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REDE BRASILEIRA  
DIREITO E LITERATURA

**BETWEEN DON QUIXOTE AND SANCHO PANZA:  
A CERVANTINE “MIRROR FOR THE PRINCES”  
(OR *SPECULUM PRINCIPIS*), A POSSIBLE INTERPRETATION**

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**ABSTRACT:** The literary work by Miguel de Cervantes *Don Quixote of La Mancha* presents numerous possibilities for interpretation, especially between law and literature, since the subject of law and justice is exposed critically through its episodes. During the Middle Ages, the king was the one who kept the legal order. It was in this period, from the twelfth century onwards, that the principle of *ratio status* was based on the submission of power to the ethical-religious order, presupposing respect for the law, in observance of the fair order. The objective of this paper is to analyze the advice given by Don Quixote to Sancho Panza before he goes to rule the Island of Barataria. For that, a bibliographical research was made, highlighting other works from Cervantes' lifetime. In addition to the literary genre of “mirrors for the princes”, this research examined the possible intertextuality of *Don Quixote* with the chivalric romance, drawing a parallel between them. In carrying out the study it was verified how much the law is present in the work of Cervantes. The characters Don Quixote and Sancho Panza are representations of subjects of law resembling the instructor and the judge of that period.

**KEYWORDS:** Don Quixote; Sancho Panza; intertextuality; prince; mirrors.

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My sword was not to be compared with thine,  
Phoebus of Spain, marvel of courtesy.  
(Cervantes, 1978, p. 25)

## INTRODUCTION

This paper presents in its very title its main inquiry: could Sancho Panza be the “prince” of Miguel de Cervantes? To answer categorically this question is not what this research is intended for, but rather to create interpretative possibilities for one of innumerable paths when researching Law and Literature in *Don Quixote*, by Cervantes. Firstly, it is necessary to understand the interdisciplinary field between Law and Literature in order to contextualize the proposed study. Both areas are in constant approximation and dialogue, dividing the interest in objects that are common to both professionals and scholars of Law as well as of Literature.

The present study seeks, through the allegories and the fiction presented in *Don Quixote de La Mancha*, first published in the city of Madrid in 1605, to grasp the aspects of Law that are relevant to the education of a ruler with the ability to do justice.

According to Cintrón (2010), Cervantes makes parody with the world of Law in his text, that is, in *Don Quixote* the occurrence of themes and situations demonstrate how jurisprudence, legislation, and institutions can interrupt the social game and reach the fullness of the human being. *Don Quixote* goes from the human to the legal and from Law to society<sup>2</sup>. After the very synthetic exposition of the main lines of the novel, the objective of this paper is to analyze the advice given by Don Quixote to Sancho Panza before he goes to rule the Island of Barataria. This research also seeks in other literary works the possible intertextualities with the novel of Cervantes, highlighting and discussing the Law in this episode of the novel and in to what extent it can contribute to this area of human and political knowledge.

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<sup>2</sup> For more discussion in this sense, see the works of Olivo and Lehmann (2015) and Fachin (2017). The first one deals with questions of legal dimension of madness, proposing a parallel between Brazilian reality and the Quixotic one. As for the second one, it attempts to describe the legal discourse of human rights having as reference the work of Cervantes.

The interdisciplinary exchanges between law and literature began to be a matter of study in the second half of the twentieth century, notably in the United States, moving against the positivist perspective, and acting in the formation of the professional of the law with aims to align humanistic aspects, from which legal careers eventually drifted apart. The centralization of law in Hans Kelsen's positivism led to the grammatical reduction of its statements and to the strictly syntactic and semantic analysis of its norms, rendering it incapable of meeting the social demands intrinsic to the law. In response to this insufficiency of positivist reductionism, the Law and Literature movement provided a critical and innovative perspective, capable of constructing theoretical alternatives to law, accusing its limitations, incompleteness and contradictions.

The intersection between Law and Literature is the subject of a study by José Calvo González, who, like François Ost, separates the encounter between Law and Literature in three modalities: the first is *Law in Literature*, which represents the intertwining between both disciplines in a more instrumental way; another is *Law as Literature*, which involves a structural intersection; and finally, *Law with Literature*, which indicates a more institutional intersection.

Calvo González points out:

Law and Literature share the same poetic practice. It is none other than the effective capacity to institute society, to pass from nature to culture, to typify acts and processes of shared meaning, that is, to institutionalize *social imaginary* aspects. From this point of view, the intersection of Law *and* Literature, which in Law *with* Literature I call for that institutional reason, which advises, if not claims, at least three points in order to verify:

- i) That in the legal and literary areas dwell instituting social practices
- ii) That this instituting duality can take advantage of certain literary forms by the canons of legal poetics
- iii) That, for what particularly concerns us here in the interest of a Literary Theory of Law, the purpose is to know the appropriation by institutional legal practice of archetypal forms of literary poetics [...] the intersection Law *and* Literature in Law *with* Literature introduces a new variant, consisting of the legal appropriation of institutional literary practice, thus making it possible to distinguish two modalities, according to the specific circumstance with which it is executed or it happens:

*with translation (transport), or with transcription (reproduction)* (Calvo González, 2008, p. 20).

On the other hand, Junqueira, in *Literatura e direito: uma outra leitura do mundo das leis (Literature and law: another reading of the world of laws)* (1998), considers that there are paths taken by the movement. The first one is Law as Literature, in which legal texts are read and interpreted as literary texts. This current, linked to the hermeneutic dimension, to rhetoric and to the narrative form of the juridical text, uses methods of analysis and interpretation derived from the literary theory and elaborated with the objective of examining the rationality of the constructions in the scope of legal decisions. The second is Law in Literature, where the analysis falls on literary works that deal with legal issues, such as sentences, the professional practice or even legal methods of punishment. According to this field, knowledge helps the professional of the law to get in touch with certain legal experiences. And finally, there is the Law of Literature, that refers to legal issues of copyright, inserted in a different area of the Law.

Law and Literature, according to Godoy (2002), has relevance, since literature can provide both information and subsidies so that the social environment in which the law develops is understood. The author believes that it is possible to know the law through Art, and evidences that it does not take place exclusively under the normative scope and, in this sense, literature makes possible the apprehension of the legal aspect as a cultural product, focusing on the historical time and its institutions.

It is also necessary to consider Ronald Dworkin's opinion on the relationship between law and literature. His proposal is "that we can improve our understanding of law by comparing legal interpretation with interpretation in other fields of knowledge, especially of literature" (Dworkin, 2000, p. 217). It is in literature that the space of interpretation is most visited, the literary discourse itself being an attempt to interpret reality. Due to this fact, Dworkin suggests that it is possible to study interpretation as a general activity, as a mode of knowledge, looking at other contexts of this activity. For the author, the readings enable hermeneutical procedures that reveal specificities of meaning, thus

revealing the real life and its plots. Interpretation creates the text, just as it gives origin and life to the Law.

In Dworkin's position, François Ost, in *Contar a lei (Telling the Law)* (2005), also defends literature as a liberator of the available ways for man to take against the reality codified in law. For Ost, however, the advantage of this study lies in the fact that, although both fields of knowledge describe human relations, literature liberates from the formal motions and practices of law. Hence, the renewal of the law happens due to the clash with the artistic propositions of literature and generates a re-discussion of issues fundamental to law, such as social order, laws and power.

Law appears in the work of Art sometimes not directly and literally. It can be explicit or implicit in a certain aesthetic and thematic relation with legal science along with diverse representations, allegories, fables, parodies, poetry and fiction, as Carmelo Delgado Cintrón (2010) states. The jurist also adds that – when literature presents social relations – Law, legislation, jurisprudence and institutions, as well as history and traditions, have so much meaning for social life that ignoring them would imply discarding part of society and of its reality.

#### **ASPECTS OF *DON QUIXOTE DE LA MANCHA*: THE DUALITY OF DON QUIXOTE AND SANCHO PANZA**

As already pointed out, *Don Quixote de La Mancha* is a novel written in the beginning of the seventeenth century, consisting of 126 chapters, divided into two parts, split in two publications ten years apart, the first one published in 1605 and the second in 1615. The novel, considered one of the best books of fiction of all time<sup>3</sup>, narrates the adventures of a Castilian nobleman who, after reading numerous books of chivalry, decides to live his own adventures as a knight-errant. The one who accompanies him is Sancho Panza, his faithful friend, who, unlike his companion, has a more realistic view of the facts. The action of the novel

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<sup>3</sup> In 2002, a pageant was organized by the Norwegian Book Clubs with the participation of writers of international recognition such as Salman Rushdie, Milan Kundera, John Le Carre, John Irving, Nadine Gordimer, Carlos Fuentes and Norman Mailer. The election was part of the campaign to promote the reading of classics against the challenges of television, video and computer games.

revolves around expeditions, and it is in these incursions that the duo experiences their adventures, sometimes fanciful, but overwhelmed by a harsh reality.

Don Quixote and Sancho Panza represent different values. The former is described by Cervantes in an antagonistic way, that is, now he appears lucid and now without judgment. This is because the gentleman sought to follow all the steps presented by his books of chivalry adventures, leading him to madness. However, advice and conclusions made by him in some episodes do not present this lack of discernment, as in the case discussed below, the advice given to his squire when he went to rule the island of Barataria. The latter, Sancho Panza, is presented by the author in the seventh chapter – “About the second expedition of our good knight Don Quixote de La Mancha” – being designated as a “good man [...] and of little salt in his mill” (Cervantes, 1978, p. 53). But despite this description, the former farmer is the representative of common sense to the real world, differing from Don Quixote, who represents the “good”, but for the ideal world. In this sense, Ian Watt (1997) points out Don Quixote as one of the myths of modern individualism and states: “[...] the wisdom of Sancho’s madness is the perfect complement to the madness of Quixote” (Watt, 1997, p. 88). He adds that Cervantes, by presenting his main characters with a sense of humor and indestructible concreteness, means that they cannot be confined within the limits of any standardized tendency of social, moral, or psychic opposition. Don Quixote and Sancho Panza are not opposites, each of them acquiring traces of the other in the course of their coexistence. Watt also points out that “Cervantes, exaggerating the great differences between the two on the moral and intellectual plane, strengthened their affinities on the emotional and human planes” (Watt, 1997, p. 89).

Summarizing this work by Cervantes is something difficult in the face of the numerous adventures experienced by the two main characters. Vladimir Nabokov elaborated a relation with the victories and defeats of the hero of La Mancha and shows that “[...] in his adventures Quixote obtains twenty victories, perfectly compensated by twenty defeats” (Nabokov *apud* Watt, 1997, p. 64). Don Quixote, before venturing around

the world in his life as a knight-errant, was a poor gentleman, a member of the lower ranks of the Spanish nobility, surnamed Quijada or Quesada—this inaccuracy “does little for our story” (Cervantes, 1978, p. 29), says the narrator; The man was about fifty years old and lived in a village in La Mancha. In his free time, “which were the most of the year” (Cervantes, 1978, p. 29) he was busy reading novels of chivalry. The reading became an obsession, so much that he even sold a good part of its land to acquire new books of chivalry. In his view “there was no truer story in the world” (Cervantes, 1978, p. 30) than the inventions and fantasies contained in this world. He then decided to become a knight-errant, leaving his original identity and going out into the world, in order to bring justice and aid to the republic of the helpless. To begin his journey, he cleans some of the weapons inherited from his great-grandfathers. He then passes days to choose the name of his horse and his own name, Rocinante and Don Quixote, respectively. Sancho Panza, as said earlier, only appears in chapter seven, after the return of Quixote from his first wanderings. Seen as mad by his neighbors (his niece, the nurse, the barber and the priest), after a stay of approximately fifteen days, he decides to resume his journey, however, he invites a farmer, his neighbor, to accompany him as a squire and in return promises one of the islands of the lands that he would conquer. Thus, the paths of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza intersect, and the adventures with the two begin.

The polarities of these characters are fundamental in order to understand the episode to be discussed next, the advice and the way of governing presented in the second part of the novel. The way the characters are represented physically, being one tall and thin and the other short and fat, these are characteristic that can well sketch initially the dualities of general and symbolic order that the characters possess. Watt points out:

On the psychological level, Quixote and Sancho represent the polarities of spirit and flesh, brain and stomach, sky and earth, dream and reality, past and present, literature and life; in the social sphere, there is the dichotomy of knight and peasant, of the self-proclaimed hero in the face of the confessed coward, of introverted and extroverted, solitary and gregarious, bachelor and married man (1997, p. 85).

George Orwell, in “The Art of Donald McGill” (1941), deals with the extreme linkage existing between the main characters of Don Quixote and notes that the same compositions are present in humans in general, and are therefore not a peculiarity of the knight and his squire:

Two principles, the noble folly and the plebeian wisdom, exist side by side in almost every human being. If we examine our own mind, to what conclusion will we come upon ourselves? Are we Don Quixote or Sancho Panza? We will almost certainly find out that we are both. One part of us would like us to be a hero or a saint, while the other is a fat little man who sees only the advantages of keeping ourselves alive and with all the bones in their respective places. He is our unofficial self, the voice of the belly protesting against the soul... it is sheer lie to say that he does not live in ourselves in the same way that we lie when saying that Don Quixote is not part of us (Orwell *apud* Watt, 1997, p. 85).

*Don Quixote* is an attractive novel as it makes it possible to go beyond the myth. It contains a deep wisdom in its lines that allows the reader to make a close relation with the human being. Despite being a novel dating from the seventeenth century, much can be correlated with the man of the present day, as Orwell explained.

The different characteristics of Don Quixote and Sancho make us realize how much they complete each other, and this small analysis done so far will be necessary to understand the evolution of the actions and reactions that occur in the episode in which Don Quixote advises his squire and the way he behaves in ruling his island.

#### **SYNTHESIS OF THE FACTS: THE MEETING WITH THE DUKE AND DUCHESS BEFORE THE ADVICE**

The episode selected to be studied in this paper is found in the second part of the novel, and is the central part of the third expedition of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza. At this moment of the story two new characters appear, which are of great importance: the duke and the duchess, who had read the first part of the adventures of the knight Don Quixote and found to have fun at his expense. Their main joke is the arrangement for Sancho to become the interim governor of an island, but

not of an island conquered by Quixote, but of a city belonging to the duchy.

The encounter with the Duke and Duchess takes place in a grove and is preceded by the disheartening plans of Sancho of one day to leave and to abandon the squire life, which for him does not bring any advantage. Don Quixote and Sancho watch in the distance the noble masters, impressed by their wealth. Don Quixote asks Sancho to go to the duchess and “tell that lady [...] that I, the Knight of the Lions, kiss my hands to her great beauty” (Cervantes, 1978, p. 432). In this request he recommends to Sancho to take care with his way of speaking. The request was fulfilled in full by the squire, however Don Quixote demonstrates his fragility by falling off his horse Rocinante when he goes to lower it.

The Duke and the Duchess – for they had previously known the story of the knight and his squire – invite Don Quixote and Sancho to spend a few days in their palace, and they go, hoping to enjoy an authentic chivalric stay. In this episode one can see how Quixote wants Sancho to talk as little as possible, mainly to take care of his image. However, the Duke and Duchess encourage them to talk a lot. At that moment, Don Quixote’s “struggle to be what he would like to be is replaced by a persuasive desire to appear what he is not” (Vieira, 1998, p. 103).

On arrival at the palace, Sancho shows excessive care with his donkey, resulting in a discussion with Dona Rodriguez – an older maid of the Duchess. Then there is lunch with the presence of a clergyman who is against chivalry novels, which provides a debate between Don Quixote and the Ecclesiastic on the knight-errands. The offer of the Island of Barataria to Sancho also occurs in this section.

For Maria Augusta da Costa Vieira (1998), it is from that moment, from the encounter with the Duke and Duchess and the stay in their house, that the actions are coldly calculated and idealized by the Duke and Duchess with the help of their servants. The first of these is the boar hunt, which refers to the myths of the novel of chivalry. Next, there is the adventure prepared to separate Don Quixote and Sancho: the former

remains in the palace, and the latter is sent to occupy the position of governor in Barataria. From this follows an interspersed narrative sequence of chapters that focuses on Quixote and Sancho.

Before Sancho goes to Barataria Island, in chapters forty-two and forty-three, Don Quixote makes recommendations to his faithful squire for his new challenge to be faced: that of being a governor. It is this advice that is addressed in the following section of this paper, which is an attempt to both present and discuss it.

### **THE “MIRROR FOR THE PRINCES” IN MEDIEVAL LITERATURE AND THE INTERTEXTUALITY WITH *DON QUIXOTE***

The work *Don Quixote* is known as a parody of chivalry novels. In this way, when analyzing it we can perceive the different possibilities of intertextual interpretations to be made. Julia Kristeva in *Introduction to Semanalysis* (1974):

[...] the *literary word* is not a *point* (a fixed sense), but a cross of textual surfaces, a dialogue of several writings: the writer, the recipient (or character), the current or previous cultural context. [...] all text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; All text is absorption and transformation of another text. Substituting the notion of subjectivity, intertextuality is installed, and the poetic language is read at least as a double reference (1974, p. 62-64).

The intertextuality in the work of Cervantes with the “Literature of the Mirrors”<sup>4</sup> can be noticed already at the beginning of the first part of the novel, in the sonnet “The Knight of Phoebus (*Febo*) to Don Quixote of La Mancha”, that in the first stanza presents the following verse:

My sword was not to be compared with thine,  
*Phoebus* of Spain, marvel of courtesy,  
Nor with thy famous arm this hand of mine  
That smote from east to west as lightnings fly  
(Cervantes, 1978, p. 25, highlighted by the author of this paper).

In these verses we can see the intertextuality with the work by Diego Ortunez de Calahorra, *Espejos de princes y caballeros*, also known as *El Caballero Del Febo*. As the title indicates, it binds itself to the mirrors of the

<sup>4</sup> Quoting only the “literature of mirrors”, but it is possible to verify other intertextualities, like the romance of chivalry of the time, such as *Madís de Gaula*, by Rodrigues de Montalvo.

medieval princes by proposing ideal models of chivalrous and courtesan conduct, so that those who come to read the manual may reflect and learn, especially the young nobles, future rulers. This intertextuality evidences how the tradition of “mirrors” is present in the work of Cervantes. The episode when Don Quixote gives advice to Sancho refers to this literature of manuals in which the ruler-to-be is offered the necessary lessons for his education and learning process, in order to exercise governance. And, just as in *Don Quixote*, the virtues and feats of the characters are highlighted in the medieval works that thematize the “mirror for the princes”.

Besides the relation with the work by Ortúñes de Calahorra, we can make approximations with other works of the medieval period, contemporary or not to *Don Quixote*. David Nogales Rincón, in his text *Los Espejos de Príncipes em Castilla (siglos XIII-XV): un modelo literario de la realeza bajo medieval (The Mirrors for Princes in Castile (13th-15th centuries): a literary model of medieval royalty)*, presents a definition for a better understanding of “literature of mirrors”:

The mirrors or treaties of education for princes are works of political-moral character that gather a set of directions regarding morality and basic government that are to inspire the action of the good Christian sovereign. Therefore, these treaties become, in a figurative sense, mirrors to which every Christian prince should look in order to guide his performance. Moreover, these frequently include references to various aspects, among which the world of the Court and the royal administration should be highlighted (Rincón, 2006, p. 10).

During the Middle Ages, the person of the king was the responsible authority for ensuring the legal order. Thus, he had all the political and juridical power of the society belonging to his reign. However, not only was common law part of the legislative framework, but canon law was also present. In the middle of the twelfth century, the concept of *ratio status* is developed, which entails the submission of power to the ethical-religious order, presupposing respect for the law, observing good order and just order.

Studying the history of law, Bercovici states: “The *ratio status* is not a principle of exception, but a permanent principle of conduct of political power, whose essence is to act according to justice” (2008, p. 52). Thus, gradually, and not absolutely, the king takes for himself the role of

legislator, going beyond the mere law-abiding to be the authority that derogates the law. The prerequisite for this power to derogate from the laws came from the common law: *legem non habet*, which determined what situations of limitation of public necessity and with just cause the king would be authorized to suspend the law and thus to legislate in the way he understood that would bring stability to his government. However, such a device, since Aristotle, establishes a discussion that infers on the just or tyrant ruler.

From these historical presuppositions, it is necessary to analyze some works that were submitted to this type of state reason governance, in which the need is present and detached from the legal-religious discourse. Therefore, they adopt the concept of *ratio status*, the same line that Don Quixote follows when advising Sancho Panza.

The first work selected is *Reason of State*, by Italian author Giovanni Botero, published in 1589 in Venice. It brings in its context the transformation of political relations that occurred in the passage from the medieval to the modern world, highlighting the political power of the ruler. Bercovici (2008) points out Botero's proposal as being of a Christian State reason, which integrates the need for the legal-religious discourse of *ratio status*. This work deserves to be highlighted because it has an intertextuality with the Cervantine novel, since, in *Reason of State*, the author also advises Catholic princes on what actions and attitudes are best for maintaining their own greatness and achieving development and maintenance of the State, as does Quixote to Sancho Panza. Tini discusses the aspects of decorum in *Don Quixote* and points out:

Sancho, though not a real prince, is about to assume a government which he thinks is true and for which he needs to be advised so that he can carry out his functions in accordance with the moral and ethical principles which, if attained, should guarantee good fame and recognition for himself and his master, for whom these attributes are even more fundamental (2007, p. 97).

Another important work of the medieval period, though not contemporary to *Don Quixote*, but of significant importance, is *Policraticus*, by the English author John of Salisbury, dated 1159. This work presents a kind of manual of good behavior, with the intention to make the princes rule according to the common good. Bercovici explains: “[...]”

Salisbury's view is organic, understanding society as a natural organism, a politic body whose head is occupied by the prince, responsible not only for the protection of the Christian faith, but also for the conservation of the political organism" (Bercovici, 2008, p. 53). The prince, according to *Policraticus*, should act according to the reason of the good of the people, in agreement with the laws of God and men. In the same way, like the previous work, this one presents the same characteristics, as it deals with the *ratio status*, besides being a form of advice to the princes for a good governance. Its relevance comes from the fact that there are many similarities with the advice given to Sancho Panza.

The jurist Jean Bodin, in *The Six Books of the Commonwealth*, also created his own prince, who separates the State from religion by means of exclusively juridical means. Although the prince is bound to divine and natural laws, his action to protect his kingdom can be made by any means. For Bodin, "inner peace constitutes the state, with religious unity sacrificed by state unity" (Bercovici, 2008, p. 65). The sovereign is bound by the fundamental laws of the Kingdom, by divine law and by natural law, but he is a sovereign, nonetheless:

The sovereign for Bodin is the origin of the law, but it is not merely an expression of his will. It cannot contradict reason, natural law, and divine law. The sovereign must obey the divine law and the natural law. In producing the law, the sovereign is analogous to God, but he is not God. It is not possible, for Bodin, the conflict between reason of State (expression he does not use, by the way) and the law. Power is sovereign only if it is a "fair government" (Bercovici, 2008, p. 66-67).

The selection of the prince by Bodin for the study is made when we observe the question of respect to the divine law. For Bodin, the behavior of the sovereign should not contradict reason, natural and divine right, resembling God. The "fair rule" is what brings credibility to the prince. At the same time, in the case of *Don Quixote*, it is Sancho Panza who wants to govern following divine premises.

Necessary is also the analysis of *The Prince* by Niccolò Machiavelli, written in 1513 and published, posthumously, in 1532. It is possible to affirm that it is a work from the same time period as *Don Quixote* and equally to the previous analyzed works, it consists of an important political treaty, because it brings in its scope guidelines for princes to better govern

their reigns. But, unlike other works, it presents the *ratio status* separated from necessity. For Machiavelli, “the end justifies the means”, that is, “The need is for the rule of prudence to which the prince is subjected in his actions. He is not subordinated to any higher ethical, legal or religious norms” (Bercovici, 2008, p. 62). Thus, there is a clear separation between politics and religion. With *The prince*, it is evident that, among so many princely manuals in which Christianity is the main foundation, there is a regiment of princes that aims to put “political engineering” to prudence, as in Machiavelli, which is opposite to what is intended by Cervantes in *Don Quixote*.

Other works are still regarded as princely manuals and may have been intertextualized in Cervantes’ novel, like Erasmus of Rotterdam’s *Education of a Christian Prince* (1469-1536), which presents the idea of the common good in opposition to one single person’s good, as well as the fact that the prince achieves success through the exercise of virtue, embodied in wisdom, justice, balance and foresight. This work arises in reaction to *The Prince* by Machiavelli: “What we could call ‘repulse to Machiavelli’s *Prince* and its theses’, is total and visible, and against that, Erasmus of Rotterdam propose a sensible pacifism and, at the same time, a true mirror of qualities and ethical and civic qualities for the future *prince*” (Suárez Quevedo, 2009, p. 126).

There are also the works of J.L. Viveres, with *Diálogos sobre la educación*, dated 1539, by Frade Antonio de Guevara, with *Libro aureo by Marco Aurelio emperador*, and also by Furió Ceriol, who taught that a prince “must learn his highly qualified profession, which primordial for the kingdom and, as it was then understood, full of dignity and majesty, on which the counselors must intervene, insisting on *what the prince must do* more than on *what the prince can do*” (Suárez Quevedo, 2009, p. 133).

It is still quoted Bartolomeo Platina with *De vero príncipe*, 1470; Diomedes Carrafa, *De regis et boni principis officio*, c1481; Francesco Patrizi of Siena, with *De regno et regis institutione*, 1484; and Ioannis Ioviani Pontano, *De príncipe liber*, c1503. These are some of the regiments for princes belonging to the literary Gothic tradition of which we highlight, in greater number, the “mirror for the princes”, to which we believe that Cervantes resembles.

In view of this, we can observe the various “princes” present in the literature and the roles played to be ideal models of governability. From these examples, it is a question of verifying that Sancho Panza can also be interpreted as a “prince”, that is, the model that Cervantes used to present his intentions of how a sovereign should govern, and what the interferences of those works are in the text of Cervantes.

### **ARGUMENTS USED BY DON QUIXOTE TO ADVISE HIS “PRINCE” SANCHO PANZA**

The main advice given by Quixote to Sancho Panza is found in chapters XLII and XLIII – About the advice that don Quixote gave Sancho before he went to govern the *ínsula*, with other well-thought-out matters and About the second set of advice that don Quixote gave to Sancho Panza, respectively. Chapter XLII begins with the news of the satisfaction of the Duke and Duchess when they understand the result achieved with their lies. Following up on these practices, the Duke approaches Sancho and gives him the news that he will finally rule the island that had been promised to him by Don Quixote at the beginning of his expeditions.

Sancho, in spite of the unexpected news, demonstrates to be at ease regarding this fact and reveals to the Duke:

– Ever since I came down from heaven, and from the top of it beheld the earth, and saw how little it is, the great desire I had to be a governor has been partly cooled in me; for what is there grand in being ruler on a grain of mustard seed, or what dignity or authority in governing half a dozen men about as big as hazel nuts; for, so far as I could see, there were no more on the whole earth? If your lordship would be so good as to give me ever so small a bit of heaven, were it no more than half a league, I’d rather have it than the best island in the world. (Cervantes, 1978, p. 476-477).

In the text transcribed above, Sancho reveals that his desire to rule a small island had been shot down, for the immensity of the sky has shown him that even the largest island in the world has become small. But he still feels graced by the possibility of becoming a ruler.

Sancho continues talking with the Duke until the moment when Don Quixote approaches. On this occasion, Don Quixote feels obliged to speak to Sancho and advise him on this new position which he was about to take, felt that he should guide him on how he should act in relation to his government, as well as on his behavior and attitudes, for he knew that Sancho did not master the rules or codes of the universe to which he was about to integrate. Another point that Don Quixote was aware of was the duty of directing his squire in the exercise of ruling, for the good result required cunning and insight. In the midst of these inquiries and concerns, Quixote converses leisurely with Sancho, exposing his considerations for him.

In the manner in which Quixote speaks to Sancho, it is seen that the form and content of the discourse used by the knight-errant are elaborated so as to refer us to rhetorical practices. Such a relationship is acceptable if rhetoric is understood as a means of persuading the listener, for “rhetoric and the study of rhetoric aim at the creation and elaboration with persuasive purposes [...] as a body of knowledge organized in a system or method, in order to achieve a certain practical objective” (Mesquita, 2005, p. 23). Ferraz Jr, in the *Social Function of Legal Dogmatism* (1998), discusses dogmatism and persuasion, which states that: “dogmatic discourse not only is informational discourse, in the sense that the sender merely transmits information without worries, but rather it is an eminently persuasive discourse, in the sense that the sender wants his information to be indorsed by the recipient” (Ferraz Jr, 1998, p. 177-178). In this way, Quixote’s speech is rhetorical and dogmatic, since it is:

[...]a discourse that attempts to motivate conduct, although it is not confused with prescriptive discourses [...]. Truth dwells in the persuasive discourse as an instrument of motivation. [...] Dogmatism puts the truth in parentheses and cares more about the verisimilitude, that is, it does not exclude the truth, but stresses as fundamental a certain version of the truth (Ferraz Jr, 1998, p. 178).

Thus Don Quixote sought through his speech to convince Sancho, that is, to persuade him with his words, in order to provide him better ways in his new challenge. Don Quixote used the rhetorical elements to generate persuasion, to motivate and help Sancho in order to convince him – for

although at the end of the conversation he said his friend could forget what he had said, he asked that these same pieces of advice were written down in order to have them around if the memory failed. Those who do not accept what is said to them simply forget about it, and wouldn't consider having it written down to consult. Quixote's intervention in the situation was fundamental; his action to prepare Sancho for the possibility of accomplishing the task of being a good ruler would guarantee not only his own merits as a ruler, but would also extol the name and notoriety of his protector.

As previously stated, rhetoric is not a product of mere idealization of principles born and convened to persuade people, but rather the product of consummate experiences, resulting from the analysis of the strategy chosen by the speaker (Aristotle, 19--). In this sense, Don Quixote has in his past the source of experience and knowledge, a place that rescues the basic requirements to guide the practice of prudent and discreet actions that he intends to pass on to his squire (Don Quixote, before being a knight, was a gentleman, and he knew of the relations and behaviors for the organization of a society). Quixote had the authority to carry out this counseling, because, in addition to feeling himself a protector, he was superior to Sancho in several respects: he was superior in the relation of knight / squire, he was the one giving the orders, he was also more literate and supposed to have a better understanding of the rules of society. The advice presents the prudence and discretion of a knight, always being exemplified with a concrete situation, for the better understanding by the receiver. They also deal with acting in accordance with medieval morality and the natural inclination of good. Thus, in this group of chapters, Don Quixote is presented as a perfect individual, since he demonstrated to be able to unite the moral precepts to the standards and behaviors and social practices (Tini, 2007).

Another point to be emphasized, before a more detailed analysis of the advice, is that Don Quixote, at the moment of the meeting with Sancho to make his recommendations, is in full use of his mental abilities, for as the narrator reports: “[...] as has been frequently observed in the course of this great history, he only talked nonsense when he touched on chivalry, and in discussing all other subjects showed that he had a clear and unbiased

understanding [...]” (Cervantes, 1978, p. 479). This information is important to bring credibility to the occasion, since in much of the plot Quixote presents himself in a state of madness. However, at this point, the knight can assess and interpret the situation that Sancho is about to face, that of being a ruler. Don Quixote in his speech says that he intends to advise him to “[...]be thy polestar and guide to direct and pilot thee to a safe haven out of this stormy sea wherein thou art about to engulf thyself; for offices and great trusts are nothing else but a mighty gulf of troubles.” (Cervantes, 1978, 478).

The sets of advice are separated by Don Quixote from among those to “the adornment of the mind” and those to “the adornment of the body”, that is, as a reference to the interior of the subject, his subjectivity, the other refers to the exterior, to objectivity, to actions to others. Both the sets of advice to “the adornment of the body” and the “adornment of the mind” are of the utmost importance to a prince, both are present in the manuals of good conduct. For the purpose of this study, only in the advice to the “adornment of the mind” are analyzed, from which some particularities of each piece of advice are discussed, correlating with the possible intertextualities of the works presented previously and the importance for the future reign of Sancho.

#### **ABOUT THE PIECES OF ADVICE FOR “THE ADORNMENT OF THE MIND”**

The pieces of advice designated by Don Quixote as for “the adornment of the mind” are found in chapter XLII of the novel, they are fifteen different instructions, which cover topics such as the fear of God, humility, compassion and justice. The reign of Sancho represents a political action within the novel, detached from the fanciful narration and a little out of the reality that takes much of the plot, but at that moment reality presents itself in the advice of Don Quixote to his squire.

Don Quixote’s first counsel to Sancho Panza is: “First of all, my son, thou must fear God, for in the fear of him is wisdom, and being wise thou canst not err in aught.” (Cervantes, 1978, p. 478). By observing the counsel of Quixote, wisdom comes from the fear of God and only the wise man does not err. A logical principle is proposed by Quixote: if he fears God he will be

wise, if he is wise he will not err, so if he fears God he will not err. With the exception of *The Prince* of Machiavelli, the same principle is found in the other works cited earlier in this study. In Botero's work, for example, the fear of God appears throughout the text and deals with a theory in which advice is given to Christian princes, for whom moral and religious principles, as God and the Church, are placed above all else. The same occurs in *Policraticus*, of John of Salisbury, and in the "prince" of Bodin, that is, the rulers must observe the laws of God in their decisions. However, the "prince" of Bodin, in case of extreme necessity, may even fail to observe such principles. Accompanying the understanding, Maria del Carmen Rivero Iglesias, a specialist in Spanish literature of the Golden Age, teaches that "Cervantes faces in Sancho his peculiar literary proposal of the Christian prince who takes as a first ethical foundation of his government the respect towards God ascribing it, thus, to the anti-Machiavellian current of the time" (Rivero Iglesias, 2009, p. 121).

The second counsel refers to self-knowledge:

[...]thou must keep in view what thou art, striving to know thyself, the most difficult thing to know that the mind can imagine. If thou knowest thyself, it will follow thou wilt not puff thyself up like the frog that strove to make himself as large as the ox; if thou dost, the recollection of having kept pigs in thine own country will serve as the ugly feet for the wheel of thy folly (Cervantes, 1978, p. 478).

On this piece of advice, Tini (2007) emphasizes that its position among the first ones is purposeful. We agree with the researcher, because after having the protection of God (and consequently the wisdom) it is of utmost importance to know oneself. Self-knowledge represents a necessary characteristic of the ruler so that he is able to keep an eye on himself, avoiding the dangers that may shake his morale and jeopardize his government. This characteristic works as a device for sustaining the character of the individual, giving him the stability and calm necessary to face the tribulations. Thus, it would act in a correct way covering the ethical and moral principles in the society to which he belongs (Tini, 2007).

The next counsel follows the same theme of self-knowledge, but in this Don Quixote addresses the fact that Sancho should not deny his origins of being the son of peasants. His positioning on such an issue is fundamental to the success of his government: "[...]pride thyself rather

upon being one of lowly virtue than a lofty sinner. [...]if thou make virtue thy aim, and take a pride in doing virtuous actions, thou wilt have no cause to envy those who have princely and lordly ones, for blood is an inheritance, but virtue an acquisition, and virtue has in itself alone a worth that blood does not possess” (Cervantes, 1978, p. 478). Quixote dissociates the exercise of power from the condition of the noble ruler, and the upright character of a humble farmer may be more important than the blood lineage of a nobleman. This is because the government of a society consists of actions and decisions that must be settled, since the lives of countless people will be entrusted to those who exercise power. In this sense, the works presented refer to “princes” who have the status of noble ruler, are political treatises with recommendations for real and possible situations, unlike Sancho who, in addition to being a character, became a “prince” by chance destiny.

The fourth counsel refers to Sancho’s treatment of his relatives and wife. Here again we can see the preponderance of religion to politics, as it happens in the most important manuals of “mirrors for princes”: “[...]if perchance anyone of thy kinsfolk should come to see thee when thou art in thine island, thou art not to repel or slight him, but on the contrary to welcome him, entertain him, and make much of him; for in so doing thou wilt be approved of heaven (which is not pleased that any should despise what it hath made)” (Cervantes, 1978, p. 478). Another point that stands out in this counsel is the role of his wife, who must possess the same level of knowledge of the ruler, “for all that may be gained by a wise governor may be lost and wasted by a boorish stupid wife” (Cervantes, 1978, p. 478).

The advice that Don Quixote expounds then reflects again the traditional doctrine that is dominant in his speech, for Don Quixote warns Sancho, should he become a widower and be in the government, not to use his superior post to marry someone for interest, “I tell thee, for all the judge’s wife receives, the husband will be held accountable at the general calling to account; where he will have repay in death fourfold, items that in life he regarded as naught” (Cervantes, 1978, p. 478). In this piece of advice, we can see prudence – according to the morality of the time – as one of the outstanding characteristics in the counsels of Don Quixote.

Justice in its application and practice is the subject of the following counsels. After self-knowledge, this is the subject that Don Quixote further

evidences, possibly because it is one of the most important tasks to be performed by a governor, since, at the time in question, it was in the person of the prince the responsibility to solve the impasses which occurred in the community – as it happens in the chapters referring to the government of Sancho in the Island of Barataria.

Don Quixote draws attention first to the interpretation of the law: “Never go by arbitrary law, which is so much favoured by ignorant men who plume themselves on cleverness” (Cervantes, 1978, p. 478). That is, the interpretation of the law must be fair, and there are no tendentious inclinations due to the situation of hierarchical superiority, because for Quixote who prevails of this presupposition is ignorant, and a governor cannot possess such negative quality. Here we find the concept of *ratio status* that determines how political power must in its essence act according to justice, revealing what the first council already determined Sancho: the fear of God to have wisdom, not to be ignorant. In this way, once again, the Christian guidelines intertwined with those of the politician are visualized.

Then two counsels are presented to Sancho concerning the application of justice, in which the rich and the poor oppose each other. Such advice is interesting because it hinders preconceptions – of the poor to always be favored or the rich always suffer discrimination because of their position. Such ideas must be forgotten and a fair trial must be made. For Don Quixote one must have compassion for the poor man’s tears, but he must observe the rich man’s claims, as one must also search for “the truth, as well amid the promises and presents of the rich man, as amid the sobs and entreaties of the poor” (Cervantes, 1978, p. 478). Again we observe prudence in governing being approached by Quixote in his counsels.

The ninth council, as well as the sixth, refers to the question of equity. The judgment must be fair, “[...] press not the utmost rigour of the law against the guilty; for the reputation of the stern judge stands not higher than that of the compassionate” (Cervantes, 1978, p. 478).

From the sixth to the ninth counsels discussed and analyzed above, it is observed that they refer to some points of the “manuals for princes” or “mirrors for the princes”:

Sancho also responds to the characterization of the philosopher prince because he knows how to discern between reality and appearance in the cases that it is

essential to do so in order to act with justice. [...] in fact, Sancho does not know how to read or write, so one could ask where the rational substrate that guides his government comes from, the wisdom that allows him to distinguish the principles of the just and the unjust. Sancho is, in this sense, undoubted carrier of a large dose of popular wisdom embodied in the abundant list of sayings of those who show nobility, understood as a manifestation of moral philosophy whose authority is spotted [...] (Rivero Iglesias, 2009, p. 122).

Again, the next council has a religious character, although it brings justice as its main point: “If perchance thou permittest the staff of justice to swerve, let it be not by the weight of a gift, but by that of mercy” (Cervantes, 1978, p. 478). Understanding the human and seeking the truth is the purpose that Sancho as governor/judge must achieve in order to be an example, and for his government to prosper.

The impartiality of the judge is also approached by Quixote in the counsels concerning the “adornment of the mind”. In the first of these, the knight points to Sancho that when he comes to a judgment of a person for whom he has some pejorative feeling, he must try to judge without passion, not to harm them, nor to hurt himself by doing an unjust judgment: “If it should happen thee to give judgment in the cause of one who is thine enemy, turn thy thoughts away from thy injury and fix them on the justice of the case” (Cervantes, 1978, p. 479). He then refers to a judgment made corruptly to help others, highlighting the consequences that may result: “Let not thine own passion blind thee in another man's cause; for the errors thou wilt thus commit will be most frequently irremediable; or if not, only to be remedied at the expense of thy good name and even of thy fortune” (Cervantes, 1978, p. 479). The following advice follows again the same reasoning, but it highlights the role of the handsome woman, who by her beauty and tears will sometimes try to deceive the judge and get him out of reason.

Finally, the last two councils refer to the type of punishment to be applied to the convict, suggesting a punishment with works, but observing a just condemnation, “for the pain of punishment is enough for the unfortunate without the addition of thine objurgations” (Cervantes, 1978, p. 479). It also points out a recommendation for the ruler to have piety and mercy towards

those under his jurisdiction, bringing again the Catholic values in his counseling:

the culprit who comes under thy jurisdiction is but a miserable man subject to all the propensities of our depraved nature, and so far as may be in thy power show thyself lenient and forbearing; for though the attributes of God are all equal, to our eyes that of mercy is brighter and loftier than that of justice (Cervantes, 1978, p. 479).

Rivero Iglesias states that: “The government of Sancho is guided by the principles of natural law, which are subject to canon law and are thus incorporated as an ideal into positive law” (Rivero Iglesias, 2009, p. 123), for in *Don Quixote* there is extreme sympathy for the good things done by Sancho, and these must now be present in reality.

The intertextuality between this passage of *Don Quixote* and the works dealing with the “mirrors for the princes” is evident. It turns out that, besides the religious question that is so prominent in the formation of the prince, justice is also a recurring theme. This latter is viewed as a way of guaranteeing to the prince the love and the reputation and to the State the establishment of the harmony between the people. Thus, like Quixote, Botero, for example, brings the idea of fairness in the first place. It indicates that the one submitted to the rigor of the law must have the right to a fair application of the sentence. Similarly, as in the government of Sancho, in the referenced works, the king is shown as administrator of justice, but they go further to point out some moments in history when kings with unlimited powers begin to behave as absolutes and to abuse their authority, depriving the accused of a fair trial.

As previously mentioned, except for *Policraticus*, the works are contemporary to that of Cervantes and can be framed as philosophical manuals with notes on how to rule, differing from *Don Quixote* which is a novel. However, it is visualized how the practice of justice pointed out by its authors demands prudence, an indispensable requirement for those who have the application of justice under their responsibility. The works (with the exception of *The prince*) emphasize justice applied in the correct way, which guarantees the tranquility of the people and consequently the stability of the government. The misuse or misapplication of justice is bad not only for its object, but for the ruler, who may face rebellions due to his

wrongdoings and injustices. In this way, it is observed that a ruler must have his governmental abilities permeated by discretion and subtlety, since the need to affirm these two points (virtue and justice) stems from human imperfection, as when virtues become weak to the point to change order, it is necessary to use mechanisms capable of restoring peace and tranquility among men, in order to guarantee the stability of the State (Tini, 2007).

### FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

In this work we sought to present the advice that Don Quixote gave to Sancho Panza before he ruled the Island of Barataria, noting the similarity between the “manuals for princes” and verifying that Sancho Panza could fit this profile. As pointed out, since the sonnet present in the first part of the novel there is already a reference to the theme of the “mirrors for the princes” with reference to the knight of Phoebus. Cervantes is, for the most part, within the medieval and Gothic thought and literature of the “mirrors for the princes”.

Quixote addressed several of the necessary counsels for a good reign, divided them into those that should be “adornment for the mind” and those which were “adornments for the body”. He was concerned to complete Sancho, that is, he fought to complete the human being, composed of body and mind. First, he took care of the mind, as seen in the discussion so far, and then he listed the second set of advice, the “adornment of the body”, set forth in chapter XLIII, which bring as main topics the orientations on how to dress, as talk, how to carry the table, etc. Quixote had the concern of making his squire act according to the condition he was about to face: to have common sense and caution with his manners, and then to have the confidence of his court in his actions. In view of this, it was concluded that the counsels have the function of making Sancho a good ruler, so that in his form of governing the art of prudence stands out, instead of the Machiavellian “political engineering”.

The exposition of the first lines of the novel to arrive at the episode selected for the discussion highlighted how the characteristics of each of the two characters (Don Quixote and Sancho Panza) are fundamental for the

outcome of this passage that brings in its narrative the explicit Law, for the ruler was the one who judged in medieval times. So Sancho would be the judge and Don Quixote, knowing of his friend's difficulties, decided to help him, since he knew of the fact that lives would be decided by him and his decisions would interfere in the daily life of the society that would be subordinated to him.

In this way, observing how much law is present in Cervantes' work, the aspect addressed is only one among others that can be debated, innumerable are the angles that jurists can observe to humanize their actions. Cintron points out that:

[...]the work of Cervantes, a continuous search for liberty, justice, and the Law before the deleterious forces that hinder it. Hence his beautiful words about liberty, the 'human treasure'. [...] The legal issues exposed, the contrasts, the antinomies, the contradictions and all the quixotic ferment related to Law, Justice, equity and the perennial problems of the administration of justice that introduce the lawyer and the laymen in contents of profound importance and relevance (Cintrón, 2010, p. 135).

The social aspect and the representation of the reality of the time – that seems so current – allows us an analysis of the law beyond the predominant positivism in the contemporary juridical formulation. The characters Don Quixote and Sancho Panza are representations of subjects of law: in the case of Sancho, the judge; and Quixote, the instructor, who aided in the realization of his government and made him, even for a few days, a “prince” worthy of his reign.

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**Original language: Portuguese**

**Received: 19 Dec. 2017**

**Accepted: 08 Aug. 2018**