

Illinois Wesleyan University

From the Selected Works of Carolyn A Nadeau

Winter January, 2006

Critiquing the Elite in the Barataria and 'Ricote' Food Episodes in *Don Quijote II*

Carolyn A Nadeau, *Illinois Wesleyan University*



Available at: https://works.bepress.com/carolyn_nadeau/2/

CRITIQUING THE ELITE IN THE BARATARIA AND “RICOTE” FOOD EPISODES IN *DON QUIXOTE II**

by Carolyn A. Nadeau
Illinois Wesleyan University

In *Don Quixote II* the multiple food episodes revolve around Sancho Panza who experiences and discusses the changing face of Spain's gastronomy. From simple peasant food to elaborate noble banquets, from a village wedding celebration to spontaneous roadside meals, and from detailed food preparations to post prandial conversations, the visceral Sancho experiences fully sensual pleasures of consumption. Characters in the novel, specifically Don Quixote and the doctor Pedro Recio who attends to Sancho while governor of Barataria, reveal cultural assumptions that consuming certain foods was a sign of social identity and maintained proper social equilibrium. In addition to confronting this indoctrinated social elitism, the Barataria episode and the “Ricote” episode when Sancho shares lunch with travelers after he leaves the “insula,” bring to light strains of nationalism in the dishes Cervantes includes. Through Sancho's exaggerated culinary moments, Cervantes introduces regional and international dishes that reveal culinary trends of inclusion and exclusion. This paper, then, explores social stratification that occurs both at the table and in society at large as exemplified through the dining scenes in Barataria and later, on the crossroads of Spain. Drawing from the work of Pierre Bourdieu, Massimo Montanari and Juan Cruz Cruz as well as sixteenth-century food manuals I hope to illustrate food's role in the changing social climate of early modern Spain.

Sancho's dining experiences on the island of Barataria are part of the Duke and Duchess's burlesque montage that fulfills Sancho's dream of governing and that pokes fun at what they view to be Sancho's stupidity, gluttony and cowardice.¹ Before Sancho departs the Dukes' palace to begin his appointment as governor, Don Quixote offers his squire some words of wisdom that echo rules of moral instruction and physical conduct for any gentleman of the day.² Within this list of instructions for being a successful governor, Don Quixote includes several items regarding dietary practices:

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

One of the most famous medical writers of the sixteenth century, Luis Lobera de Ávila, was personal doctor to Carlos I (later Carlos V of the Holy Roman Empire) and wrote several treatises that were translated throughout Europe. In his *Banquete de Nobles Caballeros* he addresses the very issues that Don Quixote does when advising Sancho. Writing on the properties of onions and garlic and their appropriateness for the working class, he states, “Y porque son manjares más de gente grosera y rústica, que de nobles hombres, no me alargaré” (147). On garlic Lobera de Ávila repeatedly quotes Galen who says that “los ajos son triaca de rústicos” (146). With respect to quantities, Lobera de Ávila also advises to eat moderately: “En el comer no ha de ser mucha la cantidad, de manera que ni quede repleto, ni tampoco hambriento, sino medianamente contento” (43). He continues to advise, like Don Quixote, that one should eat less at dinner than at lunch: “las cenas han de ser livianas más que las comidas” (Lobera de Ávila 51). Finally, when speaking of wine he too counsels to drink moderately: “los nocumentos que se causan usando dello no templadamente son: turba el entendimiento y sentido, fatiga el cerebro, y su virtud causa olvidos” (Lobera de Ávila 63). Although generally understood as a light, satiric moment as Sancho departs to assume his new role as governor, this scene in which Don Quixote advises his squire echoes the very precepts set forth by Lobera de Ávila for the King of Spain

and Holy Roman Emperor.

The cookbooks of Ruperto Nola, Diego Granado, and Francisco Martinez Montañón comment on how food relates to one spiritually and socially. In fact, Nola's cookbook - *Libre de coch* (1520) and later translated into Castilian as *El libro de guisado* (1525) - is written so that young men can learn to be virtuous. His introduction begins: "Como sea muy necesaria a los mozos de cierta edad aprender el camino de las virtudes . . . conviene que sepan los hijos-dalgos para ser más valerosos y saber cómo han de tratar a cualquier estado y condición de gentes" (57). Again certain conduct, in this case that of serving food, leads to a virtuous life.

Cookbooks and etiquette manuals were part of the exclusionary tactics that the elite used to confirm their status and separate themselves from others. To contextualize Don Quixote's advice to Sancho, Lobera de Ávila's to Carlos V, and authors of cookbook manuals to young gentlemen, Pierre Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital proves helpful. As explained in his work, *Distinction. A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, cultural capital is "a form of knowledge, an internalized code or a cognitive acquisition which equips the social agent with empathy towards, appreciation for or competence in deciphering cultural relations and cultural artifacts" (7).³ This type of capital, not unlike economic capital, can be either inherited from the family or acquired through some type of education. It is revealed both by what is consumed and how products are consumed. For example, clothing, furniture, and of course, cookery are structures of consumption that reveal differences either inherited or acquired. Thus, Don Quixote's advice is an attempt to impart on Sancho certain etiquette so that he might acquire the cultural capital that he had never inherited.

During the sixteenth century, Spain, like many parts of Europe, was experiencing a lot of social mobility and revolt. The elite enclosed themselves within rules and norms. They excluded and increased social discrimination between different aristocratic levels however possible, for example, by refining the table. Under Felipe III's rule, and because of the Crown's financial needs, social mobility exploded: gentlemen were granted titles, those with titles ascended to the status of grandee, and even within the grandee circle, subtle hierarchical differences were played out to distinguish one group from another. It is worth noting that while economic capital was made available to some, the cultural capital needed to achieve recognition, at times was harder to obtain. "Cultural consumption [is] predisposed, consciously and deliberately or not, to fulfill a social function of legitimating social differences" (Bourdieu 7). With the right amount of money, anyone could buy his/her way up the proverbial aristocratic ladder but could this person acquire the recognition that comes with the newly acquired title? Dominguez Ortiz explains:

la categoría predominante y casi única que presidió la creación de títulos en aquel siglo, que fue la necesidad de la Corona de procurarse dinero, con lo cual, por encima de las protestas que levantara el sistema, venía a reconocerse el criterio fundamentalmente económico que, como ya queda apuntado, presidía la jerarquización del estamento nobiliario. Quien tenía dinero para comprar lugares y vasallos, llevar un tren de vida ostentoso y abonar crecidas cantidades a la Hacienda, pasaba a ser, de simple caballero, conde o marqués. (72)

The 50 or so grantees and titled nobles during the reign of Carlos I doubled during Felipe II's rule. To those hundred, Felipe III added another 20 marquises and 25 counts (Dominguez Ortiz 71). And with these dramatic increases of social ascendance came exclusionary tactics. The old aristocracy began snubbing the new by denying them entrance into certain privileged circles (Dominguez Ortiz 55), and, as Massimo Montanari points out, by supporting classist theories of nutritional privilege (82-91). While those seeking to prove themselves could use the same theories and food practices to get in so to speak. As Bourdieu reminds us, "there are relationships between groups maintaining different and even antagonistic relations to culture, depending on the conditions in which they acquired their cultural capital" (12). To achieve the symbolic capital that should accompany the new social status, people

could demonstrate what food products they consumed and how they consumed them but Sancho's governorship will take a different turn.

Famished after a hard day of advising Sancho enters the dining hall to a lot of fanfare, manifestation of his newly acquired power: music to welcome him, hand washing and a bib so he can be clean as he enjoys his food, and a prayer to bless his meal. The room is filled with the Duke's hired help: a steward, musicians, attendants, pages, a student and, finally, the doctor Pedro Recio de Agüero de Tirteafuera. Using his whalebone wand, the doctor evaluates the dishes offered to Sancho, essentially eliminating anything that Sancho attempts to taste; he finally allows him to eat some wafers and quince. Angered and frustrated, Sancho demands an explanation as to why the tantalizing dishes have been removed from the table. Pedro Recio explains:

No se ha de comer, señor gobernador, sino como es uso y costumbre en las otras ínsulas donde hay gobernadores. . . . Miro por su salud mucho más que por la mía, estudiando de noche y de día y tanteando la complexión del gobernador, para acertar a curarle cuando cayere enfermo; y lo principal que hago es asistir a sus comidas y cenas. (387)

Like Don Quixote, Pedro Recio tries to educate Sancho in the ways cultural consumption reflects his status as governor of Barataria. Pedro Recio's insistence on consuming certain cultural goods while rejecting others draws on medical practices to legitimize his claims.

Doctors of the day put forward that eating food inappropriate to one's rank would cause illness. Montanari explains that "the rich should not partake of heavy soups, like those made from legume or entrails, which were not very nutritious and difficult to digest; the poor instead were to avoid excessively select or refined foods which their course stomachs could not easily manage" (87). According to this theory of nutritional privilege, "the relationship between 'quality of person' and 'quality of food' was not a simple fact tied to the chances of wealth or need, but rather a basic and ontological postulate: to eat well or poorly was an intrinsic individual characteristic (and hopefully unalterable), just as was social class" (Montanari 87). Pedro Recio reiterates this idea and corroborates it with elitist notions of diet that required time ("estudiando de noche y de día") and attention ("tanteando la complexión del gobernador").

In the sixteenth century dietary manuals on how and what to eat proliferate.⁴ Following the ideas of Hippocrates (*Corpus hippocraticum* about 400 BCE), Polibus (*Sobre la naturaleza del hombre*, 400 BCE), Galen (*De sanitate tuenda* also known as *Regimen sanitatis* 129-200 CE), and Haly Abbas (*Liber Pantegni* 994), among others, authors of dietary manuals, such as Arnaldo de Vilanova who wrote *Regimen de Salud*, combined the traditions of ancient and medieval doctors to form the basis of sixteenth-century medical practices. Pedro Recio continues his explanation:

mandé quitar el plato de la fruta, por ser demasiadamente húmeda y el plato del otro manjar también le mandé quitar, por ser demasiadamente caliente y tener muchas especies, que acrecientan la sed; y el que mucho bebe, mata y consume el húmedo radical, donde consiste la vida. (387)

Sancho, sensing where the doctor is coming from, tries to reason with him asking which of the dishes he can eat. The doctor again denies him a variety of dishes: "plato de perdices asadas . . . bien sazonadas, . . . conejos guisados, ternera . . . asada y en adobo" (387-88). He explains his decisions by misquoting Hippocrates and disdaining either the food's inherent nature or the preparation methods of the dishes. These decisions, key to the humor of the entire dining episode at Barataria, are a spoof on the current medical trends that support the biopsychological theory of the humors.

Early modern medical practices were based on procuring a balance of the humors and a steady flow of spirits through the body's channels. Food was fundamental as it was thought to have three properties

that must be taken into account to maintain a humoral balance: 1. quality, whether the food is cold, hot, moist, or dry, 2. action, whether it nurtures the body slowly, quickly, or moderately, and 3. sustenance, to what degree it awakens the vital spirit. An individual's complexion, which can be sanguine, choleric, phlegmatic, or melancholic, was always shifting based on external factors such as food intake.⁵ These scientific explanations were conveniently elitist and although they had been around for centuries, in the early modern period they "took on a new and unprecedented systematic rigor" (Montanari 88) and produced the type of social stratification that ruling classes embraced.

In a last effort, Sancho turns to the *olla podrida* suggesting that of its multiple ingredients, one must fit his constitution. Again the doctor responds that this dish is unacceptable both because of Sancho's class status as governor and because of the health risks it imposes:

las ollas podridas para los canónigos o para los retores de colegios o para las bodas labradorecas, y déjennos libres las mesas de los gobernadores, donde ha de asistir todo primor y toda atildadura; y la razón es porque siempre y a doquiera y de quienquiera son más estimadas las medicinas simples que las compuestas, porque en las simples no se puede errar y en las compuestas sí. (388)

Pedro Recio's snub of the *olla podrida* as a dish not worthy of governors could not be further from the truth.⁶ However, he is right in saying that it is food for peasant's weddings. During Camacho's wedding the narrator never mentions *olla podrida* per se, but the description of whole sheep, hare, hens, geese, rabbits and other fowl and game slowly simmering in six different cauldrons could be nothing less than what Calderón would dub "la Princesa de los Guisados."

The *olla podrida* was a fashionable dish during the Hapsburg monarchy. In the seventeenth century it represented the culinary taste of nobles both for its ostentation and its opulence (García 91). Although its beginnings as a simpler stew with humbler ingredients are generally agreed upon, no one really knows its point of origin. Some postulate that it is originally Gallic or perhaps Visigoth; others theorize that the *olla podrida* comes from the Jewish *adafina* that would be prepared on Fridays to avoid cooking on the Sabbath.⁷ At each table ingredients for the stew would invariably change depending on the area, season, and economic level of those cooking. But in the sixteenth century, *olla podrida* becomes the fashion among the aristocracy and for three centuries is served from the richest tables to the poorest. Recipes would vary from one cook to the next but all agreed that the ingredients must be many and varied. Diego Granado, the first to record the *olla podrida* in Spain in his work, *El libro del arte de la cocina* (1599), recommends the following:⁸

6 libras de camero y 6 libras de riñonada de ternera y 6 libras de vaca gorda y 2 capones y 2 gallinas y 4 pichones caseros gordos ... y en otro tarro de barro o de cobre con el caldo de la sobredicha carne, cuézcanse dos cuartos de liebre trasera cortados a pedazos, tres perdices, dos faisanes, dos ánades gruesas, salvajes y frescas, veinte tordos, veinte codornices y tres francolines (82)

The recipe contains other instructions for pork, vegetables, legumes, seasoning, and presentation but this citation demonstrates the excessiveness of the *olla podrida* that appeared both in kings' kitchens and earlier at Camacho's feast. We could expect something similar at Sancho's table. *La olla podrida* is one of Spain's rich gastronomic contributions to Europe. Culinary giants like Careme in his work, *L'art de la cuisine française au dix-neuvième siècle*, and Escoffier in *Le Guide Culinaire*, mention that the *olla podrida* is Spain's first national dish to influence other European cooking.

Later that evening when the doctor concedes and Sancho is finally able to dine, Cervantes compares his humble fare with elegant international and regional dishes:

le dieron de cenar un salpicón de vaca, con cebolla, y unas manos cocidas de ternera algo entrada en días. Entregóse en todo, con más gusto que si le hubieran dado francolines de Milán, faisanes de Roma, ternera de Sorrento, perdices de Morón, o gansos de Lavajos (405).⁹

This attention to foods that hail from specific areas exemplifies how culinary trends reflect political ones. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, nationalistic sentiment is on the rise throughout Europe. One need only recall the Count Duke's futile attempts to unify Spain in the 1620s and 30s through national laws, a national banking system and the infamous "Unión de las armas" to understand the strong nationalistic sentiment of the Spanish territories that consistently opposed such unification. This focus on regional independence has its parallel in the development of the early modern cookbooks.

In 1520 Ruperto de Nola publishes a handful of regional dishes in *Libre de coch: salsa Granada, toronjas de Xativa, mostaza francesa, fruta llamada robioles a la catalana*, to name a few. However, at the end of the century, in Diego Granado's *El libro del arte de la cocina* (1599), in which he carries on Spanish cooking traditions established by Nola and also introduces to Spain the modern influences of the Italian Bartolomeo Scappi, numerous regional and international dishes appear. Like those Sancho cites, Granado includes specialties from Milan, Rome, and Naples; international dishes from Germany, France, and Hungary; recipes used by the great chefs of Spanish nobility and monarchy including Sardinias, chef to Alvaro de Luna; Lopera, chef to Juana la Loca; Joaquín, chef to Fernando el Católico; among others (Bennassar 142). Granado's role in Spanish culinary history is arguable. To his credit he brings international recipes and modern techniques to Spain. But his fame was short lived. Twelve years and two editions after his work was published, Francisco Martínez Montañón writes what is now considered the definitive cookbook from early modern Spain, *Arte de cocina: pastelería, vizcochería y conservería* (1611) and Granado's work virtually disappears until 1971.¹⁰

Returning to Barataria, Sancho has the last word as he demands simpler, peasant food of meat and vegetables. He mentions none of the elite foods like pheasant, partridge, mutton, and fruit; rather he sticks to the humbler foods from quadrupeds and bulb and root vegetables. His food choices foreshadow his decision to renounce his governorship. In a certain way, Sancho agrees with Pedro Recio; humble food for the humble and rich food for the rich.

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

Yet, their discussion closes with Sancho's praise of the *olla podrida*, a dish that crosses class lines and is enjoyed by king, governor, and country peasant alike, thus shattering the elitist notions of dietary privilege. At this point the doctor Pedro Recio disappears from the pages of the text and with him notions of elitist cuisine. Through food readers can recognize the frustrations of climbing the socio-economic ladder, an almost obsession for Sancho throughout *Don Quixote I* and, until this point, *Don Quixote II*.¹¹ The food scene that immediately follows the Barataria episode - Sancho's afternoon meal with his neighbor Ricote and some German pilgrims on the crossroads of Spain - takes a different approach to the cultural capital Pedro Recio embodies and that Sancho rejects. Here, a group of travelers of diverse nationality, ethnicity and socioeconomic backgrounds, share a meal together in which respect, generosity and good manners abound and elitist notions of class, health, and food are absent. In direct contrast to the debacle of Barataria, this dining episode represents a perfect dining moment, complete with proper table etiquette, without regard for social status or nutritional privilege.

The “Ricote” episode has commanded significant critical attention in an effort to understand why Sancho fortuitously meets this particular group of travelers.¹² Carroll Johnson has written on the dual economic consequences of the expulsion of the Morisco population from Spain. For Johnson, Ricote’s presence is a testament not only to the loss of the Morisco work force but also to the loss of a rising capitalist economy that Moriscos represented through their ethic of working hard and saving money. He further argues that the German presence and the fact that Ricote has settled in Augsburg bring together both the religious and the economic forces that contributed to Spain’s downfall. Citing Márquez Villanueva, Johnson recalls the religious significance of Ricote’s site of relocation in the Peace of Augsburg, the first permanent settlement for the coexistence of Lutherans and Catholics in Germany. Although Carlos I (V) opened the diet, he refused to attend the proceedings due to the inevitable religious compromises and the impossibility of securing a unified religion within his empire (287-88). The economic significance lies in the fact that throughout most of the sixteenth century, Augsburg was one of the banking centers of Europe that rapidly exhausted Spain’s capital that came from America (292-93).

When Sancho coincidentally meets his Morisco neighbor, Ricote, their encounter - celebrated with food, drink and conversation - gives closure to the chaos of Sancho’s tenure as governor as well as supports the socio-economic critic Johnson and other scholars have argued. Here, Sancho and Ricote, together with five German pilgrims, spontaneously partake in what turns out to be the perfect meal.¹³

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

Gone are the elitist notions of class, health, and food that Pedro Recio imposes on Sancho. In their place we find an international table of Spaniard, Morisco and Germans, who carry out the standards of proper table arrangement and share their humble, international delicacies amongst one another. In a section on how to serve food, Nola’s cookbook corroborates these travelers’ etiquette as they first place salt, knives, and bread on their “green tablecloth”: “En la mesa lo primero que se debe poner es *el salero*, y luego los paños de mesa y *los cuchillos*, y eso acabado de lavarse el señor ... en un plato poner *el pan* y el paño de mesa, y un cuchillo” (Nola 68, my own emphasis). Following the accepted norms for aristocratic table display, these travelers do not lack salt, knives or bread, the first items mentioned as they prepare for their midday “banquet.” What is immediately apparent is the presence of salt. Not only do travelers carry it with them, but also all the food laid — with the exception of the walnuts - depends on salt for its flavor. In fact, the processed items of cheese, ham, caviar, and olives are all defined by salt. It preserves what was their respective natural state of milk, pork, fish eggs, and fruit, and thus converts them into long-lasting staples for the working class.

Symbol of loyalty and friendship, from the beginning of civilization salt has been one of the most valued commodities. In the early seventeenth century, the Genoese controlled most of Europe’s salt manufacturing, including salt-works in Aragón (where the lunch occurs) that exported to Europe. It is no coincidence that the Genoese were also the dominant bankers and financiers in Spain. Like the Augsburg Germans of the sixteenth century, they channeled the wealth coming into Spain from the Americas into their own pockets. Yet the power of salt’s image delves even deeper than the economic ramifications of its industry’s backers. It also has strong ties with Spain’s Islamic heritage and the many technological advances the Muslims contributed to Europe. In the eighth century, Muslims

introduced to Spain a salt-manufacturing technique that dominated the industry until the twentieth century. They invented a system of pumps and sluices that carried brine water from one pond to another as it reached various densities of salt saturation (Kurlansky 82-83). Cervantes' timely inclusion of salt and its important food products both in Spain and abroad, as Sancho meets Ricote, the Morisco who has been banished from Spain, stands as a homage to one of the many technological advances the Muslims contributed to Spain and beyond.

Sancho's previous comparisons of international dishes to his long awaited meal in Barataria pave the way for his very real exposure to eating a new product that the Germans have brought with them on their journey: caviar. This 'black edible' comes from sturgeon, a prehistoric fish that in the early modern period was found, though certainly not exclusively, in the rivers of southern Germany and Northern Italy.¹⁴ What today we think of as the ultimate in extravagant food, constituted then, together with the picked over ham bone, meager fare for the traveling company. Like the *olla podrida* that crosses social barriers, fish eggs cut across social boundaries as they were both consumed as cheap food for fishermen and presented to kings throughout medieval and early modern Europe (Kurlansky 410).

The description of how Sancho and the others savored their meal further complicates this gastronomic moment: "Comenzaron a comer con grandísimo gusto y muy de espacio, saboreándose con cada bocado, que le tomaban con la punta del cuchillo, y muy poquito de cada cosa" (449). The rate at which Sancho, Ricote and the pilgrims savored their meal, how they used their knives, and the small quantities each consumed recall Don Quixote's advice to Sancho as he departed the Duke and Duchess' palace. What were meant to be suggestions to hide his *villanería* are now the very elements that define a moderate Sancho.¹⁵ Here, among foreigners, exiles and, as many critics would have it, the gluttonous Sancho, readers are presented with mixed signals: proper table preparation yet set in the wilderness, an etiquette worthy of the most noble class yet humble fare best suited for the working class, meager portions yet abundant for all to partake and be fully satisfied.

The sophisticated use of the knife highlights two cultural developments that revolved around etiquette. First, etiquette manuals explicitly state that table salt was never to be touched by the hand, but by the tip of the knife, much like the narrator describes at the roadside feast (Kurlansky 9). Second, the focus on the knife curiously draws attention to the absence of the fork. Historically, the fork was used by official knife carvers throughout the Middle Ages to cut and present meat at the table and did not evolve into an eating utensil - bringing food from plate to mouth - until sometime in the sixteenth century for nobility and in the eighteenth century for everyone else (García 26-27). More specifically, in the early to mid seventeenth century it develops from an eating utensil used only for desserts to one used throughout the meal. And, above all, it is the eating utensil that most signifies refinement and distinction - a cultural capital wedge that clearly divides the "haves" from the "have nots."¹⁶ Readers may laugh as Don Quixote brags to his host don Antonio that, as governor, Sancho would use a fork to eat his grapes and pomegranate seeds, "comía con el tenedor las uvas y aun los granos de la granada." (510). Don Quixote surely exaggerates the point; however, his example of Sancho using a fork rightly shows the historic and social development of this utensil's history and, again, blurs the lines of cultural distinction as Sancho is the one described using this symbol of etiquette and refinement.

Returning to Sancho, Ricote and the pilgrims, the description of their lunch banquet closes with wine: "y luego al punto, todos a una, levantaron los brazos y las botas en el aire, clavados los ojos en el cielo, no parecía sino que ponían en él la puntería" (449). That religious travelers would take wine with their meal is to be expected but that Ricote also carries his own wineskin and partakes in the drink call attention to his renunciation of Islam and conversion to Christianity. Drinking wine and consuming ham were expressly forbidden in Ice de Gebir's *Brevario sunni*, the fifteenth-century *aljamiado* text that Muslims across Spain referred to and that transmitted Islamic culture to practicing Muslims for generations. Here, in the section on "Principal Commandments and Prohibitions," Ice writes, "Do not drink wine or any other intoxicating thing. Do not eat pork, nor any carrion flesh, nor blood, nor any

suspect thing” (Harvey 88-89). Even for those who had officially converted, changing centuries-old cultural traditions was a more difficult process. That Ricote drinks wine and eats ham without hesitation or further explanation shows that his conversion is not superficial but culturally confirmed.

Finally, their food items echo the humble fare that Don Quixote and Sancho ate with the goat herders and the nuts that inspired the knight’s discourse on the Golden Age. His speech of an age when peace and equality reign, along with the advice he offers Sancho before departing for Barataria are fulfilled as Sancho dines with these travelers. Although physically absent, Don Quixote’s presence is very much alive in this apex of etiquette and dietary practices in which social and cultural barriers vanish and harmony prevails. As the pilgrims drift into post-prandial slumber, Ricote and Sancho discuss the exile’s predicament. Sancho refuses to aid Ricote but decides not to report him to the authorities in spite of numerous mandates from the Pope and the Holy Office of the Inquisition that demand full prosecution and excommunication of those who do not (López Fanego 81).¹⁷

Through the culinary adventures of Sancho Panza Cervantes challenges the classist undertones that etiquette manuals like Lobera de Ávila’s *Banquete de nobles caballeros* espouse. At the governor’s table, theories of nutritional privilege are ridiculed and readers enjoy the turning of the tables from what started as a joke played on Sancho to what ended as a critique of the very lifestyle the Duke and Duchess embody. In direct contrast to the failed Barataría dining rituals, at lunch on the roadside, Sancho follows many of the etiquette norms laid out in Lobera de Ávila’s advise manual showing that good manners need no social boundary. During his governorship, he dismisses practices of cultural capital that are socially prejudicial in nature and then spontaneously practices them with Ricote, symbol of the very subject the state has outright rejected.

Although literary critics have often characterized Sancho as a glutton and a carnivalesque figure seeking physical overindulgence, I would argue that Sancho embodies the ideal reader of the first book ever published on food: Platina’s *De honesta voluptate et valetudine*.¹⁸ In his introduction Platina writes: “[W]ho is so stolid . . . that he is not suffused by some pleasure of body or mind if he has held to temperance in eating, from which comes good health, and to integrity and consistency in action, from which happiness arises? ... I have written to help any citizen seeking health, moderation and elegance of food rather than debauchery” (101-03). Previously critics have drawn conclusions about Sancho’s indulgences from a comparative perspective that contrast the squire and the penitent knight who uses self negation as a source of meditation on his spellbound damsel. Who would not, in comparison, appear excessive in manner? Yet, when comparing Sancho to others he meets in the text or evaluating him within a given context then his eating practices are indeed moderate. Throughout *Don Quijote II*, Sancho often exercises moderation in his decisions and, like Platina suggests, holds to “temperance in eating,” maintains “integrity and consistency in action,” and enjoys the “elegance of food.” He takes pleasure in consuming it, discussing it, and admiring its preparation. With Tomé Celial, with Camacho’s wedding chef, with Ricote and the German pilgrims, and with the innkeeper on route to Barcelona, Sancho accepts invitations to share a meal, partakes no more or less than the others in his company, and always appreciates the experience. When faced with accusations of “comilón” and “borracho,” Sancho emphatically defends his eating habits to those who have read the false *Don Quijote de la Mancha*. Multiple times in the novel he savors the pleasure of eating as seen in the modest roadside snacks he shares with other travelers. But he does not observe the excesses of a glutton, rather, he chooses the path of moderation.

The exaggerated culinary moments that Sancho continually experiences seem all too appropriate in a world filled with superlative characters, serendipitous moments, and disparate events. Yet upon closer examination, Sancho’s relationship with food is, in fact, one of the moderate, stabilizing components of the novel. His praise of the *olla podrida*, his table manners, his delicate use of the knife, and the respect he shows for exiles, foreigners, and their food, place Sancho with the noblemen for whom the etiquette manuals were written. He approaches food sensually yet elegantly; like one who has acquired an acceptable level of cultural capital, he offers disinterested critiques of food regardless

of its elitist status; and like one who has inherited cultural capital, he appreciates and indulges in all foods without gorging. Through Sancho's culinary quests, Cervantes is able to criticize contemporary trends of elitist diet, etiquette, and social mobility. Sancho's food experiences that are consistently linked with social commentary and action - equitable judgments as governor and the noble decision to enable Ricote to recover his property, for example - raise questions about Spanish society. At a time when the dominant minority has been exiled, foreign relations are strained, and social mobility has turned into a mere price tag, Cervantes' treatment of Sancho's dining scenes in *Don Quijote II* gives his readers some serious food for thought.

NOTES

* My thanks to Illinois Wesleyan University for the research funding that supported this publication.

- 1 Critics have written on the Barataria episode from several perspectives: as a carnivalesque episode (Redondo), as an example of the folkloric images in the novel (Molho), as an exploration of the theme of justice (Vega Camey), as a leitmotiv throughout the novel (Hutchinson), and as a study on the dietary practices of the day (Cruz Cruz and Peset and Almela Navarro).
- 2 For more on treatises of behavior, innate superiority of the nobility, hierarchical distribution of food, and dissenting opinions to these theories, see Maravall (*Poder* 54-58). For a study on the moralists Cervantes draws from and a synopsis of criticism on Don Quixote's advice to Sancho, see Percas de Ponseti, "Los consejos de don Quijote a Sancho."
- 3 I am grateful to Joan Cammarata for sharing her ideas on Bourdieu's cultural capital as presented in the paper, "The Code of Don Quixote: Utopia vs. Meritocracy," at Don Quixote: The First 400 Years.
- 4 The amount of manuals on food's role in physical and spiritual health indicate how fashionable these texts were in the sixteenth century. Included are Fray Bernardino de Laredo's *Metaphora medicinal* (1522), Luis Lobera de Avila's *Banquete de nobles caballeros* (1530) and subsequent revision *Vergel de sanidad* in 1542, Fernán Florez's translation of *El regimiento de toda la sanidad y de todas las cosas que se comen y beben* by Miguel de Savonarola (1541), Nicolás Monardes' edition of *Sevillana medicina* by Juan de Aviñón (1545), Pedro Jimeno's third part of *Dialogus de Re Medica* (1549), Francisco Núñez de Oria's *Aviso de sanidad* (1569), Doctor Mercado's *Diálogo de Filosofía natural y moral* (1574), and Enrique Jorge Enriquez' *De Regimene atque potu* (1594) (Luján 104-09).
- 5 In *Dietética medieval* Cruz Cruz offers eight points that breakdown the essential concerns of medical practices as put forth by Arnaldo de Vilanova in *Regimen de salud*. 1. elements: water, air, earth, fire; 2. qualities: moist, dry, cold, hot; 3. humors: blood, phlegm, yellow bile, black bile; 4. complexion: sanguine, choleric, phlegmatic, melancholic; 5. vital strength: reason (located in the brain), spirit/fire (located in the heart), desire (located in the liver); 6. spirit: natural, vital, and animal; 7. digestion: stomach, other organs, peripheral parts; 8. contraries, theory based on the premise that when a person's complexion is off balance, one must be treated with the opposite of the problem, e.g. excessive cold is treated with heat, etc. (42-65).
- 6 Francisco Rodríguez Marin writes that the *olla podrida* was for royal tables as well as for canons, rectors and peasants (145).
- 7 On the origins of the *olla podrida*, see Gómez Laguna, "Aclaraciones" (13) and González

Sevilla (147). For more on the rise of national cuisine and the role of the *olla podrida*, see Nadeau.

8 Gómez Laguna explains that in 1570 Bartolomeo Scappi was the first ever to publish the recipe “Per fare una uiuanda di diverse materie detta in lingua spagnola oglia potrida.” Gómez Laguna speculates that Scappi became aware of this stew when he provided a banquet for Carlos I in Rome in 1536. Granado’s translation of Scappi’s recipes in *Arte de cocina* included this one (“Aclaraciones” 10).

9 Sorrento is in Naples; Morón, a city, and Lavajos, a small town, are located in the province of Seville.

10 Differing from the Spanish gastronomic historians Martínez Llopis, Xavier Domingo and Néstor Luján who cite Granado as a pillar of culinary history, Gómez Laguna believes that Granado’s work is not directly influential in Spain’s culinary history except for the fact that it inspired Martínez Montañó to write the definitive cookbook that influenced Spanish cooking for centuries (“Sobre Diego Granado”). 1971 is the date of Joaquín de Val’s edition of Granado’s work; the first one since 1609.

11 José Antonio Maravall has shown that many contemporary playwrights addressed this very issue writing about *villanos*, *labradores* and *criados* who reach noble status through love and honor, but they are the exception. The most exemplary characters conform to their life long social status (*Teatro* 57-60).

12 Francisco Márquez Villanueva has written extensively on this episode and the Morisco presence in Spain. For articles on the ties between Ricote’s language skills and the ethical question of exiling part of Spain’s population, see Spitzer (172-74 n. 30). For links between the Barataria episode and this one, see Fajardo (315). Finally, for more on food’s significance in this episode, see Castro, who emphasizes that wine and ham signified *sangre limpia* and a unified state religion (339, 402-04), Percas de Ponseti who discusses the contradictory, yet equalizing nature of the food items presented (*Cervantes*, 265-67), and Peset and Almela Navarro.

13 Though Cervantes focuses on the financial benefits for foreign pilgrims visiting Spanish sanctuaries that housed religious relics (“que los tienen por sus Indias” 451), accumulating relics from and around Europe was a priority for the Spanish Hapsburgs. In a letter to the Spanish ambassador in Germany, don Guillén de San Clemente, Hernando López de Vilanova exemplifies the obsession Spaniards had with acquiring relics throughout Europe to bring back to Spain. Here, he presses that the ambassador keep the negotiations of two different relics secret so that they not be lost as the head of S. Lorenzo was when its value became too well known.

Si con dextreza se encaminasse este negocio, por uía de dho. Rey Maximiliano, no dudo sino que su Magestad la [reliquia del cuerpo entero de Santa Elizabeth] podría alcanzar, sobre todo guardando secreto, y no publicándolo á todo el mundo, porque no acontezca lo que en la negociación de la cabeza del bienauenturado Martyr S. Lorenzo, que por hauerlo publicado tanto el frayle Augustino, que á la solicitud de la Reliquia uino de España, no ha lleuado el effecto que deuiera (San Clemente 210).

For more on the German pilgrims in Spain, see Johnson, and for an unsympathetic interpretation of the “false pilgrims,” see Quérillacq (82-85).

14 The ancient Egyptian and Phoenician coastal dwellers knew how to salt and pickle fish and eggs to last them in times of war, famine, or on long sea voyages. The first written record of caviar was from Batu Khan (grandson of Ghengis Khan) in the 1240’s. Later, the caviar industry began in Eurasia and around the Mediterranean. For more on the history of caviar, see Kurlansky (409-15) and Harvey Lang (208-9). For information on sturgeon trade and consumption in Europe from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, see Montanari (81).

- 15 For the double connotation of the use of *villanería*, see Percas de Ponseti ("Los consejos," 231-32 n. 49).
- 16 The first documentation of a *tenedor* in the royal palace appears as part of the gifts Felipe IV's Guard of the Royal Jewels presented to the Duke of Newburgh in 1624 almost ten years after the publication of *Don Quijote II* (Simón Palmer 128). For more on the history of the fork and other utensils, see Glanville (22-23).
- 17 Several critics have written on this very issue but in López Fanego's article, she includes a fragment of one of the later edicts insisting on the penalties incurred for any Spaniard who does not report the Morisco presence in Spain: "Y si algunas personas de los que assi algo supieren y no lo manifestaren, incurrieren en las dichas maldiciones y excomunion mayor y por espacio de un año" (81). For more on those who bent the rules concerning Moriscos in Spain, see Martínez López (72 n. 12).
- 18 The corpus of Sancho criticism is enormous. R. M. Flores, in *Sancho Panza Through Three Hundred Seventy-five Years of Continuations, Imitations, and Criticism, 1605-1980*, traces critical trends including the commonplace of Sancho as a glutton or carnivalesque figure. He cites Avellaneda (1614), Henry Fielding (1742), Gustave Doré (1864), and Manuel Durán (1980), among others, as examples of this line of thinking. More recently, Antonio Barbagallo challenges this vision. By looking specifically at Sancho's eating and drinking habits, he provides arguments against this accepted notion of gluttony (54-58).

WORKS CITED

- Barbagallo, Antonio. "Sancho no es, se hace." *Cervantes* 15.1 (Spring 1995): 46-59.
- Bennassar, Bartolomé. *España del siglo de oro*. 1982. Barcelona: Crítica, 2001.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction. A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Trans. Richard Nice. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984.
- Cammarata, Joan. "The Code of Don Quixote: Utopia vs. Meritocracy." Don Quixote: The First 400 Years Conference. Hofstra University, New York. 4 Nov. 2004.
- Castro, Américo. *Hacia Cervantes*. 3rd ed. Madrid: Taurus, 1967.
- Cervantes, Miguel de. *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha*. Ed. Luis Andrés Murillo. 2 vols. Madrid: Castalia, 1978.
- Cruz Cruz, Juan. *Dietética medieval*. Huesca: La Val de Onsera, 1997.
- Domínguez Ortiz, A. *Las clases privilegiadas en la España del Antiguo Régimen*. Madrid: Ediciones Istmo, 1973.
- Fajardo, Salvador. "Narrative and Agency: The Ricote Episode (*Don Quijote II*)." *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 78 (2001): 311-22.
- Flores, R. M. *Sancho Panza Through Three Hundred Seventy-five Years of Continuations, Imitations, and Criticism, 1605-1980*. Newark, DE: Juan de la Cuesta, 1982.
- García, L. Jacinto. *Carlos V a la mesa. Cocina y alimentación en la España renacentista*. Bremen, 2000.
- Glanville, Philippa. *Silver*. London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1999.
- Gómez Laguna, Santiago. "Aclaraciones sobre la olla podrida." *Cuadernos de Gastronomía* 3 (Jun 1993): 9-14.
- , "Sobre Diego Granado y su *Arte de Cocina*." *Cuadernos de Gastronomía* 4 (Jul-Ago 1993): 21-23.
- González Sevilla, María Emilia. *A la mesa con los reyes de España. Curiosidades y anécdotas de la*

- cocina de palacio*. Madrid: Temas de hoy, 1998.
- Granado, Diego. *Libro del arte de cozina*. Ed. Xavier Benet i Pinos. Lleida: Pagés, 1991.
- Harvey, L. P. *Islamic Spain 1250-1500*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.
- Harvey Lang, Jenifer, ed. *Larousse Gastronomique. The New American Edition of the Worlds Greatest Culinary Encyclopedia*. New York: Crown, 1988.
- Hutchinson, Steven. *Cervantine Journeys*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992.
- Johnson, Carroll B. "Ortodoxia y anticapitalismo en el siglo xvii." *Hispanic Studies in Honor of Joseph H. Silverman*. Ed. Joseph Ricapito. Newark, DE: Juan de la Cuesta, 1988. 285-96.
- Kurlansky, Mark. *Salt. A World History*. New York: Penguin, 2002.
- Lobera de Avila, Luis. *El banquete de nobles caballeros*. 1530. San Sebastián: R&B Ediciones, 1996.
- López Fanego, Otilia. "Algo más sobre Sancho y Ricote," *Anales Cervantinos* 21 (1983): 73-81.
- Luján, Néstor. *Historia de la gastronomía*. Barcelona: Folio, 1997.
- Maravall, José Antonio. *Poder, honor y élites en el siglo xvii*. Madrid: Siglo Veintiuno, 1979.
- . *Teatro y literatura en la sociedad barroca*. Madrid: Seminarios y Ediciones, 1972.
- Márquez Villanueva, Francisco. "El morisco Ricote o la hispana razón de estado." *Personajes y temas del Quijote*. Madrid: Taurus, 1975. 229-335.
- Martínez López, Enrique. "Sobre la amnistía de Roque Guinart: El laberinto de la bandositat catalana y los moriscos en el *Quijote*." *Cervantes* 11.2 (Fall 1991): 69-85.
- Molho, Maurice. *Cervantes: Raíces folklóricas*. Madrid: Gredos, 1976.
- Montanari, Massimo. *The Culture of Food*. 1994. Trans. Carl Ipsen. Oxford: Blackwell, 1996.
- Nadeau, Carolyn. "Spanish Culinary History in Cervantes' 'Bodas de Camacho,'" *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos* 29.2 (Win. 2005): 347-61.
- Nola, Ruperto de. *Libro de guisados*. Ed. Dionisio Pérez. Huesca: La Val de Onsera, 1994.
- Percas de Ponseti, Helena. *Cervantes y su concepto del arte*. Madrid: Gredos, 1975.
- . "Los consejos de don Quijote a Sancho." *Cervantes and the Renaissance*. Ed. Michael McGaha. Newark, DE: Juan de la Cuesta, 1980. 194-236.
- Peset, José Luis and Manuel Almela Navarro. "Mesa y clase en el siglo de oro español: la alimentación en 'El Quijote.'" *Cuadernos de Historia de la Medicina Española* 14(1975): 245-59.
- Platina. *On Right Pleasure and Good Health*. Ed. and trans. Mary Ella Milham. Tempe, AZ: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1998.
- Quérillacq, René. "Los moriscos de Cervantes." *Anales Cervantinos* 30 (1992): 77-98. Redondo, Agustín. "Tradición carnavalesca y creación literaria." *Bulletin Hispanique* 80 (1978): 39-70.
- Rodríguez Marín, Francisco. "El yantar de Alonso Quijano el Bueno." *Estudios cervantistas*. Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1947. 421-39.
- San Clemente, d. Guillén de. *Correspondencia inedita de d. Guillén de San Clemente. Sucesos de Polonia y Hungría 1581-1608*. Zaragoza: La Derecha, 1892.
- Simón Palmer, María del Carmen. *La cocina de Palacio 1561-1931*. Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1997.
- Spitzer, Leo. "Perspectivismo lingüístico en el *Quijote*," *Lingüística e historia literaria*. Madrid: Gredos, 1961.
- Vega-Carney, Carmen. "Justice in Barataría." *Romance Languages Annual* 2 (1990): 586-90.