las diez, de su casa, y se fue en camisa y naguas [sic] blancas, ocurra a entregarla a mi casa y le daré un buen hallazgo” (243). Realizing the harm that it would do to the girl’s reputation, Pomposa’s sensible uncle Rodrigo takes the notice...
down and proposes more discreet means to locate his niece.

Pomposa wanders outside the city for hours towards Chapultepec until she falls asleep, exhausted. A terrible thunder storm awakens her and she decides to pray to make the rain stop. Pleased with her apparent success, she sits under a tree and prostrates herself to pray, but when she hears a strange sound inside her small valise, she imagines it is the skeleton moving around inside it and faints from fear. An indigenous “carbonero” finds her and takes her home to his “jacal,” where his wife cares for her by dressing her by the “tlecuile” (brazier) in dry clothes, a vermin-infested “quexquemel” (poncho or shawl) and “huepile” (indigenous blouse) and gives her “un jarro de alote” to drink (243). Pomposa falls ill with a terrible fever, and the “indios” open her valise to try to discover her identity. A mouse jumps out, solving the enigma of the strange rattling noise Pomposa had heard. The narrator, true to Enlightenment principles, asserts that reason can overcome superstition: “Este fue el parto de la calavera, como en otro tiempo el de los montes, un ridículo ratón. Casi todos los espantos tienen iguales principios” (243). The “indios” manage to contact Pomposa’s family, who bring her home in a carriage. Ironically, Lizardi contrasts the sensible and honorable indigenous couple who care for Pomposa to the ignorant beata and the superstitious and immoral soldiers. The corruption of colonial society —religious, civic, moral— extends to the city gates, but not out to the countryside. Pomposa’s ridiculous hermit’s costume gives way to filthy indigenous garments as her body bears the signs of cultural mixing.

After this ill-fated attempt at heroism and discouraged by fever and vermin, Pomposa abandons the path to sainthood and in a reference to the burning of don Quijote’s library in Cervantes’s novel, her mother burns all her daughter’s religious books: “¡Id al fuego, pervertidores del talento de mi hija! No, no más virtud en mi casa, no más libros devotos, no más encierro, no rezos. Desde este instante yo haré que vuelva a reinar en el corazón de mi hija la alegría y que se divierta como siempre” (245). Yet the pattern has been set; Pomposita has been associated with the women of the public streets; her passage through the gates of the city alone has put her into circulation as a tainted commodity. Her father, “acobardado por su mujer,” consents to all the extravagances of his wife and daughter, and the narrator concludes, “¿qué otra cosa se debe esperar de una devoción falsa ni de una virtud aparente y mal entendida?” (245). Pomposa dedicates herself anew to coquetry and to the conquest of a noble title. She tells her modest cousin Pudenciana, who seeks her parents’ guidance about her own suitors: “Por eso no me quiero casar con ningún hombre que no sea título y mayordago, […] no, en todo caso que sea mi novio rico y con seguridad; pues, que sea por lo menos marqués” (252). Pomposa rejects traditional religious devotion but adopts an outmoded respect for aristocratic titles, and moves from one scandalous situation to another in their pursuit.

After Pomposa’s family loses sight of her and her mother for several years, an old, filthy, ragged woman suddenly appears to summon them to
her house, where she has given Pomposa refuge. Her cousin and aunt find her “cubierta en asquerosísimos andrajos y hecha un esqueleto” (289), an image that recalls her adventure as a hermit when she carried a skull and ended up dressed in filthy indigenous clothes. Like that time, she is terribly ill with a high fever, and the doctor diagnoses “un gálico irremediable, como lo decían bien claro las úlceras de boca y nariz y las llagas de las piernas” (291). Pomposa repents and dies soon after. After narrating her death scene with suitable pathos, Lizardi, like Cervantes, quickly switches to a satiric mode to end the novel:

Quijotita, ¿de qué sirvieron
Tus monadas y embelesos,
Si al fin reducida a huesos
Todas tus gracias se vieron
Y en polvo se convirtieron
Tus formas tan exquisitas?
Desengaño, mujercitas,
Pensad con más madurez,
En lograr buena vejez
Negada a las Quijotitas. (292)

Lizardi recalls the desengaño motif of the Baroque with these verses, but the devastating final portrait he paints of his Quijotita gives his critique an especially cruel tone.

Whereas women writers of the Enlightenment like Josefa Amar in her 1790 Discurso sobre la educación física y moral de las mujeres (López-Cordón Cortezo), or Inés Joyes y Blake in her 1798 Apología de las mujeres (Bolufer) had advocated women’s education as a consolation to them in later life when they would be less distracted by family cares and society, Lizardi paints a ruinous end for women who do not heed their fathers’ instruction and accept their subordinate rank in social and family hierarchies. Analyzing the body and colonial space in Lizardi’s more famous novel El periquillo sarniento (1816-1820), Magali Carrera concludes that “the body in Lizardi’s writing is employed to contrast the elite space/elite body with the plebeian space/plebeian body” (132). In La Quijotita, Lizardi’s Pomposa represents the female body, malleable and permeable to the diverse ideas, values, foods, infestations, and diseases that characterize her society. Pomposa is a transgressive, hybrid, colonial subject because she attempts to escape the control represented by her uncle and family. Her quixotism is marked as feminine because although Lizardi emphasizes the role of education and the responsibility of families, Pomposa is shown to be guilty of specifically feminine vices of vanity and superstition, and the victim of a bad mother who is responsible for the suffering and disfigurement enacted on her daughter’s body.
Circulating Colonial American Female Quixotism

Lizardi adapts the female quixotic character, then, in two contradictory ways — coquetry and religious heroism — to interrogate the authority of colonial institutions in Mexico. He criticizes the mistaken esteem of the criollos for what he sees as superficial and decadent values of Spain, such as luxury and aristocratic privileges. He denounces in a more veiled way the role of the Catholic Church in the colony and shows that it exercised a great deal of control over the population by maintaining it in ignorance, superstition, and poverty instead of providing an enlightened education.

Vogeley explains that enlightened Mexicans wanted to adopt modern social European customs that defended women’s education and proposed a new value for women’s role in society. But women were traditionally and symbolically associated with the indigenous and their inferior status in social hierarchy, a crucial aspect of mestizaje, for racial mixing usually occurred through the union of an indigenous female and a European male. “In La Quijotita, a novel for women,” writes Vogeley, “[Lizardi] confronts women’s natures, thereby inquiring what the nature of any subordinate (that is, a colonial) may be” (Lizardi 25). Lizardi’s La Quijotita “considers questions that go to the heart of colonial rule. Displaced onto ‘woman’ are criollo concerns about what inferiority might mean …” (Lizardi 188). Both aspects of Pomposa’s female quixotism — coquetry and religious heroism — are imitated behaviors that are a response to women’s subservient position in society. What Mariselle Meléndez has concluded about the Enlightenment and images of women in colonial Peru could equally be applied to Lizardi’s late colonial era novel: “The compatibility between the empirical attitude toward knowledge, Spanish Catholicism, Bourbon centralism, and patriotic fervor present in eighteenth-century cultural production in Peru made of the female body an instrument of knowledge and a vital part of the formation of healthy and productive citizens” (174). Lizardi scrutinizes and interrogates through his female quixote, who circulates through the city and whose body is destroyed by its vices and failings, the colonial subject’s permeability and potential for virtue or corruption.

La Quijotita y su prima bears more relation to Tenney’s American novel Female Quixotism than it does to Lennox’s mid-century British novel. Instead of arranging a happy ending for their protagonists after their disillusionment, as had Lennox, Lizardi and Tenney conclude with the defeat of their female quixotes. Pomposita ends up much worse, morally and physically, than Tenney’s quixote Dorcasina, who describes herself at the novel’s end as “solitary, neglected, and despised” (324). Dorcasina ends her life as a grey-haired spinster who devotes herself and her remaining fortune to charitable works for other unhappy women. In her final letter, she warns a friend not to be deluded with romantic novels, as she had been. Although her father left her an excellent library that “consists of a well-judged selection of modern books” (325), Dorcasina blames her defective education for her inability to learn from and delight in this reading. Tenney
shares with Lizardi the Enlightenment belief in the role of education to regulate women’s behavior. Like Lizardi, Tenney questions the hybrid values of her newly-formed nation, showing its vices and corruption, both imported and native (Davidson xxii-xxiii). Dolcasina is fooled by a deceitful Irishman who is really a criminal, and Pomposita is ruined by a “gaditano” who pretends to be an aristocrat and absconds with her inheritance. Both novels question through their female characters how well the new nation is serving its citizens (Wood, "Transatlantic Cervantes" 121). But like Lennox, Tenney portrays a sympathetic, idealistic, although deluded female quixote, whereas Lizardi’s corrupted Quijotita seems to deserve her bad end for her presumption and vanity.

In the process of the cultural transfer of translation, female quixotism circulates to the colonies and returns to Spain later in the nineteenth century. By the end of the eighteenth century, quixotism was no longer exclusively Spanish; it was a transnational model. When it moved back across the Atlantic and took root again in its native country, it would bring with it the multiple meanings and semantic possibilities it had accumulated during its travels. The aspect of religious heroism that Lizardi gives to his female quixote can be seen as a precursor to the adaptation of this transatlantic model by anti-clerical novelists such as Armando Palacio Valdés, in Marta y María (1883), and Leopoldo Alas, Clarín, in La Regenta, (1884-5), among others, who create female quixotes dedicated to saintly heroism. Like Lizardi, these novelists reveal their anxiety about modernity by questioning women’s role in the social changes associated with the process of modernization; by associating the feminine with the decadence of outdated aristocratic values and with the fear of the social chaos provoked by uncontrolled sexuality; and finally by linking women to religious conservatism that opposed political and social progress. Lizardi sought to uphold Enlightenment values and yet also to reject the social structures and values —many of which he attributed to Mexico’s imperial Spanish rulers— that he saw crippling colonial society. He found in the female quixote a vehicle for his ambivalent imaginary construction of relations between Spain and Mexico.

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[Image of the female character and a decorative ornament]