

A Gastronomic Map of *Don Quixote* Part 2

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Food metaphors, culinary motifs, and gastronomic inquiry play a significant role in the development of Cervantes most renowned novel, *The Ingenious Gentleman Don Quixote of La Mancha*. Readers may immediately recall the second sentence of the novel that portrays Alonso Quijano by his weekly diet to know that food and identity are inextricably linked. Additionally, food representations enliven the pages with semiotic clues that reveal the characters' state of being; themes of ethnic, class, and social identities; and cultural norms of breaking bread, sharing meals, and lively post prandial discussions. These representations often serve to destabilize the text and bring into question notions of fiction and truth and appearance and reality. In this way, these rich food motifs lend themselves to many of the major underpinnings of the novel. In this essay and in celebration of the 400th anniversary of the publication of Part 2 of the novel, I hope to reveal the culinary structure—a gastronomic map of sorts—that is embedded in *Don Quixote* Part 2, highlights Cervantes' creativity, develops characterization, and complements many of the major tenets of the novel, including hospitality, celebration, modern art forms, health, class and social identity, ethnicity, and the tension between fiction and truth.

In more general terms, the structure of *Don Quixote* Part 2 has been a source of inquiry for scholars for decades. Howard Mancing divided the work into five sections: “1. Chapters 1-7: The third sally, 2. Chapters 8-29: Pseudoadventures, 3. Chapters 30-57: With the duke and duchess, 4. Chapters 58-73: To Barcelona and back, 5. Chapter 74: The death of Alonso Quijano el bueno” (130). Many have compared its structure to works of other great authors including Dante (Fajardo-Acosta), Shakespeare and Pirandello (Cro), and Joyce (Church), to name but a few. Other scholars, like Edwin Williamson, have understood the structure of the novel in relation to the development of the relationship between Don Quixote and Sancho over the entire course of the narrative. Edward Friedman compares its structure to Part 1, drawing parallels between the two and asserting that the structure of the text ultimately is a response to the false *Quixote* and, as he so eloquently describes, “a move from the reader to the writer to the critic to the metacritic (i.e., the writer as critic).” Patricia Crespo has analyzed the structure of Part 2 through the lens of the textile metaphor. She argues that Cervantes used it, “como topos narrativo autoconsciente que revela a varios niveles la continuidad entre locura y cordura, ficción y verdad, y apariencia y realidad” (567). For the purposes of this paper, I too will examine the structure of the novel via a single metaphor type, in this case, the food metaphor. By using Mancing's scholarship on the structure of Part 2, by considering both Williamson's and Friedman's conclusions, and by placing particular emphasis on the presence of foodstuffs in the text, we can travel through the novel using a gastronomic map that will highlight food motifs that enrich Cervantes' development of the novel (See Table 1). This paper will bring to the forefront dozens of gastronomic motifs that enrich the text and analyze how they support, affect, or debunk major tenets of the novel.

Adventures	Chapters	Relation to food
1. The Third Sally	C 1-7	Introduction of all food motifs
2. Pseudoadventures	C 8-29	Hospitality, modern sensitivity to the culinary arts
3. With the Duke and Duchess	C 30-57	Negative/absent food; issues of health, class, and ethnicity
4. To Barcelona and Back	C 58-73	The food critic
5. The Death of Alonso Quijano el Bueno	C 74	Food as sustenance

Table 1. A Gastronomic map of *Don Quixote* Part 2

1. Third sally (1-7)

Food imagery in the opening chapters of Part 2 (1-7) supports many of the major themes that will be developed throughout the novel: food and health, ethnicity, cultural norms of hospitality and celebrations, social class, and the very relationship between the two main characters. In the very first line of the novel, the priest and barber remind the niece and housekeeper to provide their ailing friend, Don Quixote, with good food. “A comer cosas confortativas y apropiadas para el corazón y el cerebro” (41; all citations are from the Murillo edition). For the priest and the barber, as for early modern society in general, these alimentary measures are key to recovering his mental health. Cervantes once again reminds the reader of the important relationship between food and health in the barber’s tale of the madman of Seville. When the allegedly crazed licentiate’s sanity is being evaluated, one of the many proofs that he was of sound mind was his conversation with another insane man. Upon leaving, the licentiate turned to the encaged madman and assured him that he would regularly send him good food to eat. “Yo tendré cuidado de enviarle algunos regalos que coma, y cómalos en todo caso; que le hago saber que imagino, como quien ha pasado por ello, que todas nuestras locuras proceden de tener los estómagos vacíos y los cerebros llenos de aire” (46). Once again, Cervantes notes the relationship between food and good health.

From Antiquity through the Middle Ages, insanity was intimately linked with supernatural beings, in latter years and with the influence of the Church, specifically with the devil. Insanity was understood as punishment for a moral defect or sin against God.¹ But, here, Cervantes reflects a more modern sensitivity to mental health by explaining in scientific terms the cause for an individual’s mental break. Drawing from the established theory of the humors, he twice reiterates the importance of food in maintaining balanced humors and their importance to mental health. This connection is also implicit in Part 1 of the novel when, after having dined well, Don Quixote delivers his most lucid speeches on the Golden Age and on arms and letters,

¹ For more on the portrayal of mental health in *Don Quixote*, see Boruchoff; and Molho; and for more on the history of mental health in the Western World, see Foucault.

the first, among shepherds and the second, among those at the inn. From the very start of Part 2, food's presence reminds readers of the interplay between sanity and insanity that is so fundamental to the novel. More specifically, the connections between food and health are satirized in the Barataria episode when Sancho assumes his governorship.

Additionally, these early chapters reveal Spain's rich ethnic heritage when Sancho mistakenly calls the narrator Cide Hamete *Berejena* instead of Cide Hamete Benengeli (57). With this linguistic slip, Sancho acknowledges one of many Muslim contributions to Spanish culinary history: the eggplant. This connection between food and ethnicity will be more fully explored when Sancho and his Morisco neighbor, Ricote, meet on the road, share a meal together, and discuss the plight of Ricote's family in the context of the Crown's historic decision to exile all Moriscos.

In chapter 3, food once again plays an important role as Don Quixote meets Sansón Carrasco for the first time and learns that his own exploits have been published. Through Sansón, Cervantes introduces a new narrative level to his novel in which characters who have already read Don Quixote's novel now engage with the protagonist and, as is the case with the Duke and Duchess, manipulate and exploit the knight. As Friedman has noted, Sansón takes on the role of critic, and as such, asks a series of questions about some of the incongruities of Part 1. This role of reader/critic has a clear parallel with the role of diner/food critic as many of the meals shared often involve a critique of that very food. This is particularly true when Sancho and the innkeeper discuss and evaluate many different dishes.

Don Quixote is so mesmerized by what Sansón has to tell him that he insists Sansón stay and eat with him. Because his special guest has accepted his invitation, the narrator explains: "Anadióse al ordinario un par de pichones, tratóse en la mesa de caballerías, siguióle el humor Carrasco, acabóse el banquete... y renovóse la pláctica pasada" (66). To his regular fare, Don Quixote adds two squabs and in this way acknowledges the importance of fowl which was reserved for celebratory meals. We see the value of fowl in Part 1 when we learn that Alonso Quijano eats *palomino* only on Sundays. And it is certainly the food most valued at the table of kings and grandees throughout the early modern period (see Nadeau, *Food Matters*, particularly chapter 5). Readers will once again understand the value of fowl later in Part 2 when Don Quixote offers Sancho advice in preparation for his governorship. Sansón's important role as the knight who challenges Don Quixote will surface at two critical moments in the novel. In the first of these instances as the Knight of the Wood, food, a shared meal, and revealing conversations play a central role in better understanding the characters, especially Sancho, and what foods were valued among travellers.

In addition to food's relation with health, ethnicity, and, as seen in chapter 3, with hospitality, bonding, and celebration, its direct and immediate association with class and social identity is revealed in chapter 5 as Sancho discusses his imminent departure with his wife, Teresa. While Sancho dreams of a better life for his family through a governorship, Teresa reminds him that his station in life is to be found right where he was born and that he really doesn't need a governorship at all. Moreover, their daughter should marry her equal, not someone above her station. To defend her position, Teresa uses a food metaphor that reiterates her point: "La mejor salsa del mundo es la hambre, y como ésta no falta a los pobres, siempre comen con gusto" (74). While governors and others may have land and full stomachs, people of

her own social rank also live and appreciate what is available to them. She asserts: “Medíos, Sancho, con vuestro estado” (75). Sancho will most certainly be put to the test when he does attain the governorship of Barataria and, through the food put before him and other related tests, he has to choose the lifestyle best suited for him and his family.

As Don Quixote and Sancho prepare for their departure, the narrator includes food and money as the essentials they will carry with them: “Proveídas las alforjas de cosas tocantes a la bucólica, y la bolsa, de dineros que le dio don Quijote para lo que se ofreciese” (91; in this context *la bucólica* means *alimento*). This alimentary detail with prove important throughout the novel as the two protagonists are many times defined both by what they eat and by what they say about food. For example, after the two main characters are trampled by a herd of bulls on the road to Barcelona, Don Quixote describes his existential crisis in terms of food, specifically, in terms of starving himself to death. Here, for the first time in the novel and through the use of food imagery, Don Quixote discusses the beginning to the end of his quest. Likewise, Sancho must defend himself from accusations of gluttony and drunkenness that have appeared in the apocryphal *Quixote*. Throughout the novel, these gastro-discussions help to unmask characters’ true identities, reveal truths, and emphasize the role of (food) critic.

2. Pseudoadventures (8-29)

Food metaphors, proverbs, and imagery enhance many of Don Quixote’s adventures in this section including meeting the enchanted Dulcinea, the Parliament of Death, the adventure with the lion, the cave of Montesinos, Maese Pedro’s puppet show, and the enchanted boat. In these episodes food is used to convey states of being (“no se me da un higo...” 95) or to describe things, like a lie (“como el aceite sobre el agua” 104) or the size of Don Quixote’s heart (“no mayor que una avellana” 105). It exemplifies Sancho’s skill at providing proverbs for every situation, for example, to prepare Don Quixote for his ill-fated visit to Toboso (“donde no hay tocinos, no hay estacas” (105). Food imagery is even used to characterize Don Quixote’s beloved Dulcinea as he describes her vile transformation not only by her unattractive looks but also by her repulsive smell: “Me dio un olor de ajos crudos que me encalabrino y atosigo el alma” (112).

While food word plays and imagery enliven these early chapters, there are two events among these “pseudoadventures” that use foodstuffs in a more elaborate way: the dual with the Knight of the Wood and Camacho’s wedding. In both of these situations cultural norms of hospitality are encoded by food practices during traveling and celebration. After Don Quixote meets the Knight of the Wood, the two squires decide to leave their masters and talk on their own about their lives as squires, their families, and their takes on the knights they serve. They discuss the hunger squires must endure and their hard life. Together they decide that ultimately the simple pleasures of procuring food at home through hunting and fishing are far more worthy than their life on the road.

In particular, both squires acknowledge the insanity of their masters. Sancho describes Don Quixote as someone who, “tiene más de loco que de caballero” (130) and thus fully admits that Don Quixote is crazy. However, he also later confesses that he would follow him anywhere

because in the end, Don Quixote is a decent man.² Likewise, the squire of the Knight of the Wood confides in Sancho that his master isn't a knight as all, merely that he is acting crazy to help another recover from his own mental break and return to the sane world.³ At this crossroad in their dialogue, what could very well be an epiphany for Sancho as to the objective of the Knight of the Wood, instead turns into a fantastic food moment as the squire of the Wood takes out a wine flask and food and offers to share all with Sancho. "Y, levantándose, volvió desde allí a un poco con una gran bota de vino y una empanada de media vara, y no es encarecimiento, porque era de un conejo albar tan grande, que Sancho, al tocarla, entendió ser de algún cabrón, no que de cabrito" (131-32). For the meantime, the identity of the Knight and squire of the Wood remain a mystery.

The *conejo albar* is a large, white rabbit and was a popular dish among aristocracy and villagers alike. In the 1611 court cookbook, *Arte de cocina, pastelería, vizcochería y conservería*, written by Francisco Martínez Montañón, several recipes for both rabbit and hare appear including "Gigote de liebres" (33), "Conejos" (34), "Conejos en mollo" (34), "Gigote de conejos" (35), "Una liebre en lebrada" (87), "Olla de liebre" (89), "Gigote de liebre" (90), "Conejos rellenos" (374), and, of course, "Empanada de liebre," (90-91) and "Conejos en empanada" (375). To prepare the latter, Martínez Montañón explains:

Estos conejos gordos son muy buenos empanados, con masa dulce, y puestos boca arriba con una lonja de tocino gordo sobre los riñones, y sirvalo caliente, y quitale la lonja de tocino, y hallará el conejo con toda su gordura. Estos conejos asados no tienen otra salsa mejor que aceyte, y vinagre. (375)

Martínez Montañón explains that rabbit, because it is a wild animal with leaner meat, tastes better when fat is added to it. In "Empanada de liebre," the process is somewhat more complicated. For this recipe, the hare is still prepared with a surface larding but is then minced and seasoned with spices, including marjoram and savory. Like the rabbit empanada, vinegar is also used to add flavor to it. The empanada dough is not sweet, like the previous recipe, but rather made with a darker grain, like a coarse whole wheat or rye. Another detail unique to this recipe is that in forming the empanada, the shape of the rabbit should be maintained: "De manera que torne à estar en su misma forma, como si estuviera entera" (91). Finally, Martínez Montañón suggests that it be served with "Salsa negra," which is essentially a sauce made with meat broth and thickened with burnt bread without any additional seasoning (174-75).

The two squires finish the meal with such pleasure that the squire of the Wood definitively decides to return home. Sancho, however, is fully convinced he will continue with Don Quixote, at least as far as Zaragoza. The two end their conversation by drifting off to sleep with their bellies full and their thirst satiated. This roadside meal serves as a prelude to the dual

² The full quote is: "No tiene nada de bellaco, antes tiene una alma como un cántaro: no sabe hacer mal a nadie, sino bien a todos, ni tiene malicia alguna: un niño le hará entender que es de noche en la mitad del día, y por esta sencillez le quiero como a las telas de mi corazón, y no me amaño a dejarle, por más disparates que haga" (131).

³ The full quote is: "Porque cobre otro caballero el juicio que ha perdido, se hace el loco, y anda buscando lo que no sé si después de hallado le ha de salir a los hocicos" (130).

to which Don Quixote challenges the Knight of the Wood. The following day, the latter's squire suggests to Sancho that they too should fight. Sancho refuses multiple times and finally explains that he could never fight against someone with whom he had eaten and drunk thus stressing the significance of a shared meal. Of course Don Quixote emerges victorious and the true identity of the knight, Sansón Carrasco, and the squire, Tomé Cecial, are revealed. But, Don Quixote refuses to believe that it is anything less than another enchantment and both he and Sancho move forward delighted with their victories, both chivalric and gastronomic. What is most important about this roadside meal is how it contributes to the novel's structure. This shared dining experience between Sancho and another character in the novel gives readers insight into the widespread hospitality that the two travellers will find across Spain. From here on out, Don Quixote and Sancho meet a series of people from all social classes, essentially, everyone with whom they come in contact—country gentlemen, innkeepers, a duke and duchess (although here food motifs operate in negative terms), international pilgrims, shepherds, bandits, urban aristocracy, and other travelers—who open their homes or their travel packs to them, break bread together, and share in the adventures of the errant knight.

The next to share meals with Don Quixote and Sancho as he receives them as guests in his home is the Castilian gentlemen, Don Diego de Miranda. Though not obsessed with chivalric tales, he acts as a foil to Don Quixote by highlighting who Alonso Quijano may have been were he not to go crazy. Impressed with the knight errant, Don Diego invites them to his home where once again they enjoy meals described as “limpia, abundante y sabrosa” (173).

After leaving Don Diego's house, the two protagonists learn of a country wedding and decide to attend. Upon waking the day of Camacho and Quiteria's wedding, Sancho can tell by the smell of the food that the wedding is going to include a lavish banquet: “Bodas que por tales olores comienzan, para mi santiguada que deben de ser abundantes y generosas” (186). He follows his nose and comes upon an open area where many cooks are preparing the wedding banquet:

Lo primero que se le ofreció a la vista de Sancho fue, espetado en un asador de un olmo entero, un entero novillo; y en el fuego donde se había de asar ardía un mediano monte de leña, y seis ollas que alrededor de la hoguera estaban no se habían hecho en la común turquesa de las demás ollas; porque eran seis medias tinajas, que cada una cabía un rastro de carne: así embebían y encerraban en sí carnero enteros, sin echarse de ver, como si fueran palominos; las liebres ya sin pellejo y las gallinas sin pluma que estaban colgadas por los árboles para sepultarlas en las ollas no tenían número; los pájaros y caza de diversos géneros eran infinitos, colgados de los árboles para que el aire los enfriase. (187-88)

This opening description of the wedding preparations focuses on the quantity of the food—un *entero* novillo, un *rastro* de carne, carnero *enteros*, liebres y gallinas que *no tenía número*, pájaros y caza *infinitos*—and in this way reflects a medieval sensibility of the generosity of the groom, Camacho, the wealthiest farmer in the region.

Turning to other delectable delights, Sancho is thrilled with the wine, bread, and cheese that accompany the meats: “*Más de sesenta* zaques de más de a dos arrobas cada uno, y todos

lentos, según después pareció, de generosos vinos; así había *rimeros* de pan blanquísimo, como los suele haber de *montones de trigo* en las eras, los quesos, puestos como ladrillos enrejados, formaban *una muralla*” (188, my emphasis). Again, the narrator is careful to include quantitative descriptors to reflect the social status and prestige of the host. However, in this description, qualitative adjectives are also present—*generosos* vinos and pan *blanquísimo*—that mark the modern shift from quantity to quality to assess an individual’s social position.

The best wheat bread was reserved for the upper classes, the whiter the bread, the more valued. Wheat cut with other grains or simply other grains such as millet, rye, and barley were used to make bread for the lower classes. It was also not uncommon to find legumes or nuts ground into flour and made into bread as well.⁴ Felipe II’s doctor wrote that the superior bread was one that was “más fácil de partir con los dientes, y partido se mostrare por dentro más blanco que rubio” (cited in Sánchez Meco, 131).

This shift in value judgment evolved in part as food supplies became more regularized. Division of labor, expansion of commerce, and competition intensified.⁵ These social and economic changes clearly affected both cooking in the kitchen and eating at the table. Nobility no longer ate bigger amounts to distinguish themselves from others of a lower social rank, rather, they ate *better* and thus, an elitist diet emerged. Massimo Montanari explains that “the consumption of certain foods (and of foods prepared in a particular way) was not simply a function of habit or choice, but rather a sign of social identity and so to be correctly observed in the interest of maintaining the proper social equilibria and hierarchies” (85).

This modern sensibility of the culinary arts is not only described in terms of the quality of foodstuffs but also by the cleanliness of the cooks who were preparing the banquet. “Los cocineros y cocineras pasaban de cincuenta, todos limpios, todos diligentes y todos contentos” (188). This favorable portrait with an emphasis on cleanliness and respect corresponds to a new awareness of food preparers that forms part of the culinary transformations occurring in Spain and the rest of Europe at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries. Returning to Martínez Montañó’s culinary masterpiece, *El arte de cocina, pastelería, vizcochería y conservería*, we find a similar attitude toward cleanliness in the kitchen. While writers of culinary manuscripts and books consistently comment on the importance of cleanliness, Martínez Montañó differs in his almost obsessive attitude. In fact, the first of two chapters is dedicated exclusively to this point. He opens with a declaration on the importance of sanitation:

Pienso tratar en este capítulo de la limpieza que es la más necesaria, e importante, para que cualquier cocinero dé gusto en su oficio. Y para esto es necesario guardar tres o quatro cosas. La primera es, limpieza; y la segunda, gusto; y la tercera presteza, que teniendo estas cosas, aunque no sea muy grande Oficial, gobernandose bien, dará gusto a su señor, y estará acreditado. (1–2)

Cervantes’ description of the hard-working, happy and clean cooks shares with contemporary

⁴ For more on the different types of bread and their correlation with social class, see Braudel, especially 85-139.

⁵ For changing economic trends in Europe, see Mennell (32-33) and for those in Spain, see Bennisar (128-41); Llopís Agelán; Ringrose; and Yun Casalilla.

cookbook authors a modern sensibility of the qualities of those who prepare food for others. These shifts in the culinary arts that appear in Martínez Montañón's cookbook parallel shifts in the literary arts that Cervantes' writing emblemizes. Returning to Camacho's wedding, apart from the dishes already mentioned and those preparing them, suckling pig, sweet fritters, exotic spices, and diverse fowl are all included as part of this extravagant feast.

Don Quixote and Sancho continue on their way and through their adventures in the cave of Montesinos, with the braying villages, at Maese Pedro's puppet show, and on the enchanted boat, bread, wine, cheese, fruit, nuts, poultry, fish, and sweets all form part of their journey. Primarily these foodstuffs function as metaphors but other times, they reveal a "Sanchified" Don Quixote who, for example, at the inn expresses his desire to alleviate his hunger pains. "Y acabe presto maese Pedro; que se hace hora de cenar, y yo tengo ciertos barruntos de hambre" (247). The chapter ends with Don Quixote graciously inviting everyone to dinner.

3. With the Duke and Duchess (30-57)

In the chapters that treat Don Quixote's exchange with the Duke and Duchess, expected food celebrations and banquets are largely absent from the narrative and thus reflect the hosts' lack of genuine hospitality. When food is present, it connotes insults ("que no a vos, bellaco, harto de ajos" 275), contempt ("de mí no podréis llevar sino una higa" 275), and destruction ("le abrieran de arriba abajo como una granada, o como a un melón muy maduro" 286). Throughout this section at the ducal palace, food imagery is used to qualify the negative or the absent. The Duchess uses oregano to discuss bad governorship: "Y no querría que orégano fuese; porque la codicia rompe el saco" (322-23). Sancho refers to a proverb on sticky rice when he criticizes the role of the *dueñas*: "Cuanto será mejor no menear el arroz, aunque se pegue" (327). The narrator uses garbanzos from the Andalusian town of Martos to describe the absence of adornment on the Countess Trifaldi's garment: "Vestida de finísima y negra bayeta por frisar, que a venir frisada, descubriera cada grano del grandor de un garbanzo de los buenos de Martos" (329). As Don Quixote has his first real contact with aristocracy and people of political influence that could possibly affect changes for which he adventures forth, the food imagery radically changes from the positive, hospitable, and generous examples so present in his exchanges with laborers, villagers, and affluent country men to images of negative and absent qualities.

As Sancho prepares to leave for his appointment as governor of Barataria, the food imagery shifts once again. Here, Don Quixote offers his squire sage advice that includes tips regarding dietary practices.

No comas ajos ni cebollas porque no saquen por el olor tu villanería. Come poco y cena muy poco; que la salud de todo el cuerpo se fragua en la oficina del estómago. Sé templado en el beber, considerando que el vino demasiado ni guarda secreto, ni cumple palabra. Ten cuenta, Sancho, de no mascar a dos carrillos, ni de erutar delante de nadie. (361)

Don Quixote's advice to Sancho echoes the advice that Luis Lobera de Ávila, personal doctor to Carlos I, wrote in his treatise, *Banquete de nobles caballeros*. Lobera de Ávila, like medical

doctors before him, puts forth that onions and garlic are appropriate for the working class. He states, “Y porque son manjares más de gente grosera y rústica, que de nobles hombres, no me alargaré” (147). On garlic Lobera de Ávila repeatedly quotes Galen who says that: “Los ajos son triaca de rústicos” (146). With respect to quantities, Lobera de Ávila also advises to eat moderately: “En el comer no ha de ser mucha la cantidad, de manera que ni quede repleto, ni tampoco hambriento, sino medianamente contento” (43). He continues to advise, like Don Quixote, that one should eat less at dinner than at lunch: “Las cenas han de ser livianas más que las comidas” (51). Finally, when speaking of wine he too counsels to drink moderately: “Los nocumentos que se causan usando dello no templadamente son: turba el entendimiento y sentido, fatiga el cerebro, y su virtud causa olvidos” (63). Although generally understood as a light, satiric moment as Sancho departs to assume his new role as governor, this scene in which Don Quixote advises his squire echoes the very precepts set forth by the king of Spain’s doctor on health and nutritional privilege.

Sancho listens carefully to Don Quixote’s advice and in the end, tells his master that he will gladly give up the governorship if Don Quixote does not think him worthy: “Si a vuesa merced le parece que no soy de pro para este gobierno, desde aquí le suelto; que más quiero un solo negro de la uña de mi alma, que a todo mi cuerpo; y así me sustentaré Sancho a secas con pan y cebolla como gobernador con perdices y capones” (365). In this beautifully humble response, Sancho compares his simple life to that of a governor through food images that are commonly associated with their respective social classes. As noted by Lobera de Ávila and others, onions and garlic act as a food synecdoche for the working class. Likewise, fowl and in particular, partridge and capons, stand among the most valued food for the elite. In early modern Spain, different types of meat and poultry were valued differently. Among farm-raised birds the preference from highest to lowest is as follows: “Capón cebado, capón, polla cebada, polla, pavo, gallina, gallina cebada, pollo” and among other birds: “Perdices, francolín, perdigón, buchón, ansarón, ánsar, astarna, zorzal” (cited in Valles Rojo 238). We see, then, that Sancho’s choice of “perdices and capones” is no random selection. They are at the top of the food chain for the socially privileged. Food’s function as a marker of class becomes central to the novel as Sancho leaves Don Quixote to assume his governorship.

Perhaps the second most famous food scene of *Don Quixote* Part 2, after Camacho’s wedding, is the dining episode at Barataria when Sancho becomes governor. Nowhere in the novel is the relationship between food, health, and class so defined or satirized as it is in this episode. Like Don Quixote before Sancho’s arrival to Barataria, the good doctor Pedro Recio de Agüero de Tirteafuera tries to educate Sancho in the ways in which his cultural practices should reflect his status as governor. Scholars have observed the relationship between food and health, particularly with regards to the theory of the humors, within this very episode so my comments here will be brief.⁶ Pedro Recio’s insistence on consuming certain foodstuffs while rejecting others draws on contemporary humoral theory to legitimize his claims. Not only are certain types of dishes—roast pheasant, stewed rabbit, and veal—removed from Sancho’s table, but also those cooked in a certain way—well-seasoned, roasted, or marinated. To explain his decisions, Pedro Recio makes generalizations about an individual’s constitution and balances of hot and cold or

⁶ For more on the role of food in the Barataria episode, see Cruz Cruz and Nadeau, “Critiquing the Elite.”

dry and moist food. He explains that nutritional theories dictated that “los manjares pocos y delicados avivaban el ingenio, que era lo que más convenía a las personas constituidas en mandos y en oficios graves” (425). For this reason, Sancho is allowed to eat just bread, preserves, grapes, and a few sips of water to start his day. And finally for dinner, all the rich food is gone and he is served a cold salad of shredded beef and onion, echoing what Alonso Quijano would regularly eat for dinner, and some boiled calf hooves, a dish common to lower classes. Sancho is delighted with this “real food” and insists that they don’t try to feed him “governor’s” food. He demands simpler, peasant food of meat and vegetables. He mentions none of the elite foods like pheasant, partridge, mutton, and fruit that had been set at his table but rapidly swept away; rather, he sticks to the humbler foods from quadrupeds and bulb and root vegetables.

De aquí adelante no os curéis de darme a comer cosas regaladas ni manjares esquisitos, porque será sacar a mi estómago de sus quicios, el cual está acostumbrado a cabra, a vaca, a tocino, a cecina, a nabos y a cebollas, y si acaso le dan otros manjares de palacio, los recibe con melindre, y algunas veces con asco. Lo que el maestresala puede hacer es traerme estas que llaman ollas podridas, que mientras más podridas son, mejor huelen, y en ellas puede embaular y encerrar todo lo que él quisiere, como sea de comer. (405)

These food choices foreshadow his decision to renounce his governorship and confirm that certain foodstuffs are better for peasants while others better suit the elite.

While Sancho is busy in Barataria, the Duchess and Sancho’s wife, Teresa, are exchanging letters in which the Duchess requests that Teresa send her acorns from her small town. Teresa pays an acolyte with bread and eggs to write a response in which she explains that there was no harvest that year but that she was able to hand pick some acorns from the surrounding woods. While waiting, she offers to feed the page who had delivered the letters and other gifts eggs and bacon but Don Quixote’s friend, the priest Pero Pérez, insists that the page come to his house to eat so as not to further burden Teresa. The food references of acorns, bread, and eggs and bacon stand in stark contrast to the exquisite dishes found on the governor’s table and signal the humble offerings of a laborer’s table. In her response to the Duchess, Teresa offers acorns and cheese as gifts of gratitude and in her letter she discusses the high prices of bread and meat at court. To her husband Sancho she provides news from the village that includes the absence of olives and vinegar due to an army troop that had passed through. In addition to reflecting the common diet of rural laborers, these multiple references of food staples highlight the regular challenges for villagers that include inconsistencies in annual yields and external forces that can deplete basic village staples.

Like the Barataria episode, Sancho’s casual encounter with his neighbor Ricote while on route back to Don Quixote, has been the source of engaging scholarship that has primarily

focused on the expulsion of the Moriscos and its impact on Spain.⁷ But, in direct contrast to the elitist notions of class, health, and nutritional privilege present in Barataria, this roadside meal shared between Ricote, Sancho, and a group of German pilgrims highlights respect, generosity and good manners among a group of travelers of diverse nationalities, ethnicities, and socioeconomic backgrounds. It restores Sancho and displaces the hostile, negative food associations that defined both the ducal palace and his governorship.

Tendiéronse en el suelo, y haciendo manteles de las yerbas, pusieron sobre ellas pan, sal, cuchillos, nueces, rajas de queso, huesos mundos de jamón, que si no se dejaban mascar, no defendían el ser chupados. Pusieron asimismo un manjar negro que dicen que se llama *cabial*, y es hecho de huevos de pescados, gran despertador de la colambre. No faltaron aceitunas, aunque secas y sin adobo alguno, pero sabrosas y entretenidas. Pero lo que más campeó en el campo de aquel banquete fueron seis botas de vino que cada uno sacó la suya de su alforja; hasta el buen Ricote, que se había transformado de morisco en alemán o en tudesco, sacó la suya. (449)

Gone are the elitist notions of class, health, and food that Pedro Recio imposes on Sancho. In their place we find an international table of Old Christian, Morisco, and German pilgrims, who carry out the standards of proper table arrangement and share their humble, international delicacies amongst one another. In his 1520 cookbook, *Libro de guisados*, Ruperto de Nola corroborates these travelers' etiquette as they first place salt, knives, and bread on their "green tablecloth." Nola writes, "En la mesa lo primero que se debe poner es *el salero*, y luego los paños de mesa y *los cuchillos*, y eso acabado de lavarse el señor ... en un plato poner *el pan* y el paño de mesa, y un cuchillo (68, my emphasis).

The description of how Sancho and the others savored their meal further complicates this gastronomic moment: "Comenzaron a comer con grandísimo gusto y muy de espacio, saboreándose con cada bocado, que le tomaban con la punta del cuchillo, y muy poquito de cada cosa" (449). The rate at which Sancho, Ricote, and the pilgrims savored their meal, how they used their knives, and the small quantities each consumed recall Don Quixote's advice to Sancho as he departed the Duke and Duchess' palace. What were meant to be suggestions to hide his *villanería* are now the very elements that define a moderate Sancho. Here, among foreigners and exiles readers are presented with mixed signals: proper table preparation yet set in the wilderness, an etiquette worthy of the most noble class yet humble fare best suited for the working class, meager portions yet abundant for all to partake and be fully satisfied. Finally,

⁷ Márquez Villanueva has written extensively on this episode and the Morisco presence in Spain. Johnson has written on the dual economic consequences of the expulsion of the Morisco population from Spain. For Johnson, Ricote's presence is a testament not only to the loss of the Morisco work force but also to the loss of a rising capitalist economy that Moriscos represented through their ethic of working hard and saving money. For articles on the ties between Ricote's language skills and the ethical question of exiling part of Spain's population, see Spitzer (172-74 n30). For links between the Barataria episode and this one, see Nadeau, "Critiquing the Elite." Finally, for more on food's significance in this episode, see Castro, who emphasizes that wine and ham signified *sangre limpia* and a unified state religion (339, 402-04) and Percas de Ponseti who discusses the contradictory, yet equalizing nature of the food items presented (265-67).

their food items echo the humble fare that Don Quixote and Sancho ate with the goat herders and the nuts that inspired the knight's discourse on the Golden Age. His speech of an age when peace and equality reign, along with the advice he offers Sancho before departing for Baratania are fulfilled as Sancho dines with these travelers. Although physically absent, Don Quixote's presence is very much alive in this apex of etiquette and dietary practices in which social and cultural barriers vanish and harmony prevails.

When Sancho finally reunites with Don Quixote, the two spend a final day at the ducal palace where Sancho delivers a speech in which he declares he is renouncing his governorship. In his closing statement, he explains through alimentary allusions that elitist privileges matter little to him. "Me paso al servicio de mi señor don Quijote; que, en fin, en él aunque *como el pan con sobresalto, hártome a lo menos; y para mí, como yo esté harto, eso me hace que sea de zanahorias que de perdices*" (461, my emphasis). As the knight and squire prepare to leave, they experience one more adventure, a joust with Tosilos who is ordered by the duke to pretend to be a man who wronged Doña Rodríguez's daughter. This adventure both reiterates the cruelty of the Duke and Duchess who incarcerate Tosilos after the adventure and restores the status quo of knight errant and squire that had been disrupted during their stay.

4. To Barcelona and Back (58-73)

Leaving the ducal palace Don Quixote reflects on the importance of freedom and the limitations imposed by the Duke and Duchess during his stay there. At their palace Don Quixote experienced a certain oppression that he describes in terms of the fancy food and fashionable drinks served at the palace.

La libertad, Sancho, es uno de los más preciosos dones que a los hombres dieron los cielos.... Digo esto, Sancho, porque bien has visto el regalo, la abundancia que en este castillo que dejamos hemos tenido; pues en mitad de aquellos banquetes sazonados y de aquellas bebidas de nieve⁸ me parecía a mí que estaba metido entre las estrechezas de la hambre, porque no lo gozaba con la libertad que lo gozara si fueran míos; que las obligaciones de las recompensas de los beneficios y mercedes recibidas son ataduras que no dejan campear al ánimo libre. (470)

Instead of impressing him, these banquets and luxuries at his disposition left him feeling empty. They were forms of entrapment that limited his very being.

The first adventure Don Quixote and Sancho experience after leaving the Duke and Duchess, with the farm workers who are transporting statues of saints on horseback to a nearby church, serves to purge the restraint and depravation that Don Quixote experienced at the palace.

⁸ Drinks made cold with ice became popular under the reign of Carlos I and Felipe II but really took off under Felipe III. In 1607 Pablo Xarquies, a Catalan entrepreneur, was granted Royal Privilege to distribute ice throughout the capital. By the mid seventeenth century it was readily available to all social classes but as Don Quixote notes here, it is still associated with the elite in 1615. For more on the treatment of iced drinks in the early modern period, see Herrero García, especially 145-76.

In this episode they interrupt the workers who are themselves dining to inquire about the statues. In stark contrast to the lavish banquets and shallow generosity of the Duke and Duchess, these workers offer no food to Don Quixote and Sancho, rather they answer their questions with honesty, share the images of the Christian knights, and continue on their way. Sancho comments on the ease of the adventure, “De las más suaves y dulces... habemos salido sin palos y sobresalto alguno... ni quedamos hambrientos” (473-74). With the support of food imagery, readers begin to sense that although Don Quixote is reenergized after leaving the palace, he has changed.

The true generosity that the two heroes experienced before the palace is restored when they encounter two shepherdesses, one of whom has read Part 1 of *Don Quixote*, who invite them to join in the recreation of a pastoral arcadia that together people from their village, friends, and relatives are recreating. Upon arriving at their tents, Don Quixote and Sancho are welcomed with food reminiscent of what was served at Camacho’s wedding: “Hallaron las mesas puestas, ricas, abundantes y limpias” (479). To show his gratitude for their generosity, Don Quixote offers to stand on the road to Zaragoza and praise the women’s beauty but his timing is bad as a herd of bulls is passing through. Don Quixote refuses to cede and consequently he and Sancho are pummeled by the herd.

From this point on, food motifs shift from descriptions of actual meals to discussions of sustenance and critiques of meals. After the trampling of the bulls, Don Quixote expresses his feelings of defeat and desire to die in terms of the complete absence of food: starvation. Feeling downtrodden he insists that Sancho enjoy his meal without him.

Come, Sancho amigo -dijo don Quijote-: sustenta la vida, que más que a mí te importa, y déjame morir a mí a manos de mis pensamientos y a fuerzas de mis desgracias. Yo, Sancho, nací para vivir muriendo, y tú para morir comiendo... al cabo al cabo, cuando esperaba palmas, triunfos y coronas, granjeadas y merecidas por mis valerosas hazañas, me he visto esta mañana pisado, y acoceado, y molido, de los pies de animales inmundos y soeces. Esta consideración me embota los dientes, entorpece las muelas, y entomece las manos, y *quita de todo en todo la gana del comer, de manera, que pienso dejarme morir de hambre*, muerte la más cruel de las muertes. (482, my emphasis)

In this dialogue with Sancho and through the use of food motifs, Don Quixote expresses for the first time his intense disenchantment and desire to die. Sancho encourages his master to eat and sleep and thus Don Quixote renews his spirits.

The next day, as the two arrive at a roadside inn, food plays an integral role as it reveals the realities of food options for travelers. First, Sancho’s discussion of food with the innkeeper provide the reader with some gastro-humor and sets the scene for the introduction of the false sequel to Part I of *Don Quixote*. When Sancho inquires about dinner, the innkeeper confidently states that he can order whatever he desires: “Que pidiese lo que quisiese: que de las pajaricas del aire, de las aves de la tierra y de los pescados del mar estaba proveída aquella venta” (484).⁹

⁹ For a reading of the exchange of dialogue between Sancho and the innkeeper on the road to Barcelona, see Goodwin.

The innkeeper's euphemism for having the best to offer reiterates the idea that poultry is considered a highly desired commodity. The two go back and forth in a downward spiral of food offerings from chicken to hen, veal to kid, and then eggs and bacon, all of which the innkeeper has none, before finally settling on what is really available: "Dos uñas de vaca que parecen manos de ternera, o dos manos de ternera que parecen uñas de vaca que están cocidas con sus garbanzos, cebolla y tocino" (485). Needless to say, Sancho is thrilled with the option of cow-hoof stew and reserves it for himself. Readers will recall that this dish is similar to the one Sancho ate when he served as governor, thus demonstrating its popularity.

A second reality for travelers is that they often traveled with their own cooks and other servants. In fact, certain establishments had to pay for the right to sell food to travellers while others paid only for the right to prepare food that travellers brought with them. Still others were completely forbidden from cooking for guests at all. Laws were in place to protect establishments. For example, *tabernas* could legally sell cooked food but *mesones* were only approved for lodging and serving food travellers brought with them. These disputes were often brought to court and settled there. The 1619 legal case of Jusepe de Morales is evidence of these practices. In a small Castilian village of San Martín de la Vega, Judge Ambrosio García heard a case that the local sheriff, Alonso García, brought before court.

[D]enunçió a Jusepe de Morales, mesonero, vezino desta uilla, sobre raçon que estando proybido por leyes y premáticas destos reinos que no pueda tener en su mesón bodegón ni vender comida a los que allí vinieren a posar, el suso dicho en desacato de la justicia y abiendole sido mandado por ella muchas vezes que no tenga el dicho bodegón en su mesón, y siendo en perjuicio del arrendamiento del alcabala de la taberna que está arrendada con condiçión que nengún mesonero pueda tener bodegón en su cassa, ni dar de comer a los güéspedes, ni vendersela, más de solamente guisar lo que ellos truxesen. y hallaron vna olla al fuego de carne guisada, y el dicho Jusepe de Morales estaba partiendo un pedaço de cordero para guisar. (Archivo Regional de la Comunidad de Madrid)

Jusepe denied all infractions and swore that the pot had been left there by other travelers. He further stated that he never prepared his food for others but only cooked what they had brought with them. When asked whether in his inn he had pots of meat, rice and had bought fish, eggs and other staples and if he had prepared them for others, he explained that his lodgers had given him money and had paid him for his services but continued to deny any infraction. In the end, he did jail time and was fined 1000 maravedis, which were distributed equally between the judge, the court and the accuser.

But, when the innkeeper informs Sancho that other guests "de puro principales" (485) travel with their own cooks, Sancho responds that Don Quixote's lifestyle does not afford him that luxury and that the two often get by with a handful of acorns and some wild fruit (*nísperos*).¹⁰

¹⁰ The full quote is: "pero el oficio que él trae no permite despensas ni botillerías: ahí nos tendemos en mitad de un prado y nos hartamos de bellotas o de nísperos" (485).

This gastro-comic conversation certainly provides humor to the text but it also relates to the conversation that Don Quixote has with two other lodgers, Don Jerónimo and Don Juan, about the false *Quixote*. Like the tavern owner who invents false stories about the food he has to offer, so too does the apocryphal author of Don Quixote's tale. Nothing is at it seems. In fact, one of the slanderous accusations the false author makes concerns Sancho. He portrays him as a glutton and a drunk. Sancho firmly denies the accusations and the readers of the text confirm that the Sancho before them has nothing to do with the one portrayed in this false representation. In fact, don Jerónimo verifies that the author's descriptions are "mentirosas, según yo echo de ver en la fisonomía del buen Sancho que está presente" (489).

Based on the discussion with Don Jerónimo and Don Juan, Don Quixote deliberately changes his plans to attend a joust in Zaragoza so he can prove the work is full of lies. Instead, the two redirect to Barcelona and as they head toward the city they meet the famous bandit, Roque Guinart, with whom they share meals, stories, and adventures for three days. Roque sets Don Quixote up with Don Antonio Moreno who opens his Barcelona house to the two famous travelers. One of the first conversations that Don Antonio has with Don Quixote and Sancho, after a meal with other invited guests, returns again to the issue of Sancho's alleged gluttony.

Sancho, que sois tan amigo de manjar blanco y de albondiguillas, que si os sobran, las guardáis en el seno para el otro día.

-No, señor, no es así -respondió Sancho-; porque tengo más de limpio que de goloso, y mi señor don Quijote, que está delante, sabe bien que con un puño de bellotas, o de nueces, nos solemos pasar entrambos ocho días. (509)

Once again, Sancho refers to the Spartan meals with which the two often sustained themselves. And, here, Don Quixote also defends Sancho and describes his eating habits as clean and orderly. "Cuando él tiene hambre, parece algo tragón, porque come apriesa y masca a dos carrillos; pero la limpieza siempre la tiene en su punto, y en el tiempo que fue gobernador aprendió a comer a lo melindroso: tanto, que comía con tenedor las uvas, y aun los granos de la Granada" (510).

Sancho's relationship with food is, in fact, one of the moderate, stabilizing components of the novel. He approaches food sensually yet elegantly; like one who has acquired an acceptable level of cultural capital, he offers disinterested critiques of food regardless of its elitist status; and, like one who has inherited cultural capital, he appreciates and indulges in all foods without gorging. Through Sancho's culinary quests, Cervantes is able to criticize contemporary trends of elitist diet, etiquette, and social mobility. Sancho's food experiences are consistently linked with social commentary and action—equitable judgments as governor, the decision to enable Ricote to recover his property, and here, the debunking of the false sequel to the first part of Don Quixote's novel. These actions complement, if not take precedence over, some of Don Quixote's own exploits.

In Barcelona Don Quixote is defeated once and for all by the Knight of the White Moon and thus begins his journey home. While returning home to La Mancha, both positive and negative food motifs accompany them although to a lesser extent than on the outbound journey. Tosilos invites them to share wine, cheese, and bread as he reveals additional cruelties of the Duke and Duchess who have Tosilos beaten after his failed fight with Don Quixote. Honey and

cream imagery punctuate Don Quixote and Sancho's fantasy about becoming shepherds. And when Altisidora showers Don Quixote with insults she calls him "don bacallao" and "cuesco de dátíl" (567).

Once home food metaphors and motifs return to their most essential elements. For Sancho this translates into a proverb with *tocino* that he uses to respond to Teresa who is distressed about his appearance. "¿Cómo venís así, marido mío, que me parece que venís a pie y despeado, y más traéis semejanza de desgovernado que de gobernador?" (583), to which Sancho responds, "Muchas veces donde hay estacas no hay tocinos" (583). Quite possibly this proverb is the one he most often recites, for here it appears for the fifth time in the novel and thus, both because of its repeated use and its reference to one of Sancho's favorite foods, it is fitting that it also be his last.¹¹ Apart from his encouragement to Don Quixote to become a shepherd as he lies in bed dying, this alimentary proverb is the last time Sancho speaks in the novel.

5. The death of Alonso Quijano el bueno (74)¹²

In the case of Don Quixote, when he returns home, bread and wine are the dominant food motifs. Upon hearing Don Quixote's plan of becoming a shepherd, the housekeeper uses this imagery to confirm that her advice for Don Quixote to stay home is sound: "tome mi consejo; que no se le doy sobre estar *harta de pan y vino*, sino en ayunas, y sobre cincuenta años que tengo de edad: estése en su casa, atienda a su hacienda, confiese a menudo, favorezca a los pobres, y sobre mi ánima si mal le fuere" (585, my emphasis). Following this discussion about his future plans, the housekeeper and niece bring him to his bed and feed him but he contracts a fever and never leaves his bed again.

This last chapter focuses on Don Quixote's disillusionment and death. The food images that so enriched his journey, revealed characters' nature, and complemented so many of the major themes of Cervantes' masterpiece, are no longer present, with one exception. After Don Quixote pronounces his last will and testament, he remains alive for a final three days and in that time, the narrator, through images of eating and drinking, stresses that his family and friends tried to go on with their lives: "en tres días que vivió después deste donde hizo el testamento, se desmayaba muy a menudo. Andaba la casa alborotada; pero, con todo, *comía la Sobrina, brindaba el Ama*, y se regocijaba Sancho Panza; que esto del heredar algo borra o templa en el heredero la memoria de la pena que es razón que deje el muerto" (591, my emphasis). From the feasts and generosity knight and squire experienced time and again in their adventures to the gastronomic mischief at Barataria and the food crises that Teresa recounts in her letters, at the close of the novel, these rich food images, like the hero himself, fade from the pages of the text. As Don Quixote breathes his last breath, food is reduced to its most basic, biological level in a single image of eating and drinking. For what more can his loved ones do as they mourn the passing of this beloved figure?

¹¹ Luis Murillo explains that Sancho uses this proverb, at times inappropriately, in Part 1.25 and in Part 2.10, 55, 65, and 73 (Cervantes 105n1).

¹² I have included in this section on chapter 74, descriptions of moments in Don Quixote's house that occur in chapter 73 because they align both specially and thematically with the events of chapter 74.

Reading *Don Quixote* Part 2 with a gastronomic map not only demonstrates the importance of food in the writing of Cervantes but also enriches our understanding of Cervantes' genius. The multitude of food metaphors allows Cervantes to show off his wit and the complexity of his food imagery contextualizes social spaces throughout the novel. From our postmodern perspective, readers also understand that food imagery often destabilizes the text, particularly in terms of character development. In the meals and culinary conversations shared across *Don Quixote* it is Sancho who many times becomes the central character while Don Quixote is absent or plays a secondary role. Certainly, all the major food events in the text, the roadside meal with Tomé Celial, the feast at Camacho's wedding, the governor's palace in Barataria, the dialogue with an inn owner on the road to Barcelona, and the debunking of the false sequel, are all excellent examples of Sancho's principal role in the novel.

Structurally, food events reflect decisive moments in the text. First, they build positive interactions with the many characters Don Quixote and Sancho meet along the way. In these early chapters, food imagery exhibits positive relations between the main characters and those they encounter. The turning point for food representation, and I would argue, the shift in Don Quixote's quest, occurs as a result of his stay at the ducal palace. In this second section, during these central chapters with the Duke and Duchess, the absence of food; its negative portrayal via insults, contempt, and destructive moments; and the satirization of food's role in health and social status, all illustrate the cruel ridicule that the two protagonists' endure as guests of the Duke and Duchess. Once free from their control, positive connotations of food images are restored and even take on a new character that focuses on critiques of and reflections on food moments rather than on the moments themselves. This is certainly the case when Don Quixote becomes disenchanted with his journey, when Sancho and the innkeeper discuss food, and when diners on the road and in Barcelona ask Sancho to defend himself against the claim of gluttony and debauchery that the false sequel put forth. Here food images support Cervantes' critique of Avellaneda's false version. Finally, when at home once again, food motifs and metaphors return to their most basic state as Sancho reintegrates into his family with an alimentary proverb and Don Quixote's niece continues to eat as she grieves her uncle's death. Not only do these fantastic food images enrich our understanding of Cervantes' novel but Cervantes' novel also enriches our understanding of food values in early modern Spain. And, what better way is there to celebrate the 400-anniversary year of the publication of the second part of *The Ingenious Gentleman Don Quixote of La Mancha II* than with food?

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