

Margins of Freedom:  
The Latin Sayings in the  
Prologue to *Don Quijote*, I

FREDERICK A. DE ARMAS  
University of Chicago

For decades, Luis Rosales's (1985 [1960]) massive study, *Cervantes y la libertad*, has remained as the classic work on the subject. Now, in *Anatomy of Liberty*, Eric-Clifford Graf audaciously returns to the topic in order to imbue it with contemporary perspectives, concurring with his source on "el radicalísimo sentido de la libertad que tiene nuestro autor" (the heightened radical sense of liberty that our author has; Graf 2021, p. 5; Rosales 1985, p. 33). In order to accomplish this task, Graf (2021, p. 5) foregrounds five key elements that correspond with critical concerns of our times: "(i) religious tolerance, (ii) respect for women, (iii) abolition of slavery, (iv) resistance to tyranny, and (v) economic freedom." The subject matter is so vast and Graf's arguments so multifaceted, that it would be impossible in this short piece to provide an account of it. Indeed, he turns to writers throughout the ages to explain Cervantes's concept of liberty. Furthermore, Graf (2021, p. 8) invokes relevancy by reminding us that the novel has resonated in the United States since its founding: "Among early US presidents, George Washington, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and John Quincy Adams were all avid readers of Cervantes's great novel." My purpose here is to add to his findings on freedom in a very minor key. Inspired by Graf's explanation of the maxim "Non bene pro toto libertas venditur auro" (Cervantes 1978, 1, Prologue, p. 55; 1998, p. 18),<sup>1</sup> I would look at the Latin sayings recommended by the fictive friend to the author in the Prologue to the first part of *Don Quijote*. These sayings would then produce notes on the margins, thus enhancing the apparent erudition of the writer. Is freedom/liberty propounded in these sayings and their would-be authors?<sup>2</sup> Are these sayings wrestling "epistemic independence from overwhelming concentrations of power"?<sup>3</sup> Moreover, what are the margins of freedom?

As Don Quijote and Sancho depart the home of the duke and the duchess in Chapter 58 of the second part of the novel, the knight delivers a paean on liberty as one of the most priceless gifts given to humanity by the heavens: "La libertad, Sancho, es uno de los más preciosos dones que a los hombres dieron los cielos; con ella no pueden igualarse los tesoros que encierra la tierra ni el mar encubre; por la libertad, así como por la honra, se puede y debe aventurar la vida" (liberty, Sancho is one of the most valuable gifts heaven has bestowed upon men: the treasures which the earth encloses, or the sea covers are not to be compared with it. Life may, and ought to be risked for liberty, as well as for honour; Cervantes 1978, 2.58, p. 470; 1998, p. 839). This laudation of liberty, as stated, takes place as the knight and his squire leave the house of the duke and duchess, who have manipulated Don Quijote's chivalric spirit for their own

amusement. More importantly, the knight is fleeing the love-crazed Altisidora, a creation of the duke and duchess, who constantly impinged upon the knight's freedom. Indeed, as she intones her last lament (and curse) of knight and squire, even the duchess is amazed at how far she goes: "Quedó la duquesa admirada de la desenvoltura de Altisidora, que aunque la tenía por atrevida, graciosa y desenvuelta, no en grado que se atreviera a semejantes desenvolturas" (The duchess was surprised at the liberty Altisidora took; for though she knew her to be bold, witty and free, yet not to the degree as to venture upon such freedoms; Cervantes 1978, 2.57, p. 469; 1998, p. 837). Notice here how the translator plays with the term freedom/liberty to refer to: a) the ability to be free and do as one pleases; and b) the excesses in social behavior and decorous language. In this passage, Don Quijote's high-minded praise of liberty has been triggered by a rather comic and innocuous topic—the annoying importunities of a love-crazed woman. The lofty tone is thus undermined by its cause.

Graf (2021, p. 2) approaches this paean from a different perspective, tying it to the first Latin saying in the Prologue to the first part of the novel:

When Don Quijote calls liberty priceless, he echoes the first Latin phrase of the novel, which the first prologuist's friend had attributed to the Roman satirist Horace: 'Non bene pro toto libertas venditur auro' 'Liberty is not sold for all the gold in the world'... But the squire intrudes on such idealism by noting that large sums of money have been exchanged and that obligations linger. Moreover, from Sancho's point of view, liberty actually can be priced.

Graf points to the clash between gold (the two hundred gold coins given by the duke and duchess to the chivalric pair) and freedom in both the text and the Prologue. In addition, he emphasizes that "in the early modern novel, realist and functional bourgeois options displace the fading idealist fantasies of feudalism ... I will emphasize, however, that bourgeois realism is also deeply related to the assertion of positive themes like freedom, harmony, and progress" (Graf 2021, p. 3). However, he neglects to foreground here one of the most important undercurrents of the book, the pronouncement, contained in the first amendment of the U.S. Constitution, prohibiting abridgements of the freedom of speech or of the press. Although this freedom runs as an underground river throughout Graf's volume, nourishing its many pages, it is important to return to the saying in the Prologue of the 1605 *Quijote* and consider its role within this paratext. Indeed, the Prologue and its five Latin sayings can be seen as part of a declaration of freedom, and even as a moment of epistemic independence.

At the inception of the Prologue, the (fictional) Cervantes, in a melancholy pose, bemoans the fact that this section, as well as the novel as a whole, lacks the necessary adornments that are required in such books. It lacks notes on the margins and footnotes dealing with biblical, historical, and mythological figures, as well as poetic and philosophical figures and authorities that ought to be referenced in the work: "poque ni tengo qué acotar en el margen, ni qué anotar en el fin, ni menos sé qué autores sigo en el" (for I have nothing to quote in the margin nor to make notes on at the end; nor do I know what authors I have followed in it; Cervantes 1978, 1, Prologue, p. 53; 1998, p. 16). A list of works cited would also be seen as properly adorning the book and making it more acceptable in its erudition. As the author grapples with this dilemma, a (fictional) friend comes to his aid and simply tells him to sprinkle the novel with names, texts, and even places that would call for such notes. As for the works cited, just take them directly from another book that displays an abundance of them. While some have argued that the Prologue constitutes an attack on his contemporary, the playwright Lope de Vega, who was constantly displaying figures of authority to authorize his own work, others see it more generally.<sup>4</sup> Robert B. Alter (1975, p. 3) asserts, "the novel begins out of an erosion of belief in the authority of the written word." It is as if Cervantes wants to break the conventions, not only on how to write a Prologue, but on the uses of authority. He would challenge others to accept a kind of epistemic independence. The author seems to want to remove the shackles of accepted ways of thinking in order to ponder, envision and write with utmost freedom. In order to attain to this freedom of thought and writing, Cervantes develops a series of games in order to disorient the reader as to which (if any) authorities

should be followed and what are his true intentions. At one point, Graf (2021, p. 3) rejects such “perspectivism” (equating it with “light hearted entertainment”),<sup>5</sup> arguing that it is better to search for the author’s intention in a work that is mired with traps, slippery contradictions, and clashing voices. At the same time, as if mimicking Cervantes, he uses the term perspectivism to deal with at least five issues: the preference of realism over fantasy; the uses of miscegenation (Graf 2021, p. 73); the implications of feminism (Graf 2021, p. 81);<sup>6</sup> modes of government (Graf 2021, p. 163); and political and economic perspectives as portrayed through animals.<sup>7</sup>

So, let us return to the games Cervantes initiates when writing the Prologue. Here, the friend recommends that he use figures such as the mythical thief Cacus,<sup>8</sup> the historical Alexander the Great,<sup>9</sup> and Julius Caesar.<sup>10</sup> He tells the author that he should also add classical writers and philosophers such as Horace,<sup>11</sup> Homer,<sup>12</sup> and Plato,<sup>13</sup> to enhance and authorize his work. A careful reader will find these names in the text as if the Cervantes of the Prologue had followed the fictive friend’s advice. Nothing could be further from the truth since prologues are customarily written last. In this case, the author takes elements from his novel, and perhaps even from the projected 1615 continuation, to enhance the illusion of accepting the friend’s advice. Utilizing figures from the Prologue, Carolyn Nadeau (2002) has written an enticing book on the women of the prologue (including mythological figures, courtesans, and prostitutes) and their importance in the text. Anthony J. Cascardi (2011), on the other hand, delves into Platonic indirections and contradictions; the banishment of the poet from the Republic; the presence of a mendacious historian—all in order to tease out Cervantes’s techniques. While the Prologue mocks the authority of the written word, the text evinces, on the other hand, that such “authorities” are useful in games of thought. They establish a kind of dialectic imitation where a previous author, the present author, and new readers engage in finding ways of thinking, writing, and understanding by considering allusions, models, and modes of ideation.<sup>14</sup> By misdirecting, contradicting, and satirizing accepted authorities, Cervantes creates an epistemic challenge, and dares his readers to think in new ways. The freedom granted in the Prologue extends to the rest of the novel as a series of games are enacted, including that of narrative voices.<sup>15</sup>

Having considered some of the general aspects of the Prologue in regards to freedom of thought and writing, let us turn more specifically to the utilization of the Latin *sententiae* from the Prologue. These were most often brief moral sayings, proverbs, or maxims taken from traditional or cultured sources in order to make a point. Cervantes’s fictive friend suggests five of them to the author. As noted, Graf briefly studies the first one. After all, it deals with liberty, the central element in his book. He points out (2021, p. 5) that although the fictive friend seems to attribute it to Horace, it is in reality by someone else:

For example, the source of that first Latin phrase about liberty found in the first prologue of *Don Quijote* is not the Roman satirist Horace, as the narrator’s friend erroneously claims but, rather, the Greek fabulist Aesop, a slave who rose to become a counselor to princes. And that is the point. Cervantes is from the outset signaling that we should think about his textual contrasts between freedom and slavery.

However, this is but just one of the fictive friend’s multifaceted games when dealing with this saying. First and foremost, we cannot fully ascertain that Aesop was the author of this particular tale within the *Fables*, an amorphous collection started in antiquity that foregrounds a series of anthropomorphic animal characters—there is a reference to this tale in Archilochos, long before Aesop could have invented it. Indeed, Aesop’s fables were not collected under his name until some three centuries after his death. Many may have been his own, although even his existence as an author has been put into question in modern times, with the concomitant notion that there was no such ugly and deformed slave who gained his freedom and achieved great fame through his stories. Furthermore, as time went on, new tales were added; others were changed or deleted. Cervantes certainly knows some of these collections and invokes Aesop, for example in one of the *Novelas ejemplares* (*Exemplary Novels*), when, upon hearing of two talking dogs, a licentiate exclaims that we are returning to ancient times when animals could talk (2005, p. 645). Would Cervantes have

read *La vida de Ysopet con sus fabulas historiadas* (*The Life of Aesop and a Narrative of his Tales*), first published in Spain in 1489?<sup>16</sup> Would he have read one of the many versions that circulated in the Renaissance and early modern periods? Would he have found it in a compilation without attribution? It is as if the fictive friend in the Prologue is once again laughing at authority.

What is not in doubt is the uses of the fable itself, “Of the Wolf and the Dog.” Here, a lonely and starving wolf watches from the woods as the dogs in a village prance about very well fed. He approaches one of the canines and inquires as to the secret of their well-being. The Dog answers that he is constantly fed and cuddled and only has to bark at beggars and fawn at people in the house where he abides. Delving deeper into this mystery, the wolf discovers that the dog’s skin is chafed because a chain often holds him back. In horror, the wolf runs back into the woods. Thus the moral of the tale: “*There is not gold enough to buy liberty, since it exceeds all the wealth in the world*.”<sup>17</sup> Such has been the sustained popularity of this fable that it appears in James Caxton’s medieval collection; while Jean de La Fontaine included it among his own French fables in the seventeenth century. Countless versions circulate even today and many are displayed on the internet. Indeed, Eric Blair (2004) published a children’s book on the subject, lavishly illustrated by Dianne Silverman. While the wolf refuses to compromise, the characters in Cervantes’s novel, as Graf shows through a number of examples, often jeopardize their freedom. Any social structure, Cervantes reminds us, is constituted through the relegation of some freedoms to those in power. Gold is but a manifestation of the rewards offered by society; while slavery is the extreme surrender of liberty. We are left with the question: Is the dog, then, a slave to his master? Is Sancho, then, dangerously compromised by his “slavish” acceptance of his master’s orders and beliefs; or by the rewards he expects from the knight? And is the knight, who wishes to free himself from the very walls of his own home, constrained by the structures of the books of chivalry? What are the margins of freedom? Already in the early nineteenth century, the edition of the *Fables* by Thomas Bewick (1818, p. 288) warns: “But liberty in a state of society does not consist in doing whatsoever we please: but only permits those actions by which we do no injustice to our neighbour or to the community.” On the other hand, Bewick (*Ibid.*) also cautions that too many sacrifices of our liberty can lead to “slavery and degrades the people who submit to it.” We can then ask with some degree of certainty as to the answer, if the duke and the duchess have degraded Don Quijote and Sancho. The Prologue, then, has hidden deeply urgent questions by changing the name of the author.

On the other hand, accepting Horace as the “author” of this saying provides a more authoritative source, and this may be the reason why the fictive friend does not hesitate to alter attributions. Furthermore, the apparent deletion of the actual author is a way to express freedom at a time of censorship and persecution. Leo Strauss (1988, pp. 24-25) has foregrounded this kind of “miracle” in writing: “For the influence of persecution on literature is precisely that it compels all writers who hold heterodox views to develop a peculiar technique of writing, the technique of writing between the lines ... But how can a man perform the miracle of speaking in a publication to a minority, while being silent to the majority of his readers?” Perhaps, as Cascardi (2011, p. 240) argues, in Cervantes the “exoteric text responds to the well-established circumstances of a *converso* with Erasmian-humanist leanings.” Nevertheless, Cervantes’s text is not just meant for a minority. It is a book enjoyed by casual readers as well as by discriminating thinkers. The satire serves all, as Graf (2021, p. 6) acknowledges: “Cervantes’s work is often classified as a universal satire due to its tendency to deride a wide range of attitudes and behaviors.” The change in author from Aesop to Horace points to a technique of writing between the lines. Furthermore, we notice that the fictive friend does not provide a certainty of authorship. He states: “en el margen citar a Horacio o quien lo dijere” (in the margin cite Horace, or whoever said it; Cervantes 1978, 1, Prologue, p. 56; 1998, p. 18). Beneath the cloak of Cervantes, we discover a careful modulation on questions of freedom and slavery, ones that are found throughout the novel, and that would go against many of the tenets of the times. However, if the readers accept Horace’s authorship, they can also enter into a conversation with the classical poet. After all, his work straddles the great transformation in Rome from Republic to Empire. Although Horace fought for the former and was defeated in the battle of Philippi, he was still able to turn to the imperial side with the aid of his patron, Maecenas. Very much like Cervantes, he developed a satiric vein; and like the protagonist of Cervantes’s

novel, his poetic persona is portrayed as weak and ineffectual. While his supposed bumbling is related to his role as critic of customs and mores, that of Don Quijote is not so different. He appears as a bumbling would-be knight who would return the world to a mythical Golden Age.

No attribution is given to the second Latin saying, “*Pallida mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas, / Regumque turres*” (Pale death, with impartial foot, knocks at the cottages of the poor and the palaces of kings;” Cervantes 1978, 1, Prologue, p. 55). It may well be linked to the first since the fictive friend has stated that the initial one should include in the margin Horace or whoever said it. This time, playing once again with authority and misdirection, we discover that the maxim does belong to Horace, deriving from his *Odes*, Book 1, Ode 4. Although it commences with a praise of coming spring, the Ode, as William S. Anderson (1992-93, p. 116) reminds us, moves from “springtime liberation ... to his shocking mention of pale Death, which pounds at the doors of poor and rich alike.” The addressee of the poem is Sestius, Roman Consul in 23 BC. Anderson (Ibid.) explains: “Sestius the affluent consul stands for all those who in middle age and relatively comfortable circumstances need to remember how close death is.” While the first saying contrasts wealth/comfort/a civilized society with radical liberty (as enjoyed by the wolf), the second, albeit cautioning also the poor, centers on the addressee whose relative wealth and power provides him a high degree of freedom that will soon be threatened by death. The coming of spring relieves the tyranny of winter and allows the freedom of earthly things “*aut flore, terrae quem ferunt solutae*” (the blossoms that the unfettered earth brings forth; Horace 1968, *Ode* 1.4, line 10). This freedom, then, is in opposition to the fear of pale death. While Cervantes only presents the fears, his text will go on to invoke Don Quijote’s desire for a new spring-filled Golden Age that he wishes to bring about for humankind. It is just that the knight fails to remember his time of life, a time that is no longer suited for knight errantry, and one when death could soon be knocking at his door. Thus, this saying, while appearing to be about being captured by death, also includes, in the sections not quoted, a paean for spring, freedom and liberation.

As if death calls for contrition, the next two maxims are religious in nature: “*Ego autem dico vobis: diligit inimicos vestros*” (But I say to you, love your enemies); “*De corde exeunt cogitationes malae*” (For out of the heart come evil thoughts; Cervantes 1978, 1, Prologue, p. 55). They derive from the apostle Matthew, thus veering away from classical poetry (and fable) to the New Testament. Cervantes foregrounds the first of the gospels for at least two reasons. First, because in contrast to Mark’s, it “records many more sayings” (Kermode 1987, p. 377). This abundance of maxims may thus have led the friend to recommend this gospel to the fictional Cervantes. More importantly, it is curious that Matthew was the one translated into Spanish with commentary by Juan de Valdés. Valdés was an Erasmian, reformist, and heterodox writer who fled Spain to escape from the Inquisition. Indeed, we know that Cervantes takes a passage from his well-known *Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón* (*Dialogue of Mercury and Charon*) when Don Quijote advises Sancho Panza on his governorship of Barataria. There are numerous citations to Matthew in the text of the novel, thus “validating” the fictive friend’s advice to use him. Alvaro Molina suggests that Cervantes cites Matthew in Chapter 58 of the second part of *Don Quijote*, the very same chapter where the knight declaims his paean on liberty. Immediately thereafter, the chapter turns to the portrayal of saints. Molina (2012, p. 73) claims: “Using a passage from the gospel of Matthew (11:12), ‘heaven suffers violence,’ the protagonist seems to be saying that these saints were sufficiently violent—‘a fuerza de brazos’ and the use of their sword—to conquer heaven, while he is currently lacking the strength even to free Dulcinea.” Molina (2012, pp. 79-80) then ties this moment to our reformist humanist:

It was precisely a Spanish humanist from the 16th century, Juan de Valdés (1509-1541), who approached this particular instance of the term violence in Matthew’s gospel ... Valdés translates the original (*bia, vis*) directly as ‘violencia’ instead of ‘fuerza,’ and then he proceeds to assign to that term the exact opposite meaning of the one used by Don Quixote ... One thing that seems clear to Valdés is that the violence mentioned by Jesus is not meant to be that of conventional military force or holy war, but rather its opposite. He links ‘violentado’ and ‘fuerza’ to the strength required to bring one’s will and understanding under the obedience of faith.

As Alvaro Molina shows, when dealing with Matthew, Cervantes's text uses misdirection. This is what we have found repeatedly in the Prologue. As with the rest of the sayings, the passages by Matthew guard games of meaning. They may seem rather innocuous and are given in Latin rather than in the questionable translation by Valdés. And yet, it serves to contrast the knight's violence with its Christian sense. The question is equally urgent as those that have come before: Can violence bring about a Christian peace, a time of freedom? At the same time, references to the gospel soothes some readers who worry about hidden and heterodox material. Yet, there may be enough clues to point to a new attack on authority—authorized versions of the gospels versus translations that do violence to certain meanings.

The fifth and last maxim recommended by the fictive friend, "*Donec eris felix, multos numerabis amicos, / Tempora si fuerint nubila, solus eris*" (So long as you are secure you will count many friends; if your life becomes clouded you will be alone; Cervantes 1978, 1, Prologue, p. 55), is said to derive from Cato. This would make sense, since a long tradition had him as expert in pithy sayings; and both Don Quijote and Sancho will refer to him throughout the novel.<sup>18</sup> The tranquil reader of Matthew's gospel could be once again assaulted by doubts. After all, Cato was often called Cato the Censor. Is there material for censorship here? Or is the Prologue once again promoting a secret language of liberty that stands against censorship of word and thought? The modern census derives from the ones that were conducted in the ancient Roman Republic by two magistrates called *censores*.<sup>19</sup> As their duties expanded over time, they were charged with evaluating Roman character and moral habits. They would give a letter or mark (*nota*) to those who violated proper conduct. The term *consere* (to assess) was used in this context, thus linking the census with censorship. Are readers to delve into Cato's writing to further tease out meanings? As it turns out, the fictive friend is once again enjoying the freedom of misdirection. This particular *sententia* comes from Ovid rather than from Cato. The two verses derive from *Tristia*, Ovid's meditations on exile: "So long as you are secure you will count many friends; if your life becomes clouded you will be alone" (Cervantes 1978, 1, Prologue, p. 55; Ovid, *Tristia* 1.9, 5-6).<sup>20</sup>

Cervantes, aware of the censorious nature of Cato, who lived a simple life while railing against the lifestyle of others, places his name in the Prologue so as to camouflage the name of Ovid. After all, Ovid had been banished from Rome by Emperor Augustus for *carmen et error* (*Tristia* 2.207), something he had written and something he had done. While Cervantes openly compares his book to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in the introductory poems to his novel (1978, 1, Preliminares, p. 64),<sup>21</sup> he hides the Roman poet in this second citation since the *Tristia* belonged to the censored Ovidian works. The reader may want to consider that Cervantes is writing to those who, like Ovid and himself, were without friends in high places, abandoned at the edges of empire, censored and seeking solace. A very successful writer in Augustan times, Ovid had enjoyed the favor of the emperor, a patron of the arts, for most of his life. Later in life, he was banished to Tomis, a town on the Black Sea.<sup>22</sup> Ovid's works in exile are typified by a lament of his relegation to a "barbarous" and frozen land and a desire to regain the emperor's good will, which would allow him to return to Rome. Thus, bursts of praise are accompanied by laments that may border on subversive complaints.<sup>23</sup> By censoring Ovid, Cervantes hides his book of exile as a dangerous text, while at the same time creating a secret space for meditation on censorship. The need for such spaces underlines Cervantes's desire for more open conversations.

One final question must be addressed: what is the tenor of Cervantes's hidden material as hinted to in the Prologue? To attempt an answer to this question we must return to the fictive Cervantes's pose while deliberating how to "adorn" his Prologue and his book. Writing the *Quijote* later in life, when he was in his late 50's, Cervantes was still a fairly unknown and, we could even argue, a failed author. He could not, like others of his time, aspire to Parnassus and the benevolence of Apollo. By placing himself outside of Parnassus, outside the realms of the Sun god and in contrast to the famed figures of his time, Cervantes embraces his shadowy presence and marks his work as different, as other.<sup>24</sup> The fictive author depicts himself in a moment of despair: "Muchas veces tomé la pluma para escribille, y muchas las dejé por no saber lo que escribiría; y estando una suspenso, con el papel delante, la pluma en la oreja, el codo en el bufete, la mano en la mejilla, pensando en lo que diría" (I often took pen in hand, and as often laid it down, not knowing what

to say: and once upon a time, being in deep suspense, with the paper before me, the pen behind my ear, my elbow on the table, and my cheek on my hand, thinking what I should say; Cervantes 1978, 1, Prologue, pp. 50-51; 1998, pp. 5-6). The text thus draws upon the traditional pose of the thinker, most often considered as a melancholy figure. He had already confessed that his child or book is dry. This is because the melancholy humor shares two qualities, dryness and coldness. This quality and temperament not only echoes those of the author but also those of his main character. From the very start of the novel, we discover that Don Quijote's brain has dried up from too much reading. The knight's emaciated body is also a reflection of his dryness.

Melancholy figures were known to suffer from visions, be they celestial or demonic, providing ecstasy or severe distress. And thus Cervantes shows his child or book as "lleno de pensamientos varios y nunca imaginados" (various wild imaginations, never thought of before; Cervantes 1978, 1, Prologue, p. 50; 1998, p. 15), which at times seem closer to the demonic than to the celestial.<sup>25</sup> If we add to all this that the fictive Cervantes claims that his book was born in a prison, we come to realize that he is rejecting the commonplace of being an author who strives for Parnassus in order to become an artist under Saturn. We know from the extensive labors of Raymond Klibansky, Erwin Panofsky, and Fritz Saxl (1964) that, according to ancient and Renaissance authorities, the conflictive nature of melancholy actually derives from Saturn, a planet which was said to rule melancholy, but was also considered the most malefic of celestial bodies, often afflicting the bearer with incarceration and other forms of torment and suffering. As someone outside the literary centers of his time, Cervantes consciously crafts a new persona for himself. He may be rejected by Apollo in Parnassus; he may not be under the influence of a solar ruler and his court. He need not be part of the great masses of poets that cluster around the Sun. Instead, he is a solitary figure that writes under Saturn. As an individual apart, he can write of the wild imaginings of a would-be knight. As toiling under the planet of esoteric knowledge, Cervantes can also hide his wisdom. And his is the highest form of knowledge, since Saturn, according to the Ptolemaic astrologers, was the highest of planets. Although the most malefic, this planetary entity bestows upon his followers the greatest gifts of wisdom.<sup>26</sup>

The Prologue, then, opens a way for reading *Don Quijote* as a book that hides "censored" thoughts; that obliges the reader to read between the lines to discover traps in reading, to be alert for misdirection. In its quasi-universal satire, the work is far from proposing one specific reading, but invites an open consideration of a series of topics as well as the rejection of a specific ideology. *Don Quijote* is a book that brings us together, rather than divides us, since it shakes the shackles of authority, disallowing, as Eric-Clifford Graf (2021, p. 235) states, the indoctrination of "students with the new religion of revolt." This new religion of revolt cancels all questions about culture. As Mathew Matheson Miller (2021) states, "One of the hallmarks of ideology is the suppression of questions. Intellectual coherence no longer matters when ideology reins." *Don Quijote*, as the first modern novel, continues to be a bulwark against any kind of censorship, since through many humane conversations between knight and squire, between author and readers, we come to rediscover that philosophy is a multifaceted conversation whose aim is a desire to know. Cervantes's novel leads us to consider the margins of allowable freedom as the writer turns away from slavish imitation, proposing new experiments in genre, new ways of thinking. The sayings in the Prologue open up new margins for discussion. Aesop, Horace, Matthew, and Ovid allow the readers to think anew. This opening of the conversation destroys any kind of polarization among opposites; it frees the reader to interrogate the margins of freedom. The wolf, free from society's constrictions, has wandered into the woods. There he watches the house dogs and considers the compromises they make.

## NOTES

- 1 For *Don Quijote*, I am providing the part, chapter, and page as it appears in Andrés Murillo's edition, followed by the page number in the Jarvis translation.
- 2 Freedom and liberty are often considered to be synonyms. However, there are those who think of freedom as the responsible use of liberty. I am using the terms interchangeably.
- 3 These words are taken from the introductory material to the journal *Cosmos + Taxis*.
- 4 Although dealing with works by Lope written long after Cervantes's Prologue, it is worth recalling that Pedro Conde Parrado and Sonia Boadas (2019) have discovered that the playwright turned to Andreas Eborensis's collection of *Sententiae* (Lyon 1557) to adorn his texts with Latin sayings. In other words, Lope simply used this manual of sayings rather than having recourse to his own readings of the classics.
- 5 For Leo Spitzer (2015), perspectivism is far beyond a way of producing entertainment. He sees in Cervantes a reflection of the immutable power of the divine and even the glorification of the artist as pseudo-divine as he masters his materials. In many ways, I agree with Spitzer in that, as will be seen, Cervantes takes on the guise of a "saturnine" artist, close to the divine.
- 6 "On its own, the feminist trajectory of *Don Quijote* indicates a way in which Cervantes endorses Christianity over Islam ... the more radical and leftist your defense of the Third World, the more you should be made to consider what to do about the repression of women there" (Graf 2021, p. 81).
- 7 While Sancho's flight on Clavileño instils cosmic perspectivism, "Sancho's time as governor then involves a series of royal judgments and decrees rendered with varying degrees of prudence and despotism" (Graf 2021, p. 163).
- 8 In the Spanish edition, allusions to Cacus appear in the following moments: 1, Prologue, p. 56; 1.2, p. 84; 1.6, p. 113; 2.49, p. 407.
- 9 In the Spanish edition, allusions to Alexander appear in the following moments: 1, Prologue, p. 56; 1, Prologue, p. 60; 1.1, p. 76; 1.48, p. 567; 1.49, p. 578; 2.2, p. 57; 2.59, p. 489; 2.60, p. 491. See also Frederick de Armas's (2016) essay on the subject.
- 10 In the Spanish edition, allusions to Julius Caesar appear in the following moments: 1, Prologue, p. 56; 1.48, p. 567; 1.49, p. 578; 2.2, p. 57; 2.8, p. 96; 2.8, p. 97; 2.24, p. 228; 2.43, p. 361.
- 11 In the Spanish edition, allusion to Horace appear in the following moments: 1, Prologue, p. 55; 2.3, p. 65; 2.16, p. 154; 2.16, p. 156. According to Graf (2021, p. 13), "Cervantes signals satire again in *DQ* 2.16-17, when the mad knight heaps enormous praise on the poetry of Horace and Ovid and then attacks what appears to be the king's money cart. This sequence reveals part two as a more overtly political novel that takes particular aim at the Crown's monetary policy." See also Graf (2021, pp. 162, 167).
- 12 In the Spanish edition, allusions to Homer appear in the following moments: 1, Prologue, p. 56; 1.6, p. 115; 1.18, p. 221; 1.25, p. 303; 2.3, p. 61; 2.3, p. 65; 2.16, p. 154.
- 13 In the Spanish edition, allusions to Plato appear in the following moments: 1, Prologue, p. 52; 1.25, p. 311; 2.3, p. 60; 2.38, p. 333. Platonic concepts can be found throughout the novel.
- 14 According to Greene (1982, p. 45), we move to dialectic imitation when there is a current of mutual aggression as the modern text exposes the "vulnerability" of its model, "while exposing itself to the subtext's potential aggression."
- 15 On the many narrative levels in the novel and on the role of the meta-narrator and of Cide Hamete, see James Parr (1988).
- 16 Spurgeon W. Baldwin (1964, p. 762) explains: "Although the Zaragoza edition is a translation of a volume printed in Germany, it occupies an important place in Spanish literary history for two reasons: first, it was probably one of the most widely read books of the time, judging from the large number of editions; second, it is the first known Spanish version of these fables, and served as model for a series of collections of Aesopic fables, having a popularity in Spain lasting almost down to the present time."
- 17 I am citing from John E. Keller's edition (1993, pp. 102-103).



- 18 Although his *sententiae* were widely known in the Middle Ages, many were probably not penned by him. The friend, by falsely attributing a maxim to Cato, provides an added element of satire on those who revel in a show of erudition, while knowing little.
- 19 Numerous controversies arose out of the 2010 Census conducted in the United States as mandated by the Constitution. Some argued that illegal aliens were counted and thus it: “will unconstitutionally increase the number of representatives in some states and deprive some other states of their rightful political representation” (Baker and Stonecipher 2009). Others argued that the census failed to have a fair count of minorities; while others considered some of the questions in the form to be an invasion of privacy.
- 20 A section of *Tristia* was first translated into Spanish in 1692 by Antonio de Solís y Rivadeneyra. He only includes 5.1 (Beardsley 1970, p. 98).
- 21 I do not include the page number from the Jarvis translation since it does not contain the preliminary poems where Ovid is cited.
- 22 The decree came directly from the Emperor and was not examined by the Senate or by a judge. As Gareth William (2002, p. 233) explains, his “relegation” to Tomis was less severe a punishment than *exilium*, “which would have deprived him of Roman citizenship and property.” In a terse remark, Ovid points to the reasons for his exile: *Carmen et error* (*Tristia* 3.5.49-52, 3.6.29-36, *Pontus* 1.6.21-6). In other words, one of his works and a mistake were the cause of his banishment. In spite of the many theories on the subject, the facts of the case are not known. An assessment brings up the question that the Augustus of Horace and Vergil is very different from the late ruler, when the influence of Tiberius was being felt. During the last decade of Augustus’s life Tiberius was a de-facto co-regent, and he would become famous for his trials of historians and writers (Knox 2004, pp. 3-4). Peter Knox (2004, p. 5) asserts: “In contrast to the traditional portrait of the tolerance of Augustus, Tiberius’ zeal in prosecuting individuals who spoke ill of the emperor had to be restrained from an early age.” Ovid was then banished by a weakened Augustus and his chances of forgiveness decreased as Tiberius’s power increased.
- 23 Ovid imagines the emperor as a new Jupiter striking him down with his thunderbolt, relegating him to Pontus. There are many references to Jupiter as Augustus in *Tristia*. See, for example: 1.4.26; 2.34; 2.69-70; 2.216; 2.333; 3.1.38; 3.5.7.
- 24 Ellen Lokos (1991, p. 24) explains: “Cervantes knew that he could not expect the kind of rewards he was entitled to in the society he was living in ... the poet had renounced the possibility of satisfaction in the earthly realm, or even on Parnassus.”
- 25 In his *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Robert Burton (1938, p. 174) affirms that “that the Devil, being a slender and incomprehensible spirit, can easily insinuate and wind himself into human bodies, and cunningly couched in our bowels, vitiate our health, terrify our souls with fearful dreams.”
- 26 On Cervantes as a figure under Saturn see Frederick A. de Armas (2017).

## REFERENCES

- Aesop. 1993. *Aesop's Fables: With a Life of Aesop*. Edited and Translated by J. E. Keller and L. Clark Keating. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky.
- Alter, R. B. 1975. *Partial Magic: The Novel as a Self-Conscious Genre*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Anderson, W. S. 1992-93. Horace Different Recommenders of “Carpe Diem” in C.1.4,7,9,11. *The Classical Journal* 88(2): 115-122.
- Baker, J. and Stonecipher, E. 2009. Our Unconstitutional Census. *The Wall Street Journal*, August 9.
- Baldwin, S. W. 1964. The Role of the Moral in *La Vida del Ysopet con sus Fabulas Historiadas*. *Hispania* 47(4): 762-65.
- Beardsley, T. S. 1970. *Hispano-Classical Translations Printed between 1482 and 1699*. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press.
- Bewick, T. 1818. *The Fables of Aesop and Others with Designs on Wood*. Newcastle: E. Walker.
- Blair, E. 2004. *The Dog and the Wolf. A Retelling of Aesop's Fable*. Bloomington: Picture Window Books.
- Burton, R. 1938. *The Anatomy of Melancholy*. Edited by F. Dell and P. Jordan-Smith. New York: Tudor.
- Cascardi, A. J. 2011. *Cervantes, Literature, and the Discourse of Politics*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Cervantes, M. de. 1978. *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha*. Edited by Luis Andrés Murillo. Madrid: Castalia.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1998. *Don Quixote*. Translated by C. Jarvis. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- \_\_\_\_\_. 2005. *Novelas ejemplares*. Edited by J. García López. Barcelona: Crítica.
- Conde Parrado, P. and Boadas, S. 2019. Las *Sententiae* de Andrés Eborensis (Lyon, 1557) en las dedicatorias de comedias y en otras obras de Lope de Vega. *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 71(1-2): 21-47.
- De Armas, F. A. 2017. Banished from Parnassus: Cervantes in the Shadow of Success. In: *Self, Other, and Context in Early Modern Spain: Essays in Honor of Howard Mancing*. Edited by I. Jaén Portillo, C. Nadeau, and J. Simon. Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, pp. 201-213.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2016. Alexander's Gordian Knots: Images of Decline and Fall in *Don Quixote*, Part 2. In: *Don Quixote, A Book without Boundaries: Readings, Contexts and Legacies for a Classic*, Edited by C. García de la Rasilla and J. Abril Sánchez. Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, pp. 43-54.
- Graf, E. C. 2021. *Anatomy of Liberty in Don Quijote de la Mancha. Religion, Feminism, Slavery, Politics and Economics in the First Modern Novel*. London: The Rowman and Littlefield Publishing Group.
- Greene, T. M. 1982. *The Light in Troy. Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Horace. 1968. *Odes and Epodes*. Translated C. E. Bennett. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Kermode, F. 1987. Introduction to the New Testament. In: *The Literary Guide to the Bible*. Edited by R. Alter and F. Kermode. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, pp. 375-386.
- Klibansky, R., Panofsky, E., and Saxl, F. 1964. *Saturn and Melancholy: Studies in the History of Natural Philosophy, Religion and Art*. London: Thomas Nelson.
- Knox, P. E. 2004. The Poet and the Second Prince: Ovid in the Age of Tiberius. *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 49: 1-20.
- Lokos, E. 1991. *The Solitary Journey. Cervantes's Voyage to Parnassus*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Miller, M. M. 2021. Thinking in an Age of Ideology. *Religion & Liberty* 34(3-4). Available at: <https://www.acton.org/religion-liberty/volume-33-number-3-4/thinking-age-ideology> (accessed 29 November 2022).
- Molina, A. 2012. Sacred, Epic and Picaresque: Violence and Genre in Cervantes. Doctoral Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.
- Nadeau, C. A. 2002. *Women of the Prologue: Imitation, Myth and Magic in Cervantes's Don Quixote I*. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press.
- Ovid. 1996. *Tristia. Ex Ponto*. Translated by A. L. Wheeler; Revised by G. P. Goold. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Parr, J. 1988. *Don Quixote: An Anatomy of Subversive Discourse*. Newark: Juan de la Cuesta.
- Rosales, L. 1985 [1960]. *Cervantes y la libertad*. 2 Volumes. Madrid: Cultura Hispánica.
- Spitzer, L. 2015. Linguistic Perspectivism in *Don Quijote*. In: *Linguistic and Literary History: Essays in Stylistics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 41-86.
- Strauss, L. 1988. *Persecution and the Art of Writing*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- Valdés, J. de. 1880. *El evangelio según San Mateo, declarado por Juan de Valdés*. Madrid: Librería Nacional y Extranjera.
- William, G. 2002. Ovid's Exile Poetry: *Tristia, Epsitulae ex Ponto* and *Ibis*. In: *The Cambridge Companion to Ovid*. Edited by P. Hardie. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 233-248.