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# The Quixote code: Reading between the lines of the Cervantes novel

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Date



THE *QUIXOTE* CODE: READING BETWEEN THE LINES OF THE CERVANTES  
NOVEL

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Faculty

of

Purdue University

by

Massimiliano Adelmo Giorgini

In Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree

of

Doctor of Philosophy

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West Lafayette, Indiana

This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of my parents, Aldo Giorgini and Elena Belotti. Through his multiple doctorates and endless research, my father Aldo taught me to appreciate the quest for knowledge via academic rigor. Further, his accomplishments in the graphic arts—and especially his encouragement to seek meaning in images—made me better-equipped than most to identify ekphrasis in action. My mother Elena educated me at an early age about the importance of history, context, and law. Perhaps most importantly, she showed me the awesome transformative power of the mind in the shaping of human perception of outside stimuli, in addition to the capacity of narrative and theory of mind to help cognitively organize these sensory experiences. Through her example, I was able to appreciate at a young age the dramatically individualistic nature of interpretation and perspective.

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I would like to thank a few individuals whose guidance and instruction made the pursuit of the doctorate a real goal in my life. First, had it not been for Benjamin Lawton's challenging and informative course on Italian Cinema, I may never have developed an affinity and passion for the deeper analysis of artistic works. Further, the appreciation I gained in his classroom for subtle shades of communication expressed via film had a real and lasting influence on my own work as a music producer over the course of the following decades. Ultimately, it was the unexpected phone call from Prof. Lawton requesting that I teach a pair of Italian courses that drew me back to academia after over ten years exclusively in the music world—a return which eventually led me towards graduate studies. As far as the specific area of study and the ideas which guided my research, great credit is due to the professors who taught my first two courses taken as a non-degree graduate student, strictly for personal fulfillment. In Ariel de la Fuente's history course on Argentine Literature, my eyes were opened to visual references subtly hidden within the lines of the works of Jorge Luis Borges—a kind of wordplay which aligned spectacularly with my upbringing as the son of a gifted painter and all-around Renaissance man. Prof. de la Fuente's own research inspired and encouraged me to imagine the scenes in all literary texts as ekphrastic description of paintings—an approach which turned out to be particularly appropriate for Golden Age Spanish texts, as authors of that era were especially conscious of the process of writing as a means to paint images with words. Finally, I cannot possibly overstate the extreme debt which my graduate studies owe to the support, guidance, and encouragement of Howard Mancing. When I first took his course on *Don Quixote*, I had only been speaking Spanish informally among friends for a few weeks. His passionate teaching of the subject—including the various literary approaches which could be used to interpret the text,

contextual historical information, biographical information about Miguel de Cervantes, the literary influences which inspired this first modern novel, and even the many ways in which *Don Quixote* has influenced each and every branch of the arts in the centuries following its publication—encouraged a desire in me to focus my academic pursuits squarely on the further study of this classic work. Indeed, even an offhand comment by Mancing about a (fictitious) madman who had proposed an ill-conceived theory of the source of the name “Quixote” during the very first lecture of that class became the spark that lit the flames of the countless hours of research behind what is likely the single most interesting contribution of this entire study. Above and beyond all of this, however, throughout the years Prof. Mancing has always been supportive and welcoming—lending a sympathetic ear to any and all situations for which I sought advice and direction. Truth be told, in the years I have known Prof. Mancing and his wife Nancy, I have come to see them as family, as *de facto* parents—indeed, Mancing even served as the “father” (minister) in my own wedding just a few years ago, conducting the civil ceremony while holding a copy of *Don Quixote*.

Had it not been for these three individuals, it is highly unlikely that I would have ever found myself in the position of even beginning—let alone finishing—a dissertation. While this investigation is a modest one in terms of its potential academic impact, it has represented a major life accomplishment to me as an individual. Thanks so much to Benjamin Lawton, Ariel de la Fuente, and Howard Mancing for the inspiration and encouragement which has made this study possible.

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## ABSTRACT

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This study in two parts reexamines the notion that *Don Quixote* was originally seen as no more than a humorous story, and suggests that due to a variety of factors, a closer, more exegetical reading of the text may well be appropriate. In the first section of this work, focus is placed on the long history of the reception of the Cervantes novel as containing some deeper truth beneath the literal surface of the novel. This is complemented by a review of some examples of when several esoteric readings—done without academic rigor and adequate contextual research—have struck dramatically off-target and have read not between the lines but completely outside of the text of *Don Quixote*. The second part of this study proposes a new line of exegetical inquiry into the Cervantes classic, incorporating recent research in the field of cognitive science in tandem with contextual historical research to ask different questions and direct attention to areas heretofore only cursorily addressed. The novel is examined in the context of its historical moment—a time when the Spanish Inquisition was at its most catechizing, and had increased the scope of its sites to include Protestant Christians along with its traditional fare of Muslims and Jews in its campaign of forcible conversions to Catholicism. During this

era, burning at the stake, torture, and imposed exile were routine techniques to deal with reluctant proselytes—and the world of literature was scrutinized for any messages of dissent from church doctrine, resulting in the creation of the first blacklist of banned books, the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*. In this second half of the study, a construction of a theory of mind of Cervantes is used to examine how, when confronted by an environment of religious oppression and intolerance and challenged by a policy of censorship, the author may have resorted to encoding a subversive discourse via ekphrastic descriptions of images connected to prohibited texts, religious movements, and schools of thought below the surface of his masterpiece. Indeed, the very names of the characters in *Don Quixote*, as well as the inspiration for several of the most iconic (mis)adventures of the novel are discussed and shown to have possibly been drawn from precisely these types of images. Of particular significance, the most (in)famous symbol of conflict of all time, originally used to symbolize resistance to religious oppression—the *Ichthys* of the early Christian church of Rome—is proposed as a possible source of the name “Quixote” based on paleographical characteristics, principles of cryptography, recent studies in visuality, and the particular wording of passages contained within *Don Quixote*.

## CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Introduction

In this study, the novel *Don Quixote* by Miguel de Cervantes is examined with specific attention to its historical context in the era of the Spanish Inquisition, most particularly with regard to the publications of the first lists of proscribed texts (the series of the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*), as well as the limitations placed on the visual arts beginning with the decrees issued by the Council of Trent. The novel is examined with attention to possible encoded references to dissentious content prohibited by the book bans, in addition to potentially heterodox ideas of its own encrypted within its pages.

It is the goal of this inquiry to consider some of the most recent findings in historic, literary, visual and cognitive research in order to arrive at a new interpretation of several aspects of the work. The aim is to elucidate elements such as the names of some of the characters (including those of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza), interpret several obscure scenes, expose possible literary sources and intertextual references, and explicate the incorporation of the visual within the descriptions of settings and action of the novel. The closely examined historical period and the novel will together be considered through the lens of the latest findings in the field of cognition, incorporating in particular the areas of theory of mind and visuality, and combining these with classic analyses of the use of imagery in the works of Cervantes. In addition, *Don Quixote* will be examined in light of

current and traditional studies of writing under oppressive regimes, as well as some very recent examinations of the inclusion of subversive messages in the writings of authors of the Golden Age in both Spain and England.

The investigation includes an introduction to the basic use of theory of mind in literary analysis, followed by an explanation of its specific form of application in this inquiry. A discussion of its suitability and effectiveness in conducting an investigative thread will be presented, along with the caveat that the theoretical mental process one applies to any person or character can establish no more than a new and perhaps fecund line of inquiry. Over the course of the analysis, a theory of mind of Cervantes will be constructed for the purposes of a constant refining of the line of investigation, through regular revision according to the information the research yields.

The second area of cognition that will be used to examine the text of *Don Quixote*, visuality, will also be introduced. Some recent studies explaining the cognitive process that underlies the manner in which the mind handles visual information, and the subsequent steps involved in verbalizing the image will be applied to literary descriptions of visual phenomena. The way in which this information can help enrich the modern understanding of the Golden Age writer will be discussed in the context of a detective-like reading of the Cervantes novel.

This study is divided into two primary parts: the first, titled “The Search for an Implicit Meaning: From Exegesis to Esotericism” (which is composed of Chapters 2 and 3), will focus on the history of efforts to read beyond the literal level of the narration and find another level of meaning within *Don Quixote*—including a brief survey of several (failed) attempts at explicating such purported intentionalities on the part of Cervantes;

the second, titled “Persecution and the Art of Subversion” (which is composed of Chapters 4 and 5), will be an effort to reexamine the text in a search for such possible deeper significance. This goal of this second part will be sought while taking into account the historical and social contexts at the time of the publication of the novel and the biographical knowledge we have of Miguel de Cervantes while performing a close reading of the text of the novel itself read in the light of some recent discoveries and advances in the areas of visuality and cognition.

### 1.2 Chapter 2: Reading Between the Lines: A Brief History of Early Exegetical and Esoteric Interpretations of *Don Quixote*

Cervantes scholarship as a whole has generally held the view that *Don Quixote* was universally viewed as a work of entertainment at the time of its publication. Exegetical readings which extend beyond the strictly literal level have been considered a primarily nineteenth-century phenomenon, born following the influence of Romantic writers and philosophers of northern Europe. This study will discuss a famous forgery—historian Adolfo de Castro’s *Buscapié*—which was peddled as a Cervantes original in 1844, and trace back the rumors of its existence to the earliest published accounts to the end of demonstrating the existence among readers of a need to understand what they hoped might be the “true” meaning of the novel. The investigation will then present and discuss a variety of references to Cervantes’s novel from the time of its publication to the birth of the esoteric tradition with the first article by Nicolás Díaz de Benjumea in 1859, showing that readers were sensing meanings and purposes beyond the literal ones from the very moment the book came off the presses.

Close attention will be paid to the aforementioned Díaz de Benjumea, whose several publications in the form of newspaper essays and a full-length book (*La verdad sobre el Quijote*) forwarded a view of the Cervantes novel as an allegory for contemporary Spanish society during the Golden Age, and who further read *Don Quixote* as a fictional, literary representation of a romanticized version of Cervantes himself. With these original analyses which he called “esoteric” and “symbolic,” Díaz de Benjumea seems to have directly or indirectly inspired many subsequent interpretations of *Don Quixote*—although he also simultaneously sparked a polemic which pitted him against the majority of academic Cervantes scholars of the day.

Regrettably, despite a constant critical presence which spanned three decades and even included an annotated edition of *Don Quixote*, Díaz de Benjumea never managed to enjoy a large measure of acceptance among established critics of Cervantes’s works during his own lifetime. This investigation will show that much of the negative criticism suffered by Díaz de Benjumea was based on methodologies every bit as faulty as his own, and often came from disagreement with the esoteric critic’s personal political views. Currently, a new crop of Cervantes scholars revisiting Díaz de Benjumea’s contributions are finding the value in many of his ideas first aired over a century ago. This study also suggests a few areas pioneered by Díaz de Benjumea which have since been accepted and elaborated by various Cervantes scholars—although all too often with no accreditation of the pioneering work of the esoteric researcher.



### 1.3 Chapter 3: *Cada loco con su tema*: Esoteric Excesses in *Quixote* Criticism

In spite of the value of several of Díaz de Benjumea's analyses of Cervantes's works, he is still most remembered for his excesses. Likely the most conspicuous element of Benjumea's exaggerations was his penchant for elucidating esoteric readings of some of the most minor elements of the novel, such as proposing anagrams of minor character and setting names and announcing them as the true subjects of discussion of Cervantes. Also common in Díaz de Benjumea's analyses was his insistence on the overriding importance of the occult meanings of the text, only available for readers sharing Cervantes's (and, apparently, Benjumea's) knowledge of the keys to decipher the code.

Although Díaz de Benjumea was the first and most (in)famous of the critics of the esoteric tradition of *Quixote* scholarship, the trend of seeking and presenting encrypted meaning far from ended with the waning of the Romantic era. Studies along these lines by amateur and academic literary critics alike have been published regularly ever since, proposing ideas such as an alternate authorship for the novel – by Renaissance artist El Greco in one case, and by Francis Bacon in another – as well as arguments such as the existence of possible hidden satanic or otherwise heretical messages in others. This chapter will catalog some of the more erratic, deranged and interesting examples of these theories, as well as discuss some of the problems inherent in each of their methodologies.

### 1.4 Chapter 4: Investigating *Don Quixote* with Theory of Mind: The Case of the Knight Errant and the Banned Bible

The first of the two areas of cognitive studies that are utilized in the course of this investigation—theory of mind—is explained in this chapter, including a basic

introduction to its use in literary analysis. A discussion of its suitability and effectiveness in conducting an investigative thread is presented, along with the caveat that the theoretical mental process one applies to any person or character can establish no more than a new and perhaps fecund line of inquiry. Over the course of the rest of this inquiry (in both this and the following chapter), a theory of mind of Cervantes is constructed for the purposes of refining precisely that line of investigation, subject to constant revision according to the information the research yields.

This technique is first applied to a discussion about the first text in the novel credited to Cervantes—the dedication. Several studies regarding lines known to have been plagiarized from another text are examined and considered, and possible motivations for such a theft are discussed. This chapter also introduces the historical context necessary to understand the Spain of Cervantes's time, with particular focus on the dangers inherent in disobeying the restrictions placed on printed matter. Both possession of books which appeared in the *Index Prohibitorum* and the writing of texts which did not conform to the rules that accompanied the list had the severest consequences.

Regardless, banned books did indeed circulate throughout all of Catholic Europe, and reached not only the intelligentsia of the period, but also the common miller in rural villages—as has been detailed by historian Carlo Ginzburg in *The Cheese and the Worms*. However, as Leo Strauss explains is likely in his landmark *Persecution and the Art of Writing*, it is also common that when faced with such restrictions author resorted to encoding subversive messages between the lines of their texts in order to avoid censorial retribution. Here it is argued, with the support of other studies on the era, that it is highly

likely that many early modern authors hid messages containing their heterodox ideas between the lines of their texts in just such a manner as that described by Strauss, and that as a result many subversive texts managed to go unnoticed by the censors of the time.

With this background, along with some of the clues uncovered by the text from which Cervantes plagiarized the lines of the dedication, the operating theory of mind of Cervantes is adapted to consider the possibility that Cervantes was indeed opposed to the banning of books, and more specifically to the prohibition of biblical texts in any language other than Latin. This in turn leads to an examination of the various banned Bibles of the time—which takes this study in unexpected and interesting direction.

A significant entry on this list of banned books of Scripture is *El Nuevo Testamento de Nuestro Señor y Salvador Iefu Chrifto* (“*The New Testament of Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ*”, hereafter *Pineda New Testament*). Similarities between the image of the frontispiece and the text of *Don Quixote* suggest that Cervantes may have drawn inspiration for several elements of his novel from this translation—possibly even including the name of one of the central characters of the novel—Sancho Panza. Further, several historical facts connected to the particular edition and translation of the *Pineda New Testament* end up having possible correlations to the text of *Don Quixote*. This discovery leads to a newly adapted theory of mind for Cervantes—one that supposes that the author may have been encoding references to themes of religious persecution via descriptions of images connected to proscribed books.

### 1.5 Chapter 5: Something Fishy in *Don Quixote*: Trawling *Ekphrastic* Waters Nets Anti-Inquisitorial Subversion

The second area of cognition that is used to examine the text of *Don Quixote* in this study, that of visuality, is introduced here. Some recent studies explaining the cognitive process that underlies the manner in which the mind handles visual information, and the subsequent steps involved in verbalizing the image are applied to literary descriptions of visual phenomena. The way in which this information can help enrich the modern understanding of the Golden Age writer is also discussed in the context of the Cervantes novel. The ways in which visuality interacts with *ekphrasis* (broadly speaking, the description of visual phenomena in words—such as that seen in Chapter 3) and the debate surrounding these concepts is presented, discussing the varying points of view of several literary scholars and scientists specialized in visual perception. Further, the specific manner in which the term *ekphrasis* is used in this investigation as compared with some other studies is detailed. Using the information gleaned from recent studies and armed with these specific definitions, a few scenes and passages from *Don Quixote* are examined from an ekphrastic perspective, and guided by the developing theory of mind of Cervantes. Close attention is be paid to metaliterary dialogues in the novel that discuss the nature of the text and the names of the characters, as well as to the relation of visual elements to images connected to Cervantes's historical context, specifically as related to the topics of banned books and religious oppression.

The combination of the search for references to images connected to banned topics and the earlier examined dedication and the source text of the plagiarized lines leads in an intriguing direction. In the original book, the lines were couched in sections

that, among other topics, discussed Spain as the new Rome (in a positive light). Similarly, however, Martin Luther also compared modern Rome (under the control of Spain in the age of Cervantes) to the Roman Empire—in that like in ancient times, Christians were once again being persecuted for their beliefs. These topics, considered in conjunction, lead this investigation directly to an examination of the Early Christian “symbols of conflict” (Vinzent 21) used by believers to secretly communicate their religion to one another. The most famous of these is the IXΘΥΣ (“*Ichthys*”), also known in modern parlance as the “Jesus fish.” Interestingly, when the rudimentary fish drawing is viewed side-by-side with the letters IXΘΥΣ, the result looks quite similar to the name “Quixote.” This is investigated in the context of a paleographical consideration of handwritten Spanish and the Gothic alphabet in correlation with the twice-repeated anecdote about the bad artist Orbaneja from *Don Quixote II*. The investigation turns up a surprisingly number of coinciding connections between the anecdote (which Don Quixote compares to his own story) and the *Ichthys*. Further, the Quixote-Christ relationship is considered in connection with a long tradition of criticism which has examined parallels between the two figures.

Other images connected with banned texts are examined, and a potential connection between the character Dulcinea and an image from an unauthorized edition of a foundational book of emblemata is examined. Once again, several possible relations between the text of *Don Quixote* and the scene in the emblem are considered—which leads to a further prospect of a linkage between Don Quixote and Cupid on one hand and of Dulcinea and Venus on the other. Considered in light of the previously mentioned Quixote-Christ association, this leads to the possibility of an even riskier reference under

the laws of the Inquisition. The danger of heresy involved in highlighting parallels—or even blurring the distinctions—between Christ and Cupid (and also between the Virgin Mary and Venus) is discussed, and Cervantes’s works are examined for such possible parallels.

The Quixote-Cupid alliance leads to a re-examination of a foundational work in the area of *ekphrasis* in *Don Quixote*—a comparison of the scene of *Don Quixote II* known as “The Enchantment of Dulcinea” from Chapter 10 to the painting *Primavera* by Sandro Botticelli written by Frederick A. De Armas in 1998. The same Quixote-Cupid pairing leads to yet another image from a banned book by Protestant author and biblical exegete Daniël Heinsius which depicts a scene which could be a potential source of inspiration for *Don Quixote*’s most famous (mis)adventure—when in *Don Quixote I*, Chapter 8 Don Quixote tilts the windmill.

The possible heretical implications of the connections in the Quixote-Christ-Cupid axis are investigated, leading to a closer examination of the name “Quixote” and its role in the title. This leads to a discussion of the particular nature of early Christianity in Spain and its introduction by the Visigoths. The problem surrounding the “Arian heresy” and its problematic role in a heritage which was a source of great pride is discussed in relationship to themes elicited by the connections implied by the research in this study.

Finally, the theme of possible heterodoxy leads to a new examination of the final chapter of *Don Quixote*—which describes the renunciation by the protagonist of knight errantry, his confession and last will and testament, and ultimately, his death. An acrostic formed by the new name and title he is assigned in this final chapter are examined with

regard to possible similarities to the final name of Mohammed in the Koran. Parallels are also drawn between the deaths of the two figures, and the difference between the death of Don Quixote and that of the typical hero of the books of chivalry is discussed.

In closing the study, a discussion about the general suggestions of authorial intentions raised by the investigation concludes that no certainty about Cervantes's objectives in writing *Don Quixote* can be determined. However, the possibilities raised are certainly suggestive of worthwhile directions for future inquiries. As to the more specific possibilities raised by this study, the potential value of the findings in the consideration of potential sources for the names of the characters is discussed. While the precise nature of the significance of the names in the novel of which Cervantes informs the reader can never be determined beyond a shadow of a doubt, it is argued that the multiple threads connecting the Christ fish to the name "Quixote"—especially in light of the rich tradition of sensing Christ-like qualities in the protagonist of *Don Quixote*, and coupled with the fact that the narrator states that Don Quixote ruminated on the appellation for a full eight days—at the very least make the *Ichthys* a strong and fitting contender for a possible inspiration of the name.

PART I: THE SEARCH FOR AN IMPLICIT MEANING: FROM EXEGESIS TO  
ESOTERICISM



CHAPTER 2. READING BETWEEN THE LINES: A BRIEF HISTORY OF EARLY EXEGETICAL AND ESOTERIC INTERPRETATIONS OF *DON QUIXOTE* FROM THE *PRINCEPS* EDITION THROUGH THE *BUSCAPIÉ* TO DÍAZ DE BENJUMEA

*Nueva idea que aparece,  
Locura, disparate, bobería;  
Cuando ya se estiende y crece,  
¡Bah! todo el mundo la sabía.*  
—Nicolás Díaz de Benjumea  
(*Ciencia popular* 24-25)

2.1 Esoterism or Exegesis? Searching for Symbols in *Don Quixote*

It has been asserted by several scholars on numerous occasions that *Don Quixote* is the biggest-selling book of all time, second only to the Bible (Carroll Johnson *Don Quixote* 19). And in a manner quite similar to what has occurred with both the Old and New Testaments, a wide range of interpretations and analyses has been inspired by the text of the Cervantes novel. These elucidations have ranged from historical to textual to downright fanatical—in a way that even further invites comparison with exegeses associated with religious texts. Indeed, as renowned Cervantes scholar John Jay Allen has commented, critics have shown “a perplexing diversity of attitudes” towards the would-be knight errant (14). An early attempt to categorize the range of critical approaches to *Don Quixote* was proposed by Oscar Mandel in his now-classic 1958 article “The Function of the Norm in *Don Quixote*.” In this study, Mandel divides Cervantes critics

into the two categories of “hard” and “soft” critics (154-55). As Howard Mancing summarizes Mandel’s thesis:

[T]he prototypical hard critic is one who refuses to sympathize or identify with Don Quixote. The hard critic reads Don Quixote as a satire, a funny book, and nothing else; he or she considers that this is the only right way to understand the novel, and disdains those soft-headed and soft-hearted readers who mistakenly understand the novel in terms of nobility or even tragedy. In contrast, the soft critic is one who very much sympathizes and identifies with Don Quixote. The soft critic reads Don Quixote as a serious psychological study and a profound philosophical statement of human nature, asserts his or her right to react sympathetically to the text, and pities those hard-headed and hard-hearted readers who cannot see beyond the superficial comedy. (*Cervantes’ DQ*<sup>1</sup> 194)

What is true in both of these cases is that some exegesis is required—after all, to read the novel as a satire implies that the literal level is different than the intended level, and likewise to read the text as a philosophical statement is to extrapolate particular scenes or character quotes into an overarching worldview. However, such interpretation is one of the mainstays of literary analysis and such exegeses can be helpful and insightful for a new understanding of a text—if and when careful attention is paid to the historical context of the work in question, and above all when the literal meaning of the

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<sup>1</sup> This title of this work (*Cervantes’ Don Quixote*) will be regularly abbreviated in this manner to avoid confusion with Mancing’s reference work *The Cervantes Encyclopedia*, which will similarly be shortened to *Encyclopedia*.

text is respected. As the degree of exegetical inference increases without adherence to recognized historical contextual information or literal textual content and the deductions of the critic more closely approximate conjecture or flights of fancy, the musings of the writer become ever more likely to be grouped alongside other similar readings which have been labeled “esoteric.”

According to *The Oxford Dictionary of English*, esoteric is defined as: “Intended for or likely to be understood by only a small number of people with a specialized knowledge or interest” (597), although this definition seems to carry none of the negative connotation described above. Indeed, within the world of Cervantes studies, the word “esoteric” seems to have developed its own particular meaning. The *Gran enciclopedia cervantina*, for instance, includes an entry for *esoterismo*, which includes clarification for how the term is used in Cervantes studies:

Por lo que respecta a la obra cervantina, el término se utiliza para referirse a las tendencias de una serie de críticos españoles aislados del siglo XIX que afectaron al cervantismo<sup>2</sup> esporádicamente en su búsqueda obsesiva

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<sup>2</sup> José Montero Reguera has recently offered a functional definition of the term *cervantismo*: “Con el nombre *cervantismo* se designa un conjunto de actividades de difícil clasificación, cuyo objetivo es el de estudiar, difundir, comentar, interpretar, alabar... la vida y obra literaria de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra” (“The name *cervantismo* designates a combination of activities which are difficult to classify, whose object is to study, disseminate, comment, interpret, praise... the life and literary work of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra”; *Cervantismos* 11). However, perhaps of equal or greater interest to this study are the comments by Martín de Riquer, who says that cervantismo is “una especie de género exegético de las más diversas y curiosas modalidades y en el que

del sentido secreto o esotérico de *El Quijote* mediante la aplicación de criptogramas, anagramas, trazas, etc. (Tausiet 4264)

As far as concerns the work of Cervantes, the term is used to refer to the tendencies of a series of isolated Spanish critics of the nineteenth-century who affected Cervantes studies sporadically in the obsessive search for the secret or esoteric meaning of *Don Quixote* by means of the application of cryptograms, anagrams, inventions, etc.

However, the term “esoteric” is far from limited to “a series of isolated Spanish critics of the nineteenth-century,” as it has often been applied to Cervantine texts published throughout the eighteenth-century and even into the twenty-first-century, and rather than being limited to the Iberian Peninsula, these sorts of readings have appeared just as often in the British Isles, the Americas and even Australia. Jean Canavaggio, the most highly regarded modern biographer of Miguel de Cervantes, agrees that the roots of the esoteric tradition in the interpretation of *Don Quixote* begin in the nineteenth-century, during a period typified by “la búsqueda de un sentido oculto, críptico” (“the search for a hidden, cryptic meaning”; *Del libro al mito* 160) in the fiction of great works of literature as part of an attempt to better understand the very real political events of the time.

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han entrado toda clase de escritores, eruditos y aficionados, desde las mentes más preclaras de la crítica literaria hasta los chiflados y dementes más insospechados” (“a type of exegetical genre of the most curious and diverse modalities and in which have entered all clases of writers, erudite people and aficionados, from the most illustrious minds of literary criticism to the most unexpected madmen and lunatics”; *Aproximación* 206).

Rubén Benítez offers a definition of the term “esotérico” (“esoteric”) as it applies to Cervantes studies which incorporates and expands upon the gist of Canavaggio’s definition:

[L]os estudios que procuran inducirnos a entender las obras cervantinas como libros en clave, con un significado místico o simbólico, y por extensión a aquellos, que consideran al autor como a un nigromante o sabio conocedor de todas las ciencias divinas y humanas. Según esa crítica, el *Quijote* no es sólo obra de entretenimiento sino también expresión de una filosofía críptica. (24)

Studies which try to induce us to understand Cervantine works as books in code, with a mystical or symbolic meaning, and in addition to those, ones which think of the author as a necromancer or wiser knower of all the divine and human sciences. According to this criticism, the *Quixote* is not only a work of entertainment, but also an expression of a cryptic philosophy.

## 2.2 The *Buscapié*: A Famous Forgery Belies a Suspected Second Significance

Canavaggio traces the explosion of the esoteric movement to the alleged discovery by historical scholar Adolfo de Castro in 1844 of a manuscript titled *El buscapié*, which was purportedly an explanation written by Cervantes himself with regards to his intentions in writing *Don Quixote* (160). The first English-language

translator of the text, Thomasina Ross, explained the meaning of the title in the prologue to her 1849 British edition of the alleged Cervantes document:

The word etymologically considered, is compounded of *busca* (seek; from the verb *buscar* to seek), and *pié* (foot); and it signifies in the Spanish language a squib or cracker, which, being thrown down in the streets by boys and mischievous persons, rolls about and gets between the feet of passers-by. (v)

Although a great deal of debate surrounding the possible veracity of *El buscapié* lasted for several years following its initial publication, the document was presented as a Cervantes original and spread throughout Europe quickly, and “with this hoax Castro managed to deceive many scholars”—although outspoken opponents such as Juan Martínez Villergas, George Ticknor and Bartolomé José Gallardo were suspicious of the text from the beginning (Porter Medina 352-53).

Undoubtedly the most vocal and vehement among these critics of *El buscapié* was Gallardo, who stated that an academic historian of his acquaintance who had succeeded in seeing the manuscript of *El buscapié* claimed that “el tal papelucho es una ficcion ruda, nezia y chapuzera, sin arte, sin perjeño, ni el menor viso de verdad” (“that horrid paper is a coarse, foolish and shoddy fiction, without art, without form, without even the minimum appearance of truth”; 53). Further, Gallardo states of the author of *El buscapié* that “si pasásemos a lo sustanzial del escrito, *imvencion, lenguaje* etc. etc., eso fuera un juicio, de qe él saldría, sin remision, condenado a galeras como vil i torpe falsario” (“if we were to move on to the substance of the writing, *creativity, language* etc. etc., were

this a trial, he would end up, without chance of parole, condemned to the galleys as a vile and clumsy forger”; 53). As to whether or not it were possible for Castro himself to have himself been fooled by someone else’s forgery, Gallardo declares of the historian that “El, él es sin duda alguna el fabricante, i Autor único, u prinzipal, de esta cachapucha” (“He, he is without any doubt the fabricator, and the only or principal author, of this sham”; 53).

The criticism of the Castro text was not limited to his contemporaries, however. In the prologue of the early twentieth-century edition of Barrera y Leirado’s debunking of Adolfo de Castro’s forgery, the highly respected Spanish philologist Francisco Rodríguez Marín wrote of the linguistic shortcomings of *El buscapié*. Rodríguez Marín categorized the text as a forgery on the basis of the language, declaring that “Ni Cervantes ni el último ganapán de su tiempo habría escrito ni hablado así” (“Neither Cervantes nor the lowliest manual laborer of his time would have written or spoken this way”; *Cachetero* vii-viii). Despite the overwhelmingly disparaging reaction of the majority of Cervantes scholars to Castro’s claim of having discovered the lost text by the author of *Don Quixote*, the historian never admitted either to having forged or participated in the forgery of the document—indeed, the historian never even acknowledged that the *Buscapié* was not a Cervantine original. As González de Mendoza puts it: “Pronto fue impugnada la obra como apócrifa, si bien Castro, durante el medio siglo que aún vivió, sostuvo contra viento y marea su autenticidad” (“The work was soon challenged as being apocryphal, although Castro, sustained its authenticity against all odds for the remaining half century that he lived”; “El buscarruidos” 374).

As recently as 2009, Alberto Romero Ferrer stated that “el falsario Adolfo de Castro” (“the forger Adolfo de Castro”) was responsible for creating “un relato a caballo entre la ficción más libresca y el falso rigor documental” (“a story straddling between the most bookish fiction and false documentary rigor”; 277). Romero Ferrer argues that Castro’s flight of fancy can be understood by considering first that he may have simply been following a tempting lead suggested by Cervantes himself in the prologue to his *Novelas ejemplares*, when amongst a list of works he had penned he includes a cryptic reference to “otras obras que andan por ahí descarriadas y, quizá, sin el nombre de su dueño” (“other works that have wandered off somewhere, just possibly without their owner's name”; 1:prol.51).

Secondly, Romero Ferrer describes the environment of nineteenth-century Cervantes studies as being almost fanatically engaged in an “incansable búsqueda de inéditos cervantinos” (“indefatigable search for unpublished Cervantine texts”; 277) which seduced the historical philologist to “discover” lost texts by the Golden Age author at any cost—a quest unlikely to yield fruit when done in earnest. And so, failing to find a true example,<sup>3</sup> Castro “created” his own *Buscapié*, a serious misstep ultimately caused by

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<sup>3</sup> One possible exception to this statement is a fragment published by Castro of a piece called “Diálogo de Çillenia y Selanio,” purportedly a portion of a lost Cervantes book titled *Semanas del jardín*, of which Cervantes had promised the future publication in the prologue to *Novelas ejemplares* and the dedications to *Persiles y Segismunda* and *Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses, nunca representadas* (Mancing *Encyclopedia* 2:665). In 1988, renowned Cervantes scholar Daniel Eisenberg made a book-length case defending the Castro fragment as a true Cervantes original and praising Castro for “sus dotes de investigador y editor, apreciables en su época” (“his gifts as a researcher and editor,



his (and his period's) obsession with such possible lost Cervantes texts that “lo relegaron muy pronto a los territorios de lo falso, el descrédito y la impostura” (“relegated him quickly to the territories of the false, discredit and deception”; 278).

But a third source of inspiration for Castro's forgery of *El buscapié* was even more specific—there had been rumors circulating already for several decades that Cervantes had actually penned a pamphlet explaining the hidden meaning of *Don Quixote*. In fact, pioneering Spanish philologist Juan Antonio Pellicer y Saforcada, who was the head of the royal librarians to Carlos IV and one of the first biographers of Miguel de Cervantes, wrote of the text supposed to have been written by the author of *Don Quixote*:

Un escrito dicen que anda intitulado el *Buscapies* atribuido a Miguel de Cervantes que le compuso segun piensan algunos para avivar al publico, y moverle a la compra de Don Quixote, cuya obra miró al principio con indiferencia; pero la multitud de sus ediciones hechas en pocos años, y alguna dentro del mismo primer año en que se imprimio, prueban su pronto y abundante despacho, y contradicen la intencion que se supone en Cervantes en la publicacion de aquel papel suelto, si acaso existe, y es autor de él. (166-67)

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considerable in his era”), despite the fact that Eisenberg himself recognized Castro as “el mayor falsario de las letras hispánicas” (“the greatest forger of Hispanic letters”) for having attempted to pass off *El buscapié* as a Cervantes original (17). Although a few other scholars have sided with Eisenberg, the majority of Cervantistas, have failed to be convinced of Cervantes's authorship of this fragment (Montero Reguera “La obra literaria” 45-50).

They say that a writing is going around titled el *Buscapies*, attributed to Miguel de Cervantes, who composed it, according to what some people think, in order to spark interest in the public and to move it to purchase *Don Quixote*, a work which it viewed with indifference at the beginning; but the multitude of editions of it published within a few years, and a few within the very same, first year in which it was printed, prove its rapid and abundant sales, and contradict the supposed intention of Cervantes in publishing that separate paper, if by chance it exists and he is its author

Of course, while the very successful sales of *Don Quixote* from the outset disprove the conjecture that the motive Cervantes may have had in writing such a document was in order to promote his novel in the face of tepid consumer response, it does not refute the possibility that he did indeed author such a text.

Despite Pellicer y Saforcada's insistence to the contrary, the rumor of the legendary *Buscapié* persisted. Indeed, the topic was more closely examined soon thereafter by Vicente de los Ríos, commonly regarded as one of the very earliest Spanish Cervantes scholars. Ríos first researched and published on this anecdotal pamphlet in the pages of his *Vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, y análisis del Quixote*, which was in turn part of the 1780 edition of *Don Quixote* by the Real Academia Española of which Anthony Close writes that it was "a splendidly produced edition in four volumes, textually sounder than any of its predecessors" and praises the thorough nature of Ríos examinations, describing his works as "important introductory essays on *Don Quixote* and the life of Cervantes" (*A Companion* 238). Indeed, Ríos was nothing if not exhaustive in his detailed research into the possible existence of *El buscapié*,

documenting both the rumors of its possible existence and investigating leads in an attempt to localize a copy of the text.

Ríos introduces the discussion of *El buscapié* by acknowledging that the purported Cervantes treatise is far from being universally accepted as a truly extant work, yet insisting in the value of the persistent rumor of its having been penned. More interestingly, he claims to be able offer documentary proof of the existence of the disputed work:

Se ha dudado en estos últimos tiempos de la exístencia del *Buscapie*; pero á mas de que la opinion general de que le compuso Cervántes, fundada en la tradicion, que ha llegado hasta nuestros dias, seria siempre un argumento poderosísimo contra los que negasen su exístencia, tenemos tambien un documento, que no nos dexa la menor duda. (cccxi)

In recent times the existence of the *Buscapié* has been doubted; but in addition to the fact that the general opinion that Cervantes composed it, founded in tradition, which has endured until our times, will always be a very powerful argument against those who may deny its existence, we also have a document, which does not leave us the least doubt.

Ríos goes on to describe this document that he mentions as being the first-hand testimony, in letter form, of a Don Antonio Ruidíaz who “asegura haberle visto y leído” (“assures that he has seen and read it”) and who is a “sugeto fidedigno y amante de las letras, que ha cultivado toda su vida con aficion” (“trustworthy subject and lover of letters, which he has cultivated all of his life with fondness”; cccxvi). Ríos follows this

description of Ruidíaz with a full reproduction (which spans 9 pages) of the entire contents of the letter dated December 16, 1775 (cccxvi-cccxxviii). Within this missive, Ruidíaz details the format of the pamphlet and describes the specific circumstances in which he was able to read the *Buscapié*:

El *Buscapie* que vi en casa del difunto Conde de Saceda habrá como unos diez y seis años, y leí en el corto espacio de tiempo que me le confió aquel erudito caballero, porque se le prestó para el mismo fin con igual precision (ignoro quien) era un tomito anónimo en 12 impreso en esta Corte con solo aquel título (no tengo presente el año, ni en que oficina) su grueso como de unos seis pliegos de impresion, buena letra y mal papel. (cccxvii-cccxxviii)

The *Buscapie* that I saw in the home of the deceased Count de Saceda about sixteen years ago, and read in the short period of time in which that erudite gentleman entrusted it to me, because it was loaned to him for the same reason under the same condition (I do not know by whom). It was a short, anonymous volume in 12, printed in this Court with only that title (I don't recall the year, nor the publisher), its thickness of about six printed sheets, typeset well on bad paper.

Although Ruidíaz himself admits that he can only indicate who was in possession of the work that he saw and read at the time he saw it, and that he does not know who had it before and who may have it now, he still asks “¿Pero por sola esta razón se deberá negar su exístencia?” (“But should its existence be denied for only this reason?”; cccxxii).

Interestingly, Ruidíaz does not directly make the claim that the tract purports to have been written by Cervantes. Rather he describes the narrator of *El buscapié* as presenting himself as a reader of *Don Quixote* who, although having enjoyed the book, did not initially appreciate the fact “que era una producción de las mas ingeniosas que hasta entónces se habian dado a luz” (“that it was one of the most ingenious productions that had been created up until that time”), “una sátira llena de instruccion” (“a satire full of instruction”) in which the fictional characters of the novel are closely based on certain real historical characters for the purpose of political critique—most specifically, that Don Quixote is based directly on Carlos V (cccviii-cccix). Indeed, although Ruidíaz does specifically acknowledge the attribution of the text to Cervantes, and seems to accept it, it seems to be largely in response to Ríos’s request for information: “Díceme Vm. que le comunique la noticia mas individual que ser pueda del rarísimo *Buscapié*, obra anónima de Miguel de Cervantes” (“Your grace requests that I communicate to him the most detailed relation possible of the very rare *Buscapié*, anonymous work by Miguel de Cervantes”; cccxvii).

In *Elogio de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, donde se deslindan y desentrañan radicalmente, y por un rumbo absolutamente nuevo, los primores incomparables del Quijote* (“*Praise of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, in which the incomparable delicacies of the Quixote are demarcated and unraveled, via an absolutely new path*”), José Mor de Fuentes discusses the results of his own research into Ruidíaz’s claim of having examined *El buscapié*. Mor de Fuentes claims that “El mencionado Ruiz-Diaz cita el ejemplar, como perteneciente á la librería de los Condes de Saceda” (“The previously mentioned Ruiz-Diaz cites the piece, as pertaining to the library of the Counts of

Saceda”; 39). He goes on to state that “precisamente [el] Conde actual es uno de mis mas íntimos amigos, y he habitado meses el palacio suntuoso de su remedo de Aranjuez, el Nuevo Bastan” (“precisely [the] current Count is one of my very most intimate friends, and I have inhabited the sumptuous palace of his retreat in Aranjuez, the Nuevo Baztán: 39). Because of the coincidence of these two facts, Mor de Fuentes is inspired to search for *El buscapié*:

Con este motivo y teniéndolo todo absolutamente á mi disposicion, registré y revolví muy de intento la librería, y ni en aquella ni en la de Madrid, ni en sus respectivos índice; antiguos ni modernos, asoma el mas leve rastro de existir, ó haber existido allí en ningun tiempo el presupuesto Buscapiél no siendo de imaginar tampoco, que algun usurpador ó arrebatador, a fin de apropiarse á su salvo esta alhaja, tuviese lugar y proporcion para formar nuevos índices, omitiendo este artículo, pues no hay enmiendas ni borroneos en los existentes. (39-40)

With this motive, and having it all absolutely at my disposition, I examined and explored the library very intently, and neither in that one nor in that of Madrid, nor in their respective indices; neither old nor modern, does there appear even the slightest sign that the supposed *Buscapié* exists, or of it having existed there at any time: it not being imaginable either that some usurper or thief, for the purpose of appropriating this jewel for himself, would have had the opportunity and

the disposition to create new indices omitting this article, since there are no changes or erasures in the extant ones.

Based on these findings, Mor de Fuentes reevaluates the claims of Ruidíaz and expresses doubts as to the existence of the document. Mor de Fuentes acknowledges that “este hecho seguramente no anonada el testimonio del citado Ruiz” (“This fact certainly does not crush the testimony of the cited Ruiz”; 40), as not finding the document does not prove that it never existed. However, he states that the failure to find the text “está muy lejos de corroborarlo y si por trascuerdo equivocó la librería depositaria del manuscrito, esta ligereza infunde ya desconfianza acerca de su hallazgo y lectura” (“is quite far from corroborating it, and if by an error of memory he mistook the consignatory library of the manuscript, this indiscretion now arouses distrust surrounding its discovery and reading”; 40).

Mor de Fuentes suggests that Ruidíaz had specifically stated that the supposed *Buscapié* was in the possession of the Count of Saceda, while in point of fact he had only claimed to have been loaned the text by said nobleman for “el corto espacio de tiempo que me le confió aquel erudito caballero, porque se le prestó para el mismo fin con igual precision” (“the short period of time in which that erudite gentleman entrusted it to me, because it was loaned to him for the same reason under the same condition”; cccxvii-cccxviii). Indeed, Ruidíaz goes to some length to emphasize that he does not know where the text may be at the time of his letter to Ríos, and claims only “poder señalar [...] en el dia la persona que posee dicho tratado, y no el dueño que tuvo, ó quizá tendrá el *Buscapie*, que vi y leí” (“to be able to point out [...] the person who had the said treatise

on that day, and not the owner that had it prior, or perhaps has the *Buscapié* that I saw and read”; cccxxii).

In a related note, in 1863 Hartzembush and Rosell discuss the Count of Saceda himself. They describe the Count as “adornado de grandes conocimientos en las artes liberales” (“adorned with great knowledge in the liberal arts”) and a minister of the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando. However, Hartzembush and Rosell go on to state that the Count of Saceda was, “á pesar de sus relevantes cualidades, editor nada concienzudo ni escrupuloso” (“despite his outstanding qualities, not at all a conscientious nor scrupulous editor”; 1: cxlii). As evidence for the Count’s lack of ethics with respect to letters, Hartzembush and Rosell cite several examples of re-issued works that the nobleman published in facsimile with no labeling indicating that the texts were not originals, including a 1746 reprint of the extremely rare Lope de Vega title *Fiestas de Denia á Filipo III* which was funded entirely by the Count and was labeled with its original publishing place and date: Valencia, 1599 (1: cxliii).

While a great number of critics and historians weighed against the possible veracity of the account of Ruidíaz’s encounter with *El buscapié*, not all voiced opinions discrediting or questioning the letter reprinted by Ríos. One exception was James Lawrence Reynolds, a professor of Roman Literature at South Carolina College, who argued that the simple fact alone that the original document was currently nowhere to be found was not sufficient reason to assume or conclude that it had never existed, further stating that:

With such facts before us, we see no reason to doubt the statement of Ruidiaz, on the ground of its improbability. If a work like Diodati’s,



involving an important question in the criticism of the New Testament; and written with consummate ability, and one which it was the interest of a large class of scholars, in various countries, to preserve, approached so near the verge of extinction, the loss of the printed edition of a polemical pamphlet, of individual and local interest, from a writer who was suffered by his countrymen to live in extreme poverty, can excite little, if any, surprise (214).

In his book-length study of the *Buscapié*, Manuel Morales Borrero considers the case of Ruidíaz. He argues that while it is impossible to prove whether or not Ruidíaz indeed read a book by that title, “la idea no es descabellada y algunos críticos la sustentan” (“the idea is not ridiculous and some critics support it”; xxviii). However, Morales Borrero strongly asserts that whatever Ruidíaz may or may not have read, it “no fue una obra cervantina” (“was not a work of Cervantes”; xxviii). Further, Morales Borrero writes of Ruidíaz’s claim of having read a genuine unpublished Cervantes pamphlet that “si es cierto que la tuvo en sus manos y que pudo saborearla, él quizá pensó que comía liebre; pero le dieron gato” (“if it is true that he had it in his hands and was able to savor it, he may have thought that he was eating hare; but they gave him cat”; xxviii).

However, the account by Ruidíaz of the text he alleges to have seen in the home of the Count of Saceda is not the only such witness affirmation of *El buscapie*’s actual existence. Yet another testimony to the existence of the disputed document is given in the second volume of the 1832 edition of *Don Quixote* by Joaquín María de Ferrer. In the notes which follow Cervantes’s novel, Ferrer cites a document written to him in letter

form by Agustín García de Arrieta on December 20, 1831, which states that he wants to share information on *El buscapié*, “que realmente ha existido y desaparecido por desgracia” (“which really existed and has unfortunately disappeared”; 375). Arrieta bases this assertion not on having examined the text himself, but on conversations which took place in 1807 with the Countess of Fernán Núñez, who had expired by the time of the 1831 letter. The Countess was in turn the widow of the late Carlos José Gutierrez de los Rios, the sixth Count of Fernán Núñez, and spoke “de haber tenido en sus manos un ejemplar” (“of having had in her hands a copy”; 375) of *El buscapié* which her husband had acquired while serving as the Spanish ambassador to Portugal.

Arrieta states that the Countess had originally assumed that the text was among the books belonging to the library of her deceased husband, and had granted Arrieta permission to examine the collection. However, when Arrieta could not find *El buscapié* among the books of the late Count, the Countess told Arrieta that she:

[S]ospechaba hubiese sido sustraído en el registro, que á poco tiempo despues de haber muerto el señor conde y á la llegada de sus libros de París, se hizo de todos ellos, quemándose en el patio de su casa muchas y muy escogidas obras, lujosamente impresas y encuadernadas, de orden y por medio de dos comisarios de la inquisición... (375)

[S]uspected that it had been removed during the search that was done of all of the books shortly after the death of the Count and the arrival of the luxuriously printed and bound books from Paris, many and very selected

works of which were burned in the courtyard of her home by order of and by two inspectors of the Inquisition...

Such a scene as described by the Countess comes remarkably close to the passage of the scrutiny and the burning of the books of Don Quixote's library in Chapter 6 of the first volume of *Don Quixote*. While such an anecdote certainly adds color and suspense to the story of *El buscapié*, it adds little, if anything, to the literary or historical record which could serve as support for the possible existence of the document. It seems that in all of the aforementioned cases, *El buscapié* is always just out of reach, one step from being discovered by the concerned authorities. So what can a modern scholar make of all of this? Did *El buscapié* actually exist? If it indeed did exist, did Cervantes himself write the text, or was it truly exactly what Ruidíaz stated that it had claimed to be—an explanation of *Don Quixote* written by a reader who wished to share what he thought to be the true, secret meaning of the text? Perhaps a brief recap is in order, to summarize the major points associated with *El buscapié*, and to consider what value can be drawn from the results of the investigation of this putative Cervantine text.

### 2.3 Early Exegetical Readings of *Don Quixote*

In general, Cervantes scholars agree that *El buscapié* simply never existed, and immediately associate the name of the work with the Castro forgery. Those who do recall the early oral tradition referred to by Ríos tend to dismiss it based upon the tenuous testimony provided by Ruidíaz, especially in light of his having claimed to have gained access to the work via the Count of Saceda, an individual quite convincingly connected to what were at the very least questionable publishing practices, if not outright forgeries.

Finally, as we have seen in what is the most recent eyewitness account of *El buscapié* by the Countess of Fernán Núñez, the only documentable evidence we have is just one more example of the contested text remaining just beyond the reach of the literary historian Arrieta.

What is interesting to this study, however, is the endurance of the aforementioned tradition mentioned by Ríos with regard to the existence of a text such as *El buscapié* which allegedly contained the explanation of the true meaning originally intended by Cervantes in *Don Quixote*. According to Joaquín Álvarez Barrientos, this search for a deeper implication in *Don Quixote* made plain by the dogged pursuit by so many philologists of the legendary *El buscapié* was just one of the “síntomas” (“symptoms”) of “como se canonizaba la figura de Cervantes, para convertirlo en ‘poeta nacional’” (“how the figure of Cervantes was becoming canonized, in order to convert him into the ‘national poet’”; *Monumento* 21). Whether or not this is or is not the case, the existence of such a tradition seems to signal that at least a portion of the readership of the novel sensed that the most literal surface of the novel did not represent the entirety of the authorial message.

The very first published evidence we have of *El buscapié* directly addresses this very reaction to the text of the Cervantes novel. In his case, Ríos defended the reasons for the need of an exegesis like *El buscapié*, explaining that even Cervantes himself was aware that the deeper meaning of *Don Quixote*—one which lies written between the lines of the novel and is not obvious on the surface narration—had eluded a significant portion of the contemporary readership of the novel. Because of this, Ríos explains, Cervantes

ultimately found it necessary to resort to writing the supplemental text in order to elucidate the true meaning of the novel. As Ríos explains it:

Su autor, conociendo que el Quixote era leído de los que no le entendían, y que no le leían los que podían entenderle, procuró excitar la atención de todos, publicando el *Busca pie*. En esta obrita, que se imprimió anónima, y es extremadamente rara, hizo una aparente y graciosa crítica del Quixote, insinuando que era una sátira fina y paliada de varias personas muy conocidas y principales; pero sin descubrir, ni manifestar aun por los mas leves indicios ninguna de ellas. (I xxvi)

Its author, knowing that the *Quixote* was read by those who did not understand it, and that those who did understand it did not read it, set out to attract the attention of everyone, publishing *El Buscapié*. In this little work, which was published anonymously, and is extremely rare, he made an apparent and gracious critique of the *Quixote*, insinuating that it was a subtle and softened satire of various well-known and illustrious people; but without unveiling nor exposing any of them by even the most understated of indications.

Despite this reference to a second, hidden level of meaning in the text suggested by this early work of Cervantes criticism by Ríos, the general consensus among Cervantes scholars is that the initial reception of *Don Quixote* regarded the novel as a “funny book” and nothing more—very much in line with what Mandel had described as the typical “hard critic” (155).

Of course, Cervantes himself states in the prologue to *Don Quixote I* that the work is in its entirety “una invectiva contra los libros de caballerías” (“an invective against the books of chivalry”; 101), and according to Anthony Close’s book-length study of critical approaches to Cervantes’s novel during the Romantic period, “Cervantes’s contemporaries took his re-iterated intention at its face value” (*Romantic Approach* 9). Close further asserts that even the earliest published critics of *Don Quixote*, whose works appeared throughout the eighteenth-century, “start from a perfectly correct assumption about Cervantes’s primary intentions throughout the novel” (15), which he goes on to explain “concur with Cervantes’s repeated statements of intent” (16).

Jean Canavaggio agrees with this opinion, stating that Cervantes’s contemporaries enjoyed *Don Quixote* because they “took delight in the exploits of a madman,” and cites examples from works of both Quevedo and Lope de Vega which refer to the novel’s comical aspects. Canavaggio ultimately concludes in regards to the view of *Don Quixote* in the age of Cervantes that not only was its reading as a book of humor the primary response to the work, but that “this is the only way classical Europe understood the Knight of the Woeful Countenance” (*Cervantes* 297).

Despite this assessment of the general contemporary reception of *Don Quixote* by some of the most respected Cervantes scholars, a few early references to the novel which bear mentioning seem to find value in the work beyond the humorous aspect. One of these early mentions comes in 1605—from the pages of *Don Quixote I* itself—when official censor Gutierre de Cetina writes in the lines of his approval that the novel is a “libro de mucho entretenimiento lícito, mezclado de mucha filosofía moral” (“book of much lawful entertainment, mixed with much moral philosophy”; 1.prefatory: 18).

Indeed, citing this very same line, Joaquín González Cuenca states: “Que el *Quijote* es más que un libro de humor ya lo vieron algunos desde su nacimiento” (“That the *Quixote* is more than a book of humor was already seen by many since its birth”; 11).

Another more extensive and interesting reference to *Don Quixote* occurs in the 1627 work *Trastulli delle villa distinti in sette giornate*, which is a collection of stories and poems divided among seven sections, called “giornate” (“days”) written by composer Adriano Banchieri under the pen name of Camillo Scaliggeri della Fratta (Greene 98). In the second *giornata* of the seven, a discussion among two characters is presented in dialogue form. At one point in the conversation, the character Nicolosa (the mother of Italian folk tale hero Bertoldino) tells her interlocutor Asdrubale (a messenger of the king of Perú) a variation of the story of Mambrino’s helmet from Chapter 21 of *Don Quixote I* (68-70).

In Banchieri’s version, the precise details of the event are not identical to those in the Cervantine original. For example, Banchieri’s Don Quixote states that a barber seen by him and Sancho Panza is actually “il famofiffimo Don Splandiano figlio del valorofiffimo Amadis di Gaula” (“the very famous Don Esplandián, son of the very valorous Amadís of Gaul”: 68), while no such specific identification was made by Don Quixote of the character described as a barber in the narration of the original text. Further, while Banchieri’s Don Quixote sent his horse into a gallop, raised his lance and “colfe il pouero barbiero in mezzo del petto” (“struck the poor barber in the center of his chest”), and then placed the “baccile per trofeo in cima della lancia andaua gridando à tutta uoce per la campagna Vittoria vittoria” (“basin as a trophy on top of the lance and went shouting at the top of his lungs through the countryside ‘Victory victory’”; 69),

Cervantes's original barber abandoned his horse before Don Quixote could strike him, after which point the would-be knight errant indeed celebrated his questionable victory, but with no such outburst (1.21: 295). Regardless, the broad strokes are largely the same—Don Quixote and Sancho Panza encounter a barber whose basin Don Quixote mistakes for the legendary “Yelmo de Mambrino” (“Mambrino’s helmet”; 294), at which time the self-made knight decides to charge the barber in order to take the basin away from him.

Don Quixote’s mistaken interpretation gives rise to another interpretation by Asdrubale, who responds that he has heard Nicolosa’s version of the story. He immediately tells Nicolosa to not be so surprised, as there is a member of the current King’s Court who claims to have a legion of alchemical secrets, and has promised “*tranfultantiare il zolfo incorruttibile in oro*” (“to transubstantiate incorruptible sulfur into gold”; 70) as well as perform a host of other miraculous conversions.

Effectively, what Asdrubale has done is to make a classic *exemplum* of the adventure in his allegorical interpretation of Mambrino’s helmet from *Don Quixote* as described by Nicolosa. Of course, in this case the example demonstrates behavior to be avoided. As Covarrubias’s *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* explains under the definition of *exemplo*, “*Abfolutamēte exēplo fe toma en buena parte; pero dezimos dar mal exemplo*” (“Absolutely example is taken to be a good one, but we also speak of making a bad example”; 391). The example drawn here by Asdrubale is overtly political—drawing a direct parallel between a delusional character in a novel and an ethically (or psychologically) questionable member of the Court (albeit that of Perú). Indeed, Luigi Rossi has stated of *Trastulli delle villa distinti in sette giornate* that “pochi



libri come questo servono a dimostrare quanto fosse caduta in basso la politica” (“few books demonstrate like this one does precisely to what lows politics had fallen”) during the early seventeenth-century in Italy, and states that the political situation is “quasi annegata” (“almost drowned”) in a sea of Banchieri’s critical proverbs and pointed short stories (148). Banchieri’s choice in selecting the scene of Mambrino’s helmet to make such a political critique suggests that at least some of Cervantes’s contemporaries did not see *Don Quixote* as merely a funny book.

Another such reference to *Don Quixote* can be found in the 1634 didactic dialogue titled *Il forastiero* by Giulio Cesare Capaccio. During the dialogue between the *Cittadino* (“citizen”) and the *Forastiero* (“foreigner”), the *Forastiero* decries those who would read vapid books of chivalry rather than books of greater merit, such as classic works of design, architecture, the art of war, or indeed, Holy Scripture. The *Forastiero* states that:

E gran mancamento questo che non solo non leggono l’historia maestra della vita, ma l’abborriscono. Non sò che possa sapere vn che non fa le cose vniuersali occorse nel mondo in tanti euenti che foli ponno instruirci di ciò che desideriamo. Basta che perdano il tempo con le baie, del Cauallero della Croce. Sia benedetto D. Chisciotte de la Magna che li burla così gentilmente di chi fù autore di quelle scritture. (279)

This is a great deficiency that not only do they not read the masterpiece, the history of life, but they abhor it. I don’t know what one could possibly know if one doesn’t know universal things that have happened in the

world, when there are so many events that on their own could instruct us in whatever we may want. It's enough for them to spend time with the nonsense of the Knight of the Cross. Blessed be Don Quixote de la Mancha who so generously ridicules the authors of those writings.

Of course, the notion that *Don Quixote* may be able to pull the attention of distracted readers away from the books of chivalry only reinforces Cervantes's stated intention in having written the novel. However, the suggestion by Capaccio that such reading of chivalric exploits may directly impede the reading of biblical texts gives the Cervantes novel a greater purpose just one step beyond the declaration of intent of the author—not only to defeat the books of chivalry as an end in and of itself, but also as a means to the end of encouraging greater devotion to Scripture. Indeed, the words “Blessed be Don Quixote” indicate that according to the Italian author, the fictional literary character created by Cervantes was performing a task so honorable that he was worthy of praise from God.

It is worth noting here that Capaccio was not a comic writer. Capaccio was considered a “uomo insigne per virtù religiose e civili, Letterato, Storico ed Antiquario famoso” (“man eminent for his religious and civil virtues, a man of letters, a famous historian and antiquarian” (Cubiciotti 9), an impressive list of qualities and skills to which Francesco Antonio Soria adds that “era Poeta, Oratore, Filosofo, Teologo” (“he was a poet, orator, philosopher, theologian”; 131). Among Capaccio's several publications and literary accomplishments is one note of particular interest—he provided exegetical notes and critical commentary for the second edition of Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*—a piece whose “success was immediate and far-reaching.”

Indeed, during the following few decades “it was cited by Spenser as a model for his *Faerie Queene*,” inspired a play by Lope de Vega (*Jerusalén conquistada*), and some of its scenes were the subject of paintings by Tintoretto (*Tancredi battezza Clorinda* and *La morte di Clorinda*; Davie xvi).

Of specific importance here, *Gerusalemme liberata* is also a work which was imitated by Cervantes in his own play *La conquista de Jerusalén por Godofre de Bullón*.<sup>4</sup> The edition of *Gerusalemme liberata* which includes the commentary by Capaccio was issued in 1582, within less than one year of the original pressing of the Tasso work, due to the aforementioned success of the first printing. It is therefore at least possible that Cervantes’s own exposure to *Gerusalemme liberata* was via an edition which included Capaccio’s notes—an intriguing potential circularity at the very least. Of course, such a possibility would also necessitate that Cervantes were able to read Italian. While there exists no direct evidence of his having had such knowledge of the language, Cervantes, through the voice of Don Quixote, does comment on the impressive fidelity of Juan de Jáuregui’s 1607 Spanish translation of *Aminta* from Tasso’s Italian-language original (2.62: 554)—a comment which would seem to imply that Cervantes had read at least some of Tasso’s works in the original language. Further, Howard Mancing states “that several Italian writers were of undeniable importance to Cervantes, who was stationed in

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<sup>4</sup> In 1992, Stefano Arata found a manuscript of a play by the same name in the library of the Royal Palace in Madrid, a text which is coetaneous to Cervantes’s career as a dramaturge and is clearly based on Tasso’s *Gerusalemme liberata*. Arata published the work along with a study comparing stylistic techniques of the found document to known Cervantine theatrical pieces, making a strong argument for its attribution to Cervantes (9-29).

Italy during his years in the army, considered Naples the most beautiful city in the world, and probably spoke and read Italian quite well” (*Cervantes*’ DQ 90).

Of additional interest here is the real possibility, although again lacking supporting evidence, that Cervantes and Tasso had even met in person at some point during Cervantes’s stay in Italy (Mancing *Encyclopedia* 2: 699). Although such a first-person contact between the two authors has not been adequately established, there does at least exist rather clear evidence that Cervantes and Tasso had one close acquaintance in common—Cristóbal de Mesa—described as a “fanatical promoter of Tasso” who “had spent five years in close contact with” the Italian author. Mesa was very familiar with the Italian author’s literary theory and himself stated that he had been personally communicated “la doctrina del Torquato Taso” (“the doctrine of Torquato Tasso”); Caravaggi 247).

Further, in regard to Cristóbal de Mesa’s relationship with Cervantes it has been shown that “the two obviously knew each other,” between the mutual praise the two bestowed upon each other in print and the fact that both “frequented literary circles” in Madrid (Eisenberg *Cervantes and Tasso* 310). Finally, it is known that Capaccio and Tasso were close friends who often dined together at Capaccio’s home in Naples and discussed literature (Serassi 483), thus completing the circle and assuring that Cervantes and Capaccio were, at the very most, disconnected by two degrees of separation—and quite possibly may even have met in person. At the very least, however, each of these close relationships involved discussions about literature and literary theory. Such a situation makes it quite likely that Capaccio would have at least been privy to how the

writers in this close circle thought fiction could or should refer to elements of the extratextual world in a symbolic manner.

Yet a third example of a reading of the text of *Don Quixote* which goes beyond the literal level can be found in the 1639 Spanish-language publication of *Os Lusíadas* by Portuguese author Luís de Camões. This edition, edited and commented by Manuel Faria e Sousa, includes an interesting reference to *Don Quixote* in the notes accompanying Stanza 66 of Canto VI. While Faria e Sousa credits “la feliz invencion de Miguel de Cervantes” (“the fortunate invention of Miguel de Cervantes”; 138) for the fact that at the time of his writing these comments books of chivalry “no fon tan leidos” (“are not read much”; 138), he also suggests that the fiction of *Don Quixote* contains real-world criticism and singles out the governorship of Sancho Panza from *Don Quixote II* as a specific, political example:

Miguel de Cervantes imitó también a Camoens, o a Petronio, o a ambos en esto; o concurrió con ellos, quando en fu Don Quixote, part. 2. Introduce un Duque a hazer Governador de una Isla a Sancho Pança; i algunos de los que ponen la felicidad del dezir en palabras campanudas (propiedad de badajos, fin los cuales no ay sonido cãpanudo) le condenan de que no es verifimil, que un señor Duque avia de dar un gobierno a un tōto por juizio, perdido por vida, vil por calidad; digo, que Cervantes fue agudísimo, i apenas tiene accion perdida, o a cafo, sino exẽplar, o abierta, o fatirica, o figuradamente; y en esta no quiso solo dar a entender la errada, i aun ridicula eleccion que generalmente se haze de fujetos para minifros, fino la que en particular hazẽ los Virreyes i Gobernadores de Italia, adonde es

lastimofa el ver quantos hombres deffas partes representadas en Sancho Pança, fon proveidos en gobiernos, con gran nota de España, y desconsuelo de los Italianos, por verse gobernados de hombres conocidos por viles, i de tan poco juicio, ñ aun en tales puestos no faben difimular algo de fu mala calidad, pidiendola ellos muy buena; antes procediendo en los infultos que les llevaron a buscar tierra agena, exasperan aquellas voluntades... (60)

Miguel de Cervantes also imitated Camões, or Petronio, or both in this; or he concurred with them, when in his *Don Quixote II* he introduces a Duke to make Sancho Panza the governor of an island; and some of those who are happy to speak in bombastic terms (a property of blabbermouths, without whom there are no bombastic sounds) condemn him for it not being realistic, that a gentleman Duke would give a governorship to an idiot in judgment, lost in life, vile in qualities; I say that Cervantes was very clever, and that there is barely any superfluous or chance action: rather, those that are exemplary, or open, or satirical, or figurative; and in this one he did not only want imply the erroneous and even ridiculous choices which are generally made of subjects for ministers, but rather in particular those which the Viceroys and Governors of Italy make, where it is lamentable to see how many men of those areas are represented in Sancho Panza, who are provided governorships, with great fanfare in Spain, and with anguish by the Italians for seeing themselves governed by men known to be despicable, and of such little judgment, that even in such

positions they do not know how to conceal any of their own bad quality, while they themselves demand very good quality; more likely to proceed with the insults that caused them to seek foreign soil, exasperating the goodwill of the people there...

Faria e Sousa not only defends Cervantes against the “badajos” (“blabbermouths”), who would criticize the realism of the Duke’s appointment of Sancho Panza to the governorship—which of course suggest that such critics did indeed exist—but also goes so far as to praise the author for being “agudísimo” (“very clever”) in lampooning Spanish government ministers through examples, satire, open-ended writings and allegorical adventures within the context of the novel. Indeed, here Faria e Sousa insists that *Don Quixote* “apenas tiene accion perdida o a cafo” (“has barely any superfluous or chance action”), directly contradicting the future statements of several Cervantes scholars and authors beginning in the nineteenth-century who have insisted that the novel was written haphazardly or without a premeditated plan.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Such claims have been forwarded by Manuel de la Revilla and Pedro de Alcántara García (“...no hay, pues, en el *Quijote* la unidad que requieren el desarrollo y progreso de toda fábula bien urdida.” (“...there is not, then, in the *Quixote*, the unity required for the development and progress of all well-plotted fables.”; 428), John Ormsby (“A very slight examination of the structure of *Don Quixote* will suffice to show that Cervantes had no deep design or elaborate plan in his mind when he began the book.”; 61), Vladimir Nabokov (“...a very patchy haphazard tale, which is saved from falling apart only by its creator’s wonderful artistic intuition...”; 28), and Martín de Riquer, the latter of whom who stated that: “No hay en el Quijote una trama propiamente dicha, sino un constante sucederse de episodios, por lo general desvinculados el uno del otro” (“Strictly speaking,

But Faria e Sousa does not content himself with terminating there with his analysis of the governorship of Sancho as a political allegory critical of the Spanish monarchy—he also supports the view citing Cervantes’s travels and further similarities between the text and the governmental reality of the Spanish conquest on the Italian Peninsula:

I es cierto, que de aqui resulta mucho del rancor dellas contra España: i porque de ordinario los Virreyes, o Governadores son Duques, pufo Cervantes aquella provifion en Duque: i como el anduvo por allâ, i experimētò efto, mordiòlo con efta invencion tã verifimil, que es cierto aver muchos Sancho Panças en tales gobiernos... (60)

And it is true, that this results in much resentment of them against Spain: and because ordinarily the Viceroyes, or Governors are Dukes, Cervantes put that provision on the Duke: and because he had travelled over there, and experienced this, he attacked it with this very realistic invention, because it is true that there are many Sancho Panzas in such governorships...

Perhaps most interestingly, Faria e Sousa suggests that the method utilized by Cervantes to satirize the habit of the nobles to elect inappropriate governors is by no means an isolated incident. Rather, such writing between the lines in order to make a political critique is simply the way that “los grandes hombres” (“the great men”) craft

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there is no plot in the *Quixote*, but rather a constant occurrence of episodes, in general disconnected from one another”; *Para leer* 43).



their works: “i desta manera escriben, i piensan, i reprehēden los grandes hombres: i afsi cafi invifiblemēte meten las higas en los ojos a las partes adverfas con quien parece hablan conformes” (“and it is in this way that great men write, and think, and reprimand: and so they almost invisibly flip the bird in the faces at those to whom they are opposed and with whom they appear to agree”; 60).

Remarkably, Faria e Sousa directly states that the author of *Don Quixote* was insulting precisely those with whom he seems to side. Such a statement flies directly in the face of the notion that Cervantes’s contemporaries took his writings strictly at his word, and reminds the reader of the fact that the true meaning of any sentence must be considered very carefully in the context of the entire work—both within the fiction of the novel and in the extratextual socio-political environment in which the author lived and worked.

In regard to the reference to *Don Quixote* by Faria e Sousa, Nicolás Marín López asserts that it is obvious that “Faria fue sensible a la trascendencia de la historia cervantina” (“Faria was sensitive to the transcendence of Cervantine history”; 194). Felipe B. Pedraza Jiménez, for his part, sees a “caso de interpretación de algunos pasajes quijotescos en clave alegórica” (“case of the interpretation of a few passages of *Don Quixote* in an allegorical code”; 41). However, both seem conspicuously keen to distance such evaluations from indicating that Faria e Sousa was in any manner an esotericist. Indeed, although Marín López states that “Si el *Quijote* era para él un texto perfectamente serio [...], podía y debía servir para anotar otro texto” (“If the *Quixote* was for him a perfectly serious text [...], it could and must serve to annotate another text”), he also adds the a caveat in regards to the illustrative power of Cervantes’s novel, which was a book

important to the understanding of things outside of itself: "...pero no un libro esotérico" ("but not an esoteric book"; 194).

However, it is the insistence of Pedraza Jiménez on the existence of a gulf between esoterism and the kind of political allegory he sees in Faria e Sousa which is most revealing not so much of the critic's view of the commentator of *Os Lusíades* as of his evaluation of the esotericists:

Faltaba mucho tiempo para que los románticos alemanes inventaran los valores simbólicos y trascendentes de la novela cervantina, no como trasposición alegórica que, a partir de su sentido literal, podía establecer un espíritu discreto y razonable, sino como realidad evidente e inmediata que no admite discusión. Así descubrieron ignotos sentidos, que habían escapado a la atención de los lectores precedentes. Y no solo al público vulgar, sino a los cultos y aun a su mismo creador. A partir de aquí, la epopeya cómica, que todos creían haber entendido en su genuina sencillez y claridad, se convirtió en pasto de oradores, filósofos y otros lunáticos.  
(43)

It would still be a long time before the German Romanticists would invent the symbolic and transcendental values of the Cervantine novel, not as an allegorical transposition, which, beginning from its literal sense, could establish a modest and reasonable spirit, but rather as evident and immediate reality which does not admit discussion. In this way they discovered unknown meanings which had escaped the attention of earlier

readers. And not only among the common folk, but also the educated, and even its own creator. From that point on, the comical exploits, which everyone believed they had understood in their genuine simplicity and clarity, and it was converted into the stuff of orators, philosophers and other lunatics.

Indeed, such a quote is quite revelatory of the derogatory connotation of the word “esoteric” which is not part of the aforementioned *Oxford Dictionary* entry. The fact that Pedraza Jiménez makes an effort to set Faria e Sousa’s observations apart from the esotericists indicates the critic’s approval of the precision of the exegesis made by the commentator and the contextual evidence he brings to bear. Regardless, it is clear that the meaning assigned to the text of *Don Quixote* by Faria e Sousa goes far beyond the literal and implies a need for reading between the lines in order to arrive at the true, hidden objective of the author—one that may be the precise opposite of the sense expressed on the surface of the narration.

A fourth example comes from the comments made by Charles de Saint-Évremond about *Don Quixote* in a private letter originally penned to Maréchal de Crequy in 1671, then published in 1692:

J’admire comme dans la bouche du plus grand fou de la terre, Cervantes a trouvé le moyen de se faire connoître l’homme le plus entendu & le plus grand connoisseur qu’on se puisse imaginer. J’admire la diverfité de ses caractères, qui font les plus recherchés du monde pour les especes; & dans leur especes, les plus naturels. (14-15)

I admire how Cervantes has found the means to make himself known as the wisest and most knowledgeable person that can be imagined through the mouth of the greatest madman of the Earth. I admire the diversity of the characters, who are, because of their types, the most unnatural in the world, while within their types the most natural.

It is clear that Saint-Évremond ascribes traits to Don Quixote that demonstrate concepts that extend beyond the merely comical—and that he further views other characters in the novel as more than simply ridiculous types with no connection to the concrete world. The specific notion that Saint-Évremond iterates here is that Cervantes disguises truth or wisdom as the utterances of a lunatic—effectively stating that the author was indeed “writing between the lines” with regard to the ultimate intentions of the novel.

This trend of seeing alternate meanings beyond Cervantes’s declared objective continued into the eighteenth-century—including in England. Daniel Defoe, the author of *Robinson Crusoe*, commonly considered “the first English novel” (Fallon 1), briefly discusses Cervantes’s novel in the prologue to *Serious Reflections During the Life and Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, the third installment in his series of books on the protagonist:

The famous History of *Don Quixot*, a Work which thousands read with Pleasure, to one that knows the Meaning of it, was an emblematic History of, and a just Satyr upon the Duke *de Medina Sidonia*; a person very

remarkable at that Time in Spain: To those who knew the Original, the Figures were lively and easily discovered themselves... (A3)

Obviously, here Defoe is reading between the lines of the novel and seeing an attack on a nobleman—the same Duke about whom Cervantes had written a scathing satirical sonnet years earlier (Pierson 210). Defoe states this in defense against a critic who meant to deride *Robinson Crusoe* by comparing it to *Don Quixote*, and Defoe in turn accuses said critic of not having understood the political allegory of the Spanish novel. Then, Defoe agrees that his novel does indeed share this same quality with that of Cervantes, and that the critic “perhaps will be a little startled, when I shall tell him, that what he meant for a Satyr, was the greatest of Panegyrics” (A3).

Yet another Englishman—this one earning the moniker “Príncipe de los cervantistas” (“Prince of the Cervantists”; Rey Hazas and Muñoz Sánchez 51)—elaborated a theory for an allegory in *Don Quixote*. The Rev. John Bowle who prepared the first annotated scholarly edition of the novel in 1781, expounded his estimation of the character Don Quixote as a cover for the possibly true object of Cervantes’s satire in a letter to his friend Dr. Percy. Bowle surmised that Don Quixote could in truth have been a disguise to represent Ignacio de Loyola based on a few similarities between the nature of the real founder of the Jesuits and that of the protagonist of Cervantes’s novel (136-39). Although Bowle does call his suggestion “conjecture” (136), and does warn that “in forming parallels, matters may possibly be carried too far” (138), he does point out some intriguing correspondences between the two. Regardless of the merit of the notion, this is certainly not a merely literal interpretation of *Don Quixote*, and serves as yet another example of an early exegetical reading of the novel.

While the examples discussed thus far have come from authors from Italy, France and Spain, eighteenth-century exegetical commentaries on Cervantes's novel were not exclusively limited to nations foreign to its author. Indeed, when the posthumously published novel in epistolary form titled *Las cartas marruecas* by Spaniard José Cadalso first appeared in print in the journal *Correo de Madrid (o de los ciegos)* in 1789,<sup>6</sup> it included a brief commentary on *Don Quixote* which hinted a second level of meaning. In Letter 59, the young and initially optimistic diplomat Gazel writes to the older and more philosophical Bem-Beley about his doubts that the true intended meaning of the Cervantes novel is the one discernible on the surface:

En esta nacion hay un libro muy aplaudido por todas las demas. Lo he leido, y me ha gustado sin duda, pero no dexa de mortificarme la sospecha de que el sentido literal es uno, y el verdadero es otro muy diferente.  
(2082)

In this nation there is a book which is highly celebrated by other [nations]. I have read it, and I liked it, without a doubt, but the suspicion that the literal meaning is one, and that the true one is another very different one does not cease to plague me.

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<sup>6</sup> Emilio Martínez Mata states that Cadalso had completed the *Cartas marruecas* and had even gone as far as to deposit a manuscript of the work in order to acquire the required license by October 1774, a full 15 years before its eventual publication in installments in the Spanish periodical (29).

Until quite recently there has been virtually no discussion by Cervantes scholars in regards to this rather suggestive early reference to the novel. Calling Gazel's comment a "cryptic statement, enveloped within the letter of a young Moroccan traveller in Spain relating the country's strange customs to his mentor," Rachel Schmidt writes that that the line from *Cartas marruecas* "has escaped the attention of many scholars who have written on the reception of *Don Quixote* in eighteenth-century Spain" (*Critical Images* 126).

More recently, José Montero Reguera has similarly commented on the same words of Cadalso's novel (although without recognizing Rachel Schmidt's prior discussion of this early literary reference to *Don Quixote*), but further credits their author with being the "escritor con quien se inicia una línea de crítica sobre el *Quijote*" ("writer with whom a line of criticism about the *Quixote* is initiated"), one which specifically "postula la existencia en la novela de dos niveles de significación, uno explícito y otro oculto, que ha de ser descifrado, por verdadero" ("postulates the existence in the novel of two lines of meaning, one explicit and the other hidden, which must be deciphered, because it is the true one"; *Cervantismos* 39). As we have seen, the tradition goes back well beyond Gazel's comment, even if it is the clearest and most precise statement of the position.

Even if Cadalso's comments on *Don Quixote* within *Cartas marruecas* had ended here, they would certainly demonstrate the existence of the notion of a veiled and "true" meaning of the novel which contradicts the intention overtly stated by Cervantes. However, the discussion of *Don Quixote* by the fictional character goes further yet when Gazel states that "ninguna obra necesita mas que esta el Diccionario de Nuño" ("no work

needs the Dictionary of Nuño more than this one” (2082). Here, Gazel is referring to a work that a third character of *Cartas marruecas* claims to have written, but refuses to show to Gazel. About his work, Nuño states: “presento al lector un nuevo diccionario diferente de todos los que se conocen hasta ahora” (“I present to the reader a new dictionary different from all of them which are known up until now”; 1513). Nuño then goes on to explain that his new type dictionary does not specify whether any particular word:

[V]iene del arabigo, del latin, del cantabro, del fenicio, del cartaginés, ni en decir, si tal termino está ya antiguado, ó es corriente, ó nuevámente admitido, ó si tal expresión es baxa, media ó sublime ó si es prosaica, ó poetica. (1514)

[C]ome from Arabic, from Latin, from Cantabrian, from Phoenician, from Carthaginian, nor to say, if said term is already antiquated, or is current, or is newly admitted, o if said expression is low, medium or sublime or if it is prosaic, or poetic.

Nuño then goes on to explain that the definitions in his dictionary do not give any idealized or theoretical explanations of a word, rather, he states: “mi animo es explicar, lisa y llanamente, el sentido primitivo, genuino, y real de cada voz, y el abuso que de ella se ha hecho” (“mi intention is to explain, smoothly and plainly, the primitive, genuine, and real meaning of each word, and the abuse which has been done it”; 1514). Gazel replies to this in the following manner: “como yo me é engañado, por creer que los verbos amar, servir, favorecer, estimar y otros tales no tienen mas que un sentido, siendo



asi que tienen tantos, que no hay guarismo que alcance” (“how I fooled myself, by believing that the verbs to love, to serve, to favor, to esteem and others such as these do not have more than one meaning, it being so that they have so many, that there is no number high enough”; 1514)

Montero Reguera summarizes what he sees as Cadalso’s view of the true intention of *Don Quixote*—that “la obra, pues, esconde un sentido oculto que se puede conocer a través de un diccionario como el de Nuño” (“that the work, then, hides a cloaked meaning that can be known by means of a dictionary like that of Nuño”; *Cervantismos* 40). Schmidt agrees that the dictionary described by Nuño is one “that reveals the true, hidden meanings of words” (128). Montero Reguera further elaborates on the possible nature of such a dictionary as that written by Nuño within the fictional narrative of *Cartas marruecas*:

No se trata, pues, de elaborar un diccionario al estilo del de *Autoridades*, con voces autorizadas por escritores, sino, en último extremo, de recuperar el sentido primitivo del texto, [...] proporcionar al lector cuantos materiales pudieran acarrear para una cabal intelección del texto.  
(*Cervantismos* 40)

This is not, therefore, about producing a dictionary in the style of *Autoridades*, with words authorized by writers, but rather, in the ultimate extreme, about recuperating the primitive meaning of the text, [...] to provide the reader with as many materials as may result in a complete understanding of the text.

Gazel does not suspend his observations on the possible hermetic intentions of Cervantes's novel after referencing the dictionary of Nuño. Rather, the character ruminates with regard to the contrast between the literal narrative he perceives and the second, concealed level of meaning that he senses:

Lo que se lee es una serie de extravagancias de un loco que cree que hay gigantes encantadores &c. algunas sentencias en boca de un necio, y muchas escenas de la vida bien criticada, pero lo que hay debaxo de esta apariencia, es en mi concepto un conjunto de materias profundas é importantes. (2082)

What is read is a series of ravings of a madman who believes that there are giants, enchanters, etc., a few wise maxims in the mouth of a fool, and many scenes of the well-criticized life, but what there is underneath this appearance is, in my view, a combination of profound and important materials.

Such an observation substantiates the opinion of Joaquín Álvarez Barrientos, that Cadalso's *Cartas marruecas* suggest the seeds of what later became a more generalized phenomenon in Cervantine criticism—"una lectura de la novela como si tuviera un sentido más profundo que el satírico y superficial" ("a reading of the novel as if it had a more profound meaning than the satirical and superficial one"; "Príncipe" 105). Schmidt goes one step beyond the remarks of Álvarez Barrientos, and states that the lines demonstrate that the eighteenth-century author tried to obfuscate the full consequences of

the tension his character Gazel observed between the surface and hermetic meanings of *Don Quixote*:

Cadalso's language, despite his attempt to hide the implications in this concise, oblique statement, reveals that he had glimpsed the conflict of the literal/the truthful, or appearance/profundity, around which so many later interpretations and representations of the novel revolve. (128)

While the effort to conceal the full import of the contrasts between these layers of which Schmidt writes seems to be a bit of a reach, there is no doubt that these lines in *Cartas marruecas* clearly indicate that Cadalso had closely considered the possibility of a second, hidden meaning. Further, it is also clearly discernible that this possible cloaked intention was one which seemed elusive enough to him to suggest that its full comprehension required a sophisticated level of decryption—possibly even a philological instrument along the lines of the literary decoder ring suggested by the dictionary of Nuño.

Several years later, in 1845, an article by Gavino Tejado titled simply “Poesía popular” (“Popular Poetry”) appeared in the journal *El Laberinto* proclaiming the need of each generation for a poetic voice, or hero to stand up for the needs of the people. Tejado goes on to say that this poetic voice must be expressed in an epic, heroic poem—and that Spanish had one which was “colosal, eterna” (“colossal, eternal”; 7) in *Don Quixote*. Tejado suggests the possibility of a socio-political level of meaning in the novel beyond the literal, although he seems to recognize that the same message may not be clear to all readers:

Acaso el cariño nos haga preocupados: acaso el respeto nos haga fanáticos al desentrañar la moralidad del Quijote, atribuyéndole miras, que no tuvo, y quizás pensamientos, que no contiene; pero sea de esto lo que quiera, nosotros obedecemos á nuestra conciencia, cuando creemos hallar en aquel libro coloso la estirpacion de todos los errores que era preciso entonces combatir... (7)

Maybe affection makes us anxious: maybe respect makes us fanatics in unraveling the morality of the *Quixote*, attributing to it views, which it did not have, and maybe thoughts, which it does not contain; but be that as it may, we obey our conscience, when we believe we find in that colossal book the extirpation of all of the errors which it was proper to combat at that time...

Tejado explains that *Don Quixote* fought to restrain the powerful nobility, which had grown dangerous due to its never-ending ambitions. He adds that the novel stood up for limiting the theocracy, because “en tiempo de Cervantes” (“in the time of Cervantes”) it was becoming a “resistencia perniciosa al espíritu progresivo de la filosofía” (“pernicious resistance to the progressive spirit of philosophy”; 7). He argues that the novel represents the fight against the aristocracy and feudalism, and stands up for the rights of the working people. Tejado ends his discussion of *Don Quixote* stating that “La aristocracia del Quijote es ridícula. La teocracia es tirana. La democracia tiene buenos instintos pero mala educación. Hé aquí por que el Quijote es la epopeya de su tiempo. Hé aquí por que fué tan eminente y popular” (“The aristocracy of the *Quixote* is ridiculous.

The theocracy is tyrannical. The democracy has good instincts but bad manners. This is why the *Quixote* is the epic poem of its time. This is why it was so eminent and popular”; 7). Once again, it is clear that this critic read much more into the purpose of the novel than the author’s stated intention.

#### 2.4 Díaz de Benjumea: “El apóstol mayor de la escuela esotérica del cervantismo”

Apart from the aforementioned documented examples of readers asserting the existence of an alternative and deeper significance in *Don Quixote* beyond the humorous intentions obvious on the surface of the narration, the general response to the novel among academics in the first two-and-a-half centuries beyond its publication clearly indicate that the work was primarily considered a comic text. By the early nineteenth-century, a formal critical tradition in the study of Cervantes’s novel was clearly developing—one which applauded the humor of the book, analyzed its use of language from an artistic perspective, and took the text of the book at its word. One of the critics of this new *cervantismo*, Manuel de la Revilla, states the general opinion of the vast majority of his contemporaries in regard to the meaning of *Don Quixote*: “No cabe dudar [...] de que la intención de Cervantes es profundamente cómica y que sus dardos se dirigen principalmente contra su protagonista” (“It cannot be doubted that the intention of Cervantes is profoundly comical and that his gibes are directed principally against his protagonist”; “De algunas” 420). Revilla further typifies his generation of Cervantes scholars in his stance as to the object of attack within the lines of *Don Quixote* when he states that “el comentario del *Quijote* es clarísimo, siempre que en él se vea lo que el

autor quiso hacer: la burla de los libros caballerescos...” (“the commentary of the *Quixote* is very clear, as long as one sees in it what the author wanted to do: ridicule the books of chivalry...”; “De algunas” 420).

It is against this critical backdrop that the writings of Nicolás Díaz de Benjumea on *Don Quixote* first appeared in a series of articles for *La América* in 1859, and soon thereafter in the pamphlet *La estafeta de Urganda* in 1861. Far from considering *Don Quixote* at its most literal level, this critic saw the text as a craftily veiled socio-political attempt at subverting the powers that be in Cervantes’s contemporary Spain. Díaz de Benjumea read *Don Quixote* as a book written in a sort of cypher, with an anti-Inquisitorial and anti-monarchical message encoded between the lines. Díaz de Benjumea elaborated his thesis by means of what he called a “symbolic” interpretation of the novel, and elucidated his arguments by pointing out various clues which he considered to be part of a full “esoteric” decryption of *Don Quixote*—an analytic methodology which he pioneered and for which he is best known.

Nicolás Díaz de Benjumea (1828-1884) was a native of Seville and published his first book, *Costumbres andaluzas*, documenting many traditions of his home region at the age of 20 (Purser 58). He later transferred to Madrid to complete his degree in law (Purser 59) before moving to London to manage the family firm “Benjumea Brothers” (González Cuenca 16). There, Díaz de Benjumea engaged in economic and political debate (González Cuenca 16), eventually publishing a book-length treatise in which he stated: “I shall serve my country,” a goal he strove for by expounding the many reasons for Great Britain to return the city of Gibraltar to Spain (*Gibraltar v*). Díaz de Benjumea also published one book of maxims in rhyme, for which he has been labeled a “poet”

(*Close Romantic* 100). By 1859, however, he began publishing his research on *Don Quixote*—a very prolific path which he continued the rest of his life (Purser 59). In his later years, Díaz de Benjumea also studied earlier books of chivalry, relocating to Lisbon and writing a full-length examination of *Palmerín de Inglaterra* by the Portuguese author Francisco de Moraes. Díaz de Benjumea was made a member of the Academy of Sciences of Lisbon upon the publication of this study, which William Edward Purser asserts “is written in a bright and lively strain and is full of shrewd critical remarks” (60). Díaz de Benjumea returned to Spain in 1877, where he remained actively engaged in the publication of literary journals, books on socio-political issues, and articles on Cervantes until his death in Barcelona in 1884 (Purser 60). This study agrees with González Cuenca in that it is high time for a “biografía de este agudo y pintoresco cervantista sevillano, que bien merece una amplia monografía. No menos urgente es la elaboración de toda su producción periodística.” (“biography of this clever and eccentric Sevillian, who well deserves an ample monography. No less urgent is the elaboration of all of his journalistic output”; 16).

The recognition of Díaz de Benjumea as the trailblazer in such hermeneutic readings is conspicuous in the entry for “Esoteric Readings of *Don Quixote*” in *The Cervantes Encyclopedia*, which states that “no one was more central to the interpretive polemics surrounding the novel than Nicolás Díaz de Benjumea” (Mancing 1: 271). Similarly, another avowal of Díaz de Benjumea’s importance within the esoteric school is manifest in the very last line of the earlier-cited entry for esoterismo from the *Gran enciclopedia cervantina*: “Uno de los más conocidos ‘esoteristas’ fue el poeta Nicolás Díaz de Benjumea” (“One of the most renowned “esotericists” was the poet Nicolás Díaz

de Benjumea; Tausiet 4264)—indeed, Díaz de Benjumea is the only critic of the substantial esoteric tradition specifically named in the entire entry. Perhaps, however, it is probably Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce who most accurately reflects the full measure of the reputation of Díaz de Benjumea when he writes of the critic that “se le puede considerar el apóstol mayor de la escuela esotérica del cervantismo” (“he can be considered the foremost apostle of the esoteric school of Cervantes studies”; 137).

However, contrary to the general description of the esotericists provided by the *Gran enciclopedia cervantina* as adopting Cervantes scholarship only “esporádicamente” (“sporadically”; 4264), Díaz de Benjumea frequently and regularly published studies and essays on the topics of *Don Quixote* and other Cervantes writings across a period of time that spanned close to three decades. Indeed, his work on *Don Quixote* even enjoyed a rather remarkable amount of popular readership—while suffering a barrage of almost universal public attacks and negative critiques from coetaneous academically-trained Cervantes scholars.

Foremost among the negative critiques of Díaz de Benjumea’s hypotheses forwarded by traditional Cervantistas were three major issues: that the esoteric scholar rejected point-blank Cervantes’s statement that *Don Quixote* was an attack on the books of chivalry, that he went too far in connecting the fictional adventures in the novel to the life of the flesh-and-blood Cervantes, and that he anachronistically saw in the early seventeenth-century work a defense of his own contemporary mid-nineteenth-century religious and political views. As to this last point, even the more recent critic Noël Salomon agrees that the thinking manifest in the writings of Díaz de Benjumea as to the possible motivations of Cervantes during the composition of *Don Quixote* more clearly



reflect the philosophical milieu of the esoteric critic than that of Cervantes's own environment of Golden Age Spain:

Durante veinticinco años, pasados casi todos en Londres, aquel crítico [Díaz de Benjumea] no dejó de publicar ensayos y opúsculos inspirados en la tesis fundamental de que el *Quijote* se identifica proféticamente con ideales de justicia y de libertad humana que más o menos eran los del liberalismo cristiano de la segunda mitad del siglo xix, con reminiscencias de socialismo humanitario a lo Lamennais. (98)

Over a period of 25 years, spent almost entirely in London, that critic [Díaz de Benjumea] never stopped publishing essays and treatises inspired by the fundamental thesis that the *Quixote* is prophetically identified with ideals of justice and human liberty which more or less were those of the Christian liberalism of the second half of the nineteenth-century, with echoes of humanitarian socialism in the style of Lamennais

While generally such literary debates are almost entirely contained within academic environments, a very public polemic concerning the validity of the traditional *Quixote* scholarship versus that of Díaz de Benjumea's more symbolic or esoteric methodology broke out and was fought on the pages of national newspapers and magazines (González Cuenca 8).

In his very first published article on the subject of Cervantes, Díaz de Benjumea made plain his conception of the author as a sort of hero of the downtrodden, whose message was precocious and democratic. The theme was general, and the article was

more essayistic than a true investigation or study of specific textual passages. Regardless, it served as a sort of manifesto for a new class of *Quixote* criticism—one that was perhaps more quixotic, in the sense that it emphasized an intentionality in the novel that was more in line with that of its protagonist—that of a lone fighter who stands for justice against all odds. Where in the case of *Don Quixote* the would-be knight errant fought against imaginary giants in the form of windmills, Díaz de Benjumea describes Miguel de Cervantes as fighting real monsters in the form of the Spanish monarchy and the Inquisition. Although such a statement is never overtly made, Díaz de Benjumea’s conception of Cervantes at moments skirts on the edge of that of a selfless Christ-like savior, one whose literary art, “el *Quijote*, es más que una obra de arte, es la Biblia humana” (“the *Quixote*, is more than a work of art, it is the Human Bible”; *Don Quijote* 651).

Díaz de Benjumea begins this first publication, titled “Significación histórica de Cervantes,” describing the existence of voices which attempt to bring an “ideal humano” (“human ideal”) closer than it has ever come to “las regiones de la vida” (“the regions of life”; 9). According to Díaz de Benjumea, in an idea he conveys in one rather lengthy sentence, it is from amidst the chorus of these voices that a guiding voice for all society must arise:

[Among these individuals who] hablan al hombre en los dominios de la inteligencia, nace uno, á quien la inspiracion del cielo ilumina, para que hable al pueblo en los dominios del arte, para que le muestre con imágenes vivas lo que tiene lugar en las regiones de la ciencia, para que le haga apartar la vista de lo pasado, de ese mundo antiguo hacia el cual

gravitamos temerosos de lanzarnos en el porvenir desconocido, y le señale distintamente hácia dónde camina la sociedad, cuál es su objeto, y cuáles los medios de que va á hacer uso: porque en vano es que el hombre de la ciencia recorra siglos en un solo vuelo; desde las cúspides de la ciencia hasta el pedestal del pueblo hay que recorrer un largo y penoso camino, en el cual la idea ha de romper lanzas con todas las ideas, y todavía para entrar en la jurisdiccion del pueblo necesita de un intérprete, necesita de los cantores del pueblo, de los artistas, que tomando esa idea para él muerta, le den vida en la región del arte incarnándola en un personaje que la simbolice y á quien ella imprima fisonomía, colorido, movimiento y lenguaje, á fin de que el pueblo que le ve salir de entre sus filas, que entiende su idioma y que le reconoce, beba en él las inspiraciones de la ciencia. (9)

...speak to man in the dominions of intelligence, is born one, who is illuminated by the inspiration of heaven, so that he may speak to the populace in the dominion of art, in order that he may show it in living images that which takes place in the regions of science, in order that it turns its vision from the past, from that ancient world towards which we gravitate fearful of launching ourselves into the unknown future, and who points out clearly the direction in which society is heading, what its object is, and which means it will make use of: because it is in vain that the man of science would cross centuries in only one flight; from the summit of science to the foot of the populace one must traverse a long and arduous

path, one in which the idea must combat against all other ideas, and still yet in order to enter within the jurisdiction of the people it needs an interpreter, it needs the singing poets of the people, the artists, who in taking this idea dead to the populace, give it life in the area of art, making it incarnate in a character who symbolizes it, and in whom the idea imprints physiognomy, color, movement and language, with the goal that the populace that sees him step out from its ranks, that understands his language and recognizes him, drinks from him the inspirations of science.

This hero of society described by Díaz de Benjumea is none other than the author of *Don Quixote*: “Este hombre elegido, este genio que adivina el bello ideal social del período libre en el seno de la civilización cristiana, y los medios que ha de emplear para realizarlo, es para nosotros Miguel de Cervantes” (“This chosen man, this genius who divines the beautiful social ideal of the free period in the bosom of Christian civilization, and the means which must be employed in order to make it real, is for us Miguel de Cervantes”; 9).

Díaz de Benjumea’s second Cervantes-related publication was a three-part series of articles, and was much more specifically focused. From the very title, Díaz de Benjumea took on the cherished belief of the academically trained Cervantistas of his time: “Refutación de la creencia generalmente sostenida de que el *Quijote* fué una sátira contra los libros caballerescos” (“Refutation of the generally sustained belief that the *Quixote* was a satire of the books of chivalry”; 7). The investigation serves as a springboard from which his new brand of analyses was to begin, marking the point of departure for the long arc of his Cervantine reflections and investigations, as well as

showing a spark of the incendiary style for which he was soon to become almost infamous. After citing the suggestion of Vicente Salvá<sup>7</sup> that the intention of Cervantes was not precisely what the author had specified within the text of *Don Quixote*, Díaz de Benjumea states that:

...no puede menos de causar asombro el que tantos y tan doctos varones [...] como escribieron acerca del *Quijote* hayan sostenido la vulgarísima creencia de que fué una sátira de otros libros el principal ó único objeto de Cervantes, á no ser que se llame lo bueno sátira de lo malo, y la hermosura sátira de la fealdad. (8)

...it can no less than cause astonishment that so many and such erudite gentlemen [...] as have written about the *Quixote* have maintained the very vulgar belief that the principal or only object of Cervantes was a satire of other books, unless one were to call the good a satire of the bad, and beauty a satire of ugliness.

The aforementioned Manuel de Revilla, predictably, was among the most outspoken critics of Díaz de Benjumea's analytical approach. In a response to the works

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<sup>7</sup> Salvá flatly states twice in his “¿Ha sido juzgado el *Don Quijote* según esta obra se merece?” that the intention of Cervantes in writing *Don Quixote* was not the one the author overtly expressed: “su objeto [...] no fué satirizar la esencia y fondo de los libros caballerescos” (“his objective [...] was not to satirize the essence and the foundation of the chivalric books”; 724); “no se propuso desterrar los romances de caballería” (“did not propose for himself to banish the romances of chivalry”; 731). Rather, in both instances Salvá asserts that Cervantes simply wished to correct the errors of the books of chivalry (724, 731).

of Díaz de Benjumea, Revilla first summarizes what he feels is one of the major missteps in the logic in the process of the symbolic examinations of *Don Quixote* by Díaz de Benjumea:

El Sr. Benjumea da á entender, aunque no muy claramente, que no fué el objeto de Cervantes atacar los libros de caballerías, y se funda para esto en que en el escrutinio de la biblioteca de D. Quijote no son arrojados al fuego estos libros por ser caballerescos, sino por ser malos literariamente hablando. La popularidad inmensa del *Quijote* aun después de estar cumplido su fin y haber perdido, por tanto, su interés de actualidad, es para el Sr. Benjumea sólido fundamento de su tesis. (“De algunas” 422)

Mr. Benjumea makes it understood, although not very clearly, that it was not the object of Cervantes to attack the books of chivalry, and he bases this opinion on the fact that in the scrutiny of the library of Don Quixote the books are not thrown to the fire for being chivalric, but rather for being bad literarily speaking. The immense popularity of the *Quixote* even after its purpose had been fulfilled, and having lost, therefore, its interest as a current matter, is to Mr. Benjumea a solid basis for his thesis.

Revilla then remonstrates against Díaz de Benjumea’s thesis and the arguments he makes in its support, making a critique which at least potentially puts into question all of Díaz de Benjumea’s observations:

...que [Díaz de Benjumea] se pretenda negar la existencia del fin que su autor declara y que resulta cumplido en cada una de sus páginas, es cosa

que apenas se concibe. ¡Cómo! ¿No basta la palabra honrada de su autor, que manifiesta en cien ocasiones el propósito de su obra? ¿No basta el examen de ésta, parodia fidelísima de los libros que ridiculiza? ¿No bastan los repetidos pasajes en que se les condena y maltrata? Pues si á este criterio obedecemos en la crítica, ¿á qué consecuencias no habrá de llevarnos? ¿Qué libro no ofrecerá, analizándolo así, datos suficientes para suponer en él los fines más extraños y negar el que verdaderamente encierra? (422)

...that [Díaz de Benjumea] dares to deny the existence of the intention that [*Don Quixote*'s] author declares and fulfills in each one of its pages, is something which can hardly be imagined. What's that? Is the honorable word of its author, who demonstrates on a hundred occasions the purpose of his work not enough? Is the examination of the work, a very faithful parody of the books it ridicules, not enough? Are the repeated passages in which they are condemned and mistreated not enough? For if we follow this criterion in criticism, to what consequences will it not lead us? What book will not offer, analyzing it like this, sufficient evidence to suppose in it the strangest intentions and to deny the one that it truly contains?

Although Díaz de Benjumea's musings on *Don Quixote* met with almost immediate resistance from established Cervantes scholars, the attention surrounding the debates on a public scale allowed the esoteric critic to expand his publications to longer pamphlet and book-length scales. The first of these was *La estafeta de Urganda, o aviso*

*de Cid Asam-Ouzad Benengeli*,<sup>8</sup> *sobre el desencanto del Quijote* (*The Packet from Urganda, or Notice from Cid Asam-Ouzad Benengeli, about the Disenchantment of the Quixote*), published in London in 1861. In this work, Díaz de Benjumea lays out the framework of all of the major themes upon which he would expand and expound in the rest of his Cervantine investigations.

First, Díaz de Benjumea follows the suggestion posed in his “Refutación” series of articles regarding the purpose of *Don Quixote* to state that the text was not in truth a rejection of the books of chivalry, but rather a novel continuation of the genre—complete with an extension of the symbolic themes typical of those works. Because of this, Díaz de Benjumea argues that the Cervantes novel is best understood in terms of similar sorts of overarching symbolism.

Secondly, the esoteric critic proposes that the socio-political context of the author of *Don Quixote* must be taken into account—specifically, as Martínez Torrón summarizes it, that “la novela cervantina constituye una crítica del Santo Oficio, y de modo más concreto a través de la figura de su enemigo el doctor Blanco de Paz”<sup>9</sup> (“the

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<sup>8</sup> In what was to become a popular tradition in the polemic surrounding Díaz de Benjumea’s particular brand of esoteric or symbolic criticism, here he adopts a pen name for himself which borrows the surname of the Arabic narrator within the fiction of *Don Quixote* while also being an anagram of the same critic’s own name (González de Mendoza “Lucubraciones” 378).

<sup>9</sup> Juan Blanco de Paz was a disgraced Dominican priest who was held hostage in Algiers at the same time as Cervantes. Blanco de Paz exposed Cervantes’s plans for a fourth escape attempt (in which the cleric was not included) to Hassan Pasha, thus foiling the author’s hopes for freedom. Blanco de Paz was also later documented to have spread rumors about Cervantes (Mancing *Encyclopedia 1*: 78-79).



Cervantine novel constitutes a critique of the Holy Office, and more concretely through the figure of his enemy, the doctor Blanco de Paz”; “La polémica” 116). With the introduction of the character Blanco de Paz, Díaz de Benjumea begins to draw parallels between the biography of Miguel de Cervantes and various parts of some of the story lines from *Don Quixote* as well as other texts of the author—thus continuing the themes of his first published essay and turning Cervantes himself into a more significant hero than the protagonist of his novel.

Indeed, in *La estafeta de Urganda*, the biography of Cervantes practically takes on a mythology of its own. As explained by Denise DuPont, it is in reference to Cervantes’s captivity in North Africa that for Díaz de Benjumea the author of *Don Quixote* “adquiere una imagen crística” (“acquire a Christ-like image”; 22), as can be seen in the esoteric critic’s portrayal of the relationship of Cervantes with the other captive Christians in the bagnios of Algiers: “Tenian los cristianos en Cervantes un Consuelo, un protector, un maestro y un redentor de sus cadenas, y era preciso que no faltase un Judas que le vendiese” (“The Christians had in Cervantes a comfort, a protector, a teacher and a redeemer of their chains, and it was fitting that there would be no lack of a Judas to sell him out”; 47).

Díaz de Benjumea continues his analysis focusing on the madness of Don Quixote, claiming that the insanity of the protagonist is yet another way in which Cervantes pretended to ridicule the books of chivalry while cloaking his true aim. The critic argues that Cervantes covertly disguises subtle attacks against the Inquisition and the monarchy within the context of the ravings of a madman as a means of eluding the

censors, all the while seemingly reinforcing his stated intentions through the mockery of the figure of the knight-errant.

Next, Díaz de Benjumea argues that the major characters of *Don Quixote* are not direct representations of any one individual or even character type, but rather symbolic representations of grander themes: Dulcinea, the representation of wisdom, and Don Quixote, a poetic version of power. According to Díaz de Benjumea, Don Quixote strives for the ideal of perfect wisdom, and argues that “la prueba material de esta significacion se halla en el nombre de Alonso, alusion al único recuerdo en nuestra patria de la alianza del poder y la sabiduría, Don Alonso el Sabio”<sup>10</sup> (“the material proof of this meaning is found in the name of Alonso, an allusion to the only memory in our homeland of the alliance between power and wisdom, King Alfonso the Wise”; *Estafeta* 26).

Díaz de Benjumea further argues that Dulcinea represents a feminine projection of the spirit of Don Quixote:

Que Dulcinea sea el alma objetivada del hidalgo, se comprueba tambien por la observacion del nombre de *Aldonza*, leve modificacion del *Alfonsa*, ó lo que es lo mismo *Alonsa*, que es terminacion en el género femenino de *Alonso*, nombre del hidalgo. (26)

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<sup>10</sup> Alonso el Sabio (“the Wise” or “the Learned”) was one of the names by which King Alfonso X of Castile-León (1252-1284) was known. He picked up his nickname for ordering the writing of a complete history of Spain, the translation of important scientific tomes from Arabic into Spanish, and the compilation of many legal and religious texts (O’Callaghan 2).

That Dulcinea may be the objectified soul of the nobleman, is proven also by the observation that the name *Aldonza*, a slight modification of *Alfonsa*, or what is the same, *Alonsa*, which is the ending in the feminine gender of *Alonso*, the name of the nobleman.

Díaz de Benjumea goes on to suggest that another area in which Cervantes scholars of the time had erred was in taking the author too literally when at the very beginning of the prologue of *Don Quixote I* he asks the following rhetorical question regarding the novel, which he calls his “hijo del entendimiento” (“child of my understanding”):

Y ¿qué podrá engendrar el estéril y mal cultivado ingenio mío, sino la historia de un hijo seco, avellanado, antojadizo y lleno de pensamientos varios y nunca imaginados de otro alguno, bien como quien se engendró en una cárcel, donde toda incomodidad tiene su asiento y donde todo triste ruido hace su habitación? (95)

So what could my barren and poorly cultivated ingenuity conceive, but the history of a child who is dry, withered, capricious, and full of various thoughts never imagined by anyone else, much like someone who was conceived in a prison, where every discomfort has its place and where every wretched sound makes its home?

In *La estafeta de Urganda*, Díaz de Benjumea says of the prison mentioned that: “no creo que el Quijote se escribió en una carcel, porque fué obra de toda su vida y porque veo en la alusion del prólogo una mera metáfora” (“I do not believe that the

*Quixote* was written in a prison, because it was the work of all of his life and because I see in the allusion of the prologue a mere metaphor"; 34). Up until this time, Cervantes's statement had by and large been interpreted to mean that *Don Quixote* had been composed during one of his several periods of captivity—whether during his years in Algiers, where he was held for ransom, or while being held at one of the prisons in Spain during his various periods of incarceration.

All of these major points in *La estafeta de Urganda* predictably caused an even greater outrage among Cervantistas than had already been present following Díaz de Benjumea's earlier articles. Indeed, several major Cervantes scholars of the time immediately published responses specifically addressed to correct the errors they felt were present in Díaz de Benjumea's analysis. One of these critics, Francisco María Tubino, went so far as to publish a book-length rebuttal to Díaz de Benjumea's work, titled *El Quijote y La estafeta de Urganda: ensayo crítico*. At 289 pages, the rebuttal is over four times the length of the critical work it largely aims to debunk—which implies a great deal of effort for a response to a critic whose work was almost universally dismissed. Tubino builds a critique in which he “intenta desmontar uno a uno los pasos [...] del libro de Benjumea” (“attempts to dismantle one by one the steps [...] of the book of Benjumea”; Martínez Torrón “La polémica” 117).

Tubino does not agree that Dulcinea is the objectified soul of Don Quixote, he disagrees that the prison is a metaphor, and he wholeheartedly rejects the possibility that the novel is anything but what it literally claims to be—an attack on the books of chivalry. Further, Tubino cites and shows support for the notion first proposed by Clemencín that *Don Quixote* was a book written “sin plan ni preparación” (“without a

plan or preparation”; 212), a conception which Tubino claims contradicts the possibility of a coded message or occult intention. He cites and concurs with Clemencín’s stated belief that the structure and organization of the novel are such that it is impossible to believe that it:

[F]ué efecto de largas y profundas meditaciones; ántes al contrario todo muestra que no procedió con sujecion á plan alguno formado de antemano, y que el Quijote se fundió como por sí mismo, en la oficina de un feliz y bien organizado entendimiento. (150-51)

[W]as the result of long and profound meditations; on the contrary, everything shows that it did not proceed subject to any previously formed plan, and that the *Quixote* was born as if by itself, in the office of a happy and well-organized understanding.

On the other hand, it must be noted, as Martínez Torrón has stated, that “los asertos de Tubino son simplemente asertos, y de tipo negativo, sin justificar ni demostrar nada respecto a los de Benjumea” (“the assertions of Tubino are simply assertions, and of a negative type, without justifying or demonstrating anything with respect to those of Benjumea”; “La polémica” 118). Yet, despite its own methodological shortcomings, Martínez Torrón argues that:

[E]l trabajo de Tubino [...] viene a representar la actitud de la crítica conservadora de la época, que se alarmó ante los trabajos de Benjumea, posiblemente por la herencia ideológica de estirpe anglófona de este autor, próximo a los planteamientos luteranos aprendidos en Inglaterra. La

batalla entre Benjumea y sus críticos es más bien una batalla ideológica.  
 (“Díaz Benjumea” 3451)

[T]he work of Tubino [...] comes to represent the attitude of the conservative criticism of the era, which became alarmed when faced with the works of Benjumea, possibly due to the ideological heritage of the Anglophone lineage of this author, close to the Lutheran philosophies learned in England. The battle between Benjumea and his critics is best defined as an ideological battle.

Arguably the most noteworthy debate which arose following the publication of Díaz de Benjumea’s *La estafeta de Urganda*, however, was that with Juan Valera, best known as the author of the realist novel *Pepita Jiménez*. Valera was also a successful diplomat (and even the Spanish Ambassador to Austria), and most significantly to this study, produced a noteworthy amount of influential articles of literary criticism (Cantos Casenave 47-52). Valera was also one of the members of what could be considered the ranks of “cervantismo militante” (“militant Cervantism”; González Cuenca 15) of the nineteenth century, which insisted in taking the text of *Don Quixote* strictly at the literal level, as no more than a work of humor.

Valera’s reaction was predictable, given his stance:

El señor Benjumea sostiene que hay una doctrina esotérica en el *Quijote* y que esta doctrina está revestida de un símbolo; que todo en el *Quijote* es simbólico y que él va á explicárnoslo todo. Nosotros persistimos en creer y en afirmar que no hay tal simbolismo, que en el *Quijote* todo es claro, y

que las filosofías que el Sr. Benjumea piensa hallar en el *Quijote*, son sus propias filosofías. (“Sobre *La estafeta*” 42)

Mr. Benjumea sustains that there is an esoteric doctrine in the *Quixote* and that this doctrine is disguised as a symbol; that everything in the *Quixote* is symbolic and that he is going to explain it all to us. We persist in affirming that there is no such symbolism, that in the *Quixote* all is clear, and that the philosophies that Mr. Benjumea thinks he finds in the *Quixote*, are his own philosophies.

As Cristina Iglesias concisely summarizes the differences between these two Cervantes critics, “la polémica entre Valera y Benjumea parece haberse centrado en si el *Quijote* tiene un significado oculto o no” (“the polemic between Valera and Benjumea seems to have centered itself on whether the *Quixote* has a hidden meaning or not”; 163).

However, despite his strong criticism of Díaz de Benjumea’s methodology and rationale, Valera was just as guilty of oversimplifications and reading Cervantes’s novel through his own particular political lens. In this sense, Valera is typical of the vast majority of Díaz de Benjumea’s contemporary detractors, who were not necessarily any more objective than Díaz de Benjumea in their interpretations of what sort of ideology *Don Quixote* represented. As is demonstrated by Rachel Schmidt’s brief synopsis of Valera’s “correction” of Díaz de Benjumea’s views, the second critic’s personal, religious and political convictions simply replaced those of the earlier critic: “Juan Valera countered with an image of a conservative Cervantes. This Miguel de Cervantes was a

true believer, an orthodox Catholic who defended the Church in all its doctrines and sacraments, as well as a loyal subject and soldier of Philip II” (*Forms* 165).

Ironically, from this point on, Valera and Díaz de Benjumea became almost inextricably linked in Cervantine discussions—as representative opinion makers on opposite ends of the ideological pole. Regardless, although Valera was writing almost exclusively in opposition to Díaz de Benjumea, it seems that the esoteric critic may have had a more lasting influence on Valera than the other way around:

De hecho, la aparición de la *Estafeta de Urganda* fue el catalizador del cervantismo de Valera. A partir de ese momento, en casi todo lo que del *Quijote* escribe Valera [...] no falta el ajuste de cuentas con Benjumea y el esoterismo. (González Cuenca 8)

In fact, the appearance of *La estafeta de Urganda* was the catalyst of the Cervantism of Valera. From this moment on, in almost everything that Valera writes about the *Quijote* [...] he doesn’t miss the chance to settle the score with Benjumea and esoterism.

Indeed, Valera even took the time to address Díaz de Benjumea’s esoteric critical methods—albeit without naming him directly—during his inaugural address to the Real Academia Española in 1864 (“Sobre *El Quijote*” 1173).

Meanwhile, Díaz de Benjumea continued to publish his books of *Don Quijote* criticism, following *La estafeta de Urganda* with another pamphlet-length study titled *El correo de Alquife, o segundo aviso de Cid Asam-Ouzad Benegeli, sobre el desencanto del Quijote* (“*The mail from Alquife, or second notice from Cid Asam-Ouzad Benegeli, about*



*the disenchantment of the Quixote*”) in which the critic defends himself from the denunciations against *La estafeta de Urganda* made by the Cervantistas, as well as further interpreting scenes and characters from Cervantes’s novel according to his earlier esoteric methodology.

One major new element in *El correo de Alquife* comes in the form of a discussion by Díaz de Benjumea of other works of chivalric and Renaissance literature. With this discussion, the critic defends the notion of symbolism in *Don Quixote* by demonstrating it was also an important part of the works which influenced Cervantes himself. Specifically addressing the symbolism of the characters in the literature, Díaz de Benjumea argues that:

Las damas habían sido ya simbólicas de la razon, en Angélica; de la filosofía, en Beatriz, de la luz, en Oriana: los caballeros lo habían sido, el del Sol, de la razon natural; Medoro, del pensamiento, y otros varios de otros atributos distintos. Las Hadas lo eran de las pasiones; los gigantes de la fuerza y la malicia, y así por este orden cada figura tenía una significacion que si no entendió el bajo ni el alto vulgo, no pasó desapercibida para Cervantes. (18)

The ladies had already been symbolic of reason, en Angelica; of philosophy, in Beatrice, of light, in Oriana: the knights had been so, he of the Sun, of natural reason; Medoro, of thought, and other various ones of different attributes. The fairies were of passions; the giants of strength and malice, a so on in this manner each figure had a meaning, and if neither

the low nor high masses understood it, it did not pass unnoticed by Cervantes.

José María Asensio y Toledo, in his own presentation to the Spanish Royal Academy, acknowledged, although with tongue firmly in cheek, the contributions of the first self-proclaimed esotericist: “Con galana imaginación y estilo muy agradable, fué D. Nicolás Díaz de Benjumea, el primero que dejó volar la fantasía por rumbos nuevos en esta materia, en los que llamó “Comentarios filosóficos del Quijote” (“With gallant imagination and a very agreeable style, it was D. Nicolás Díaz de Benjumea who was the first to let fantasy fly down new paths in this subject, on those he called ‘Philosophical Commentaries on the *Quixote*’”; 9). However, Asensio y Toledo’s remarks did indeed include some measured praise of Díaz de Benjumea’s critical work: “A muchos admiró la originalidad de aquellos primeros trabajos de Benjumea, subiendo de punto la admiración al publicarse *La Estafeta de Urganda* (Londres, 1861), por estar escrita con indudable y no común ingenio” (“Many admired the originality of these early works of Benjumea, the admiration increasing markedly upon the publication of *La estafeta de Urganda* (London, 1861), for being written with unquestionable and uncommon ingenuity.”; 10). However, in the final analysis, Asensio y Toledo summarily dismisses the value of the sum total of Díaz de Benjumea’s contributions to Cervantine criticism, stating flatly that the nineteenth-century esoteric critic: “...no tenía base alguna en sus comentarios, ni le guiaba tal pensamiento filosófico en la interpretación; y que cambiaba de ideas con el único propósito fijo de distraer la atención de los lectores” (“...had no foundations whatsoever in his commentaries, nor did any such philosophical thought guide him; and

he changed his positions with the sole fixed goal of distracting the attention of the readers"; 10).

Despite the strong reaction of the Cervantistas of the day, Díaz de Benjumea was not without his defenders. In 1876, for instance, Ramón León Mainez—called “uno de los pontífices del cervantismo militante” (“one of the pontiffs of militant Cervantism”; González Cuenca 9)—offered the following review of Díaz de Benjumea’s third pamphlet, *El mensaje de Merlín, o tercer aviso de Cid Asam-Ouzad Benengeli, sobre el desencanto del Quijote* (1875), in which the contents of *La estafeta de Urganda* were also discussed:

Gallardas muestras de un ingenio discreto, ilustradísimo, perspicaz; productos de un talento práctico y analizador, revestidos con las galas de una dicción encantadora y un lenguaje castizo y hermoso, las dos obras a que nos referimos nos cautivaron desde el momento mismo de haberlas leído. (1)

Gallant demonstrations of a discrete ingenuity, very enlightened, perceptive; products of a practical and analytical talent, coated with the elegance of an enchanting diction and an untainted and beautiful language, the two works to which we refer captivated us from the same moment we read them.

León Mainez continues and says “francamente, lo confesamos” (“frankly, we confess it”; 1), and adds that “fuimos sus más entusiastas partidarios y los defensores más sinceros de sus seductoras opiniones” (“we were his most enthusiastic supporters and the sincerest

defenders of his seductive opinions”; 1). In his final analysis, León Mainez unequivocally states that “Benjumea es el más digno y más discreto comentador que ha tenido Cervantes” (“Benjumea is the most worthy and sensible commentator that Cervantes has had”; 1).

Just a few years later, in 1880, Antonio Opisso stepped in line beside León Mainez in defense of Díaz de Benjumea when he published a brief article titled “Una reacción exagerada” (“An excessive reaction”). In this article Opisso criticized what he viewed as an exorbitantly negative consideration of Díaz de Benjumea’s symbolic interpretations by critics including several of the “militant Cervantistas,” such as Juan Valera, Francisco María Tubino and Manuel de la Revilla (2).

Perhaps more surprising, however, is the about-face done with regard to reading beyond the literal level by Manuel de la Revilla. Indeed, he eventually came to state: “Que se atribuyan al *Quijote* fines ocultos lo comprendemos” (“We can understand why hidden ends are attributed to the *Quixote*”; *Obras* 422). However, Revilla does make this concession with one important caveat—he continues to reject the notion that the intention of the author was anything other than what is literally stated in the novel. Rather, in a three-part series of articles titled “La interpretación simbólica del *Quijote*” published in the journal *La ilustración española y Americana*, Revilla offers a symbolic reading of a second, hidden significance underlying the literal exterior of *Don Quixote*—although he claims that it is part of an unconscious process of which even Cervantes himself would not have been aware. Revilla explains that this other meaning which is invisible on the surface is:

[U]na concepción de carácter universal, un fin de profunda transcendencia, un íntimo y prodigioso sentido que el autor no pensó ni se propuso, y que son producto de lo que hay de inconsciente en el espíritu, y muy principalmente en el genio. Este segundo elemento suele permanecer velado por largo tiempo, sin que alcance a descubrirlo la crítica contemporánea del autor ni el autor mismo, que de seguro sintiera asombro y manifestara incredulidad si alguien llegara a revelárselo. Para que este elemento de la obra aparezca, es necesario que pasen muchas generaciones, hasta llegar a un periodo más adelantado de civilización, capaz de comprender lo que, anticipándose a su tiempo, concibió el artista sin saberlo ni quererlo. (254)

[A] concept of universal character, a goal with such a deep significance, an intimate and prodigious sense that the author did not think or propose, and which is the product of what is unconscious in the spirit, and very importantly in the intellect. This second element often remains veiled for a long time without either contemporary criticism or the author himself succeeding in discovering it, the latter who would surely feel awe and disbelief if someone were to reveal it to him. For this element of the work to be seen, it is necessary for several generations to pass, until a more advanced period of civilization arrives, capable of comprehending that which, ahead of his own time, the artist conceived without knowing or wanting it.

As Anthony Close summarizes the arguments made by this critic, “Revilla’s concession to the anti-neo-classical revolt”—of which Díaz de Benjumea was a major voice—“is tier number two, which allows that Cervantes spelt out, by a subconscious act of intuition, an ‘eternal’ warning to irrationalists, whether of idealistic or materialist bent. This is the novel’s profound symbolic message” (*Romantic Approach* 118).

Cristina Iglesias also notes “el cambio de credo en Revilla” (“the change of credo in Revilla”), in which he then “apoya la postura de Benjumea” (“supports the position of Benjumea”) inasmuch as the eternal opposition between the ideal and the real and the notion “del *Quijote* eterno” (“of the eternal *Quixote*”)—the crucial elements which critics see as the Cervantes novel’s transcendental qualities (161). Ultimately, because of the interesting blend of Revilla’s ideas with Díaz de Benjumea’s methods of symbolic interpretation, “es el [*sic*] que prolongó con más éxito las ideas de Benjumea” (“it is he who most successfully prolonged the ideas of Benjumea”; 160).

The reasons for the influence of Díaz de Benjumea on precisely such a critic as Revilla, who had found him so problematic, are several. Firstly, and almost paradoxically, the fact that Díaz de Benjumea so directly opposed the literally stated intention of Cervantes freed contemporary criticism to more deeply consider possible double meanings and symbolic references—whether or not any particular investigator agreed with the specific conclusions to which the pioneering esotericist had arrived. Secondly, it was obvious that Díaz de Benjumea combined his lively spirit and creative analytical methodology with an uncommonly profound knowledge of the text—as González Cuenca puts it: “Eso sí, una cosa hay que reconocerle, y de hecho se lo reconocieron sus contradictores: Benjumea conoce la obra cervantina como nadie, como

quien ha hecho de su estudio la razón de su vida” (“This much is true, there is one thing for which he deserves credit, and for which, in fact, even his contradictors credited him: Benjumea knows the work of Cervantes as nobody else, as one who has made its study his life’s purpose”; 17). Even in the case of Tubino, who was among the harshest critics of Díaz de Benjumea, the release of the upcoming full-length book by the esoteric critic was particularly promising. His words in regards to the future text by Díaz de Benjumea based on the esotericist’s previously published analytical approaches to *Don Quixote* somewhat temper the reproachful tone of Tubino’s book-length repudiation of *La estafeta de Urganda*:

Tengo formado el convencimiento de que ningun anotador ó comentador ha hecho un servicio tan relevante á nuestra literatura, por lo que respecta al Quijote, como el que ha empezado [Díaz de Benjumea] á prestarle con su crítica. Su erudición, la elevacion de sus miras, su laboriosidad, la diligencia y el ahinco con que se conoce trabaja en el desempeño de su difícil empresa, son prendas y circunstancias que recomiendan su libro á la atención de todas las personas ilustradas asegurándole un éxito brillante... (263)

I have formed the conviction that no annotator or commentator has done such a relevant service to our literature, with that which regards the *Quixote*, as that which [Díaz de Benjumea] has started to give it with his criticism. His erudition, the height of his gaze, his hard work, the diligence and effort with which it is known he works in the achievement of his

difficult endeavor, are collateral and circumstances which recommend his book to the attention of all enlightened people, assuring it brilliant success...

Despite the existence of some support and praise that Díaz de Benjumea experienced from Cervantes scholars during his lifetime, the majority of academic *Quixote* criticism relegated his studies, at the best, to the sidelines, and at the worst, subjected it to outright ridicule. In 1948—over sixty years after the death of Díaz de Benjumea—in an article outlining the history of the critical interpretation of *Don Quixote*, César Real de la Riva felt it necessary to shield the contributions of Díaz de Benjumea from the attacks of the “militant” Cervantistas. In his study, Real de la Riva stated that the first esoteric *Quixote* critic had unfairly been “la figura más acusada del cervantismo del siglo xix” (“the most maligned figure in Cervantism of the nineteenth-century”; 140). In Díaz de Benjumea’s defense, Real de la Riva asserted of the esoteric critic that “nadie como él dijo tantas cosas sugestivas, apasionadas, hondas y distintas, originales o recordadas” (“nobody said as many suggestive, passionate, profound and different, original or remembered things as he did”; 140) about Cervantes and *Don Quixote*. Real de la Riva summarizes the critical work of Díaz de Benjumea as the “precursor del quijotismo contemporáneo español” (“precursor of contemporary Spanish Quixotism”; 140).

Notwithstanding his detractors, a few of the ideas for which Díaz de Benjumea was so chastised have found favor in later Cervantes criticism—sometimes credited, and others not. For instance, the critic’s notion that the prison mentioned by Cervantes in the Prologue to *Don Quixote* was not a physical place, but rather a metaphorical one has met



with at least some support since the time of Díaz de Benjumea. To be sure, the debate is hardly a settled point, as Canavaggio clearly describes:

Cool-headed Cervantists tell us that this is a protestation of unworthiness that conforms to the conventions of the genre, touched with a humor that dissuades us from taking the statement literally. Hot-headed Cervantists refuse to take this caution into account: they can see only the uncomfortable, noisy, sinister prison, where—according to the author’s avowal—the masterpiece was conceived: a real, live prison, they insist, and not a metaphor for some spiritual or moral seclusion that Cervantes must be recalling here in imagistic terms. (*Cervantes* 177)

One pair of the “hot-headed” Cervantes scholars described by Canavaggio would certainly include Dana Drake and Dominick Finello, who assert that “it is evident that Cervantes conceived of the *Quijote* in a jail in Seville or perhaps in Argamasilla de Alba, not, as Benjumea asserts, in his anxiety to find a metaphysical-symbolic meaning to his biography in a metaphorical jail” (110)—at the very least crediting the nineteenth-century esotericist with the idea.

On the other hand, Díaz de Benjumea’s thesis of the metaphorical prison has been forwarded on several occasions without the benefit of any accreditation. The most notable of these cases is that of Américo Castro, who writes that “mucho se ha escrito sobre la cárcel en la cual se supone que fué empezado el *Quijote*. Para mí es evidente que la obra fue concebida en los lugares más recónditos del alma de Cervantes” (“Much has been written about the prison in which it is supposed that the *Quixote* was begun. For me

it is evident that the work was conceived in the most recondite places of Cervantes's soul"; *Hacia Cervantes* 264). But Castro is not alone—as stated by Close and supported by María Antonia Garcés, who points out that “critics have often interpreted this phrase as a symbolic declaration” (182).

Even Díaz de Benjumea's 1861 interpretation of Dulcinea as the feminine projection of Don Quixote was later echoed through the lens of Jungian psychology, with the invented lady-love taking on the role of the *anima* to the would-be knight-errant's *animus*. Such analyses appeared as early as 1942, in psychologist Jolande Székács Jacobi's explication of the concepts of the theories of C.G. Jung (116), and have been reiterated repeatedly up to this day, with a similar reading of the characters commented upon by Walter J. Ong in 2012 (103). A fuller investigation of this line of interpretation of the relationship between Don Quixote and Dulcinea is offered by Patricia Nichols Fahey in *A Jungian Interpretation of El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha* (115-130, 164-176). In all of these cases, however, Díaz de Benjumea's pioneering analysis was entirely overlooked.

Díaz de Benjumea's keen vision of the role of femininity in *Don Quixote* has been noted by at least one Cervantes scholar, however. In 2008's *Las mujeres del Quijote y la crítica*, Isabel Navas Ocaña credits the observations of Díaz de Benjumea with being forerunners of the several investigations which were to be published in the following century that looked into the unique treatment of women in the works of Cervantes:

Benjumea ofrece aquí una visión de Cervantes que el siglo XX desarrollará ampliamente. La indulgencia cervantina con las mujeres será una cuestión repetida insistentemente, desde María Carbonell (1905) y

Concha Espina (1916) hasta Héctor P. Márquez (1990), por citar ejemplos que cronológicamente abarquen todo la centuria. (49)

Here Benjumea offers a vision of Cervantes that the twentieth-century will develop amply. The Cervantine indulgence with women will be an insistently repeated matter, from María Carbonell (1905) and Concha Espina (1916) to Héctor P. Márquez (1990), to cite examples which chronologically encompass the whole century.

Perhaps the most important of Díaz de Benjumea's influences, however, was one that he appears to have had in his own time—although it has only recently been recognized. Rubén Benítez discusses the importance of the work of Díaz de Benjumea on the development of the Cervantism of novelist and playwright Benito Pérez Galdós (21-44). Despite the fact that Benítez states that no work of Díaz de Benjumea's belonged to the library of Galdós, he does confirm that the book-length response by Tubino was indeed among its contents (25). After discussing the shared intellectual environment that both of them shared—including writing for many of the same journals and being familiar with many of the same scholars—Benítez roundly declares that “Galdós no pudo desconocer la obra de Benjumea” (“Galdos could not have been unaware of the works of Benjumea”; 25-26).

In demonstrating the influence of the esoteric Cervantist on the realist author, Benítez shows the vast common views shared by the two authors, and then details the chronological precedence of Díaz de Benjumea's published work. Benítez argues that Galdós and Benjumea shared a view with the Krausist philosophical movement that “la

contradicción fundamental española entre el exaltado idealismo y la realidad degradada, que ese idealismo desconoce o niega, deriva de la anacrónica persistencia de los valores fijados en el siglo XVII, propios de la vida militar y religiosa” (“the fundamental Spanish contradiction between exalted idealism and the degraded reality, which that idealism is unaware of or denies, derives from the anachronistic persistence of values fixed in the seventeenth-century, typical of military and religious life”; 43). Because of this, Benítez asserts, each of the critics understands *Don Quixote* as an allegory against militarism and the clergy (44).

Benítez is not alone in his opinion of Díaz de Benjumea’s influence on Galdós—several modern critics have voiced similar, if not identical views. Indeed, Christopher Britt Arredondo writes:

For Benjumea, the *Quixote* also held a particular, national appeal. That attraction was principally identified with the figure of Don Quixote, who Benjumea took to represent a new type of chivalry, which, once purged of its crudity and barbarism, would lead toward the modernization of nineteenth-century Spanish society and mores. In this way, Benjumea anticipated the themes to be developed later by the Quixotists of Restoration Spain. (15-16)

Among these important future *Don Quixote* scholars, Britt Arredondo squarely places Galdós (15-16). Further, Maria Rosaria Alfani notes the strong similarities between the Cervantism of Díaz de Benjumea and Benito Pérez Galdós, although she informs: “non entrerò nella questione se Galdós condivideva la lettura esoterica che

Benjumea ha dato del capolavoro cervantino, questione decisiva per il cervantismo galdosiano” (“I will not enter into the question of whether Galdós shared the esoteric reading that Benjumea gave of the Cervantine masterpiece, a decisive matter for the Cervantism of Galdós”; 8). Cristina Iglesias does not mention Galdós, but she does unequivocally recognize of Díaz de Benjumea that “su trabajo supone una gran importancia, en cuanto que de ella surge la línea crítica de los cervantófilos krausistas” (“his work is of great importance, in that from it springs the critical line of the Krausist Cervantophiles”; 162)—and as María Pilar Aparici Llanas states, “toda la crítica, o casi toda, está de acuerdo en considerar la influencia que el pensamiento krausista tuvo en la creación” (“all criticism, or almost all, agrees in consideration of the influence that Krausist thought had in the creation”; 153) of a wide variety of characters and situations in Galdós’s works (98-164). Even Anthony Close, who states that “in respect of quality, no just comparison can be made between such an outstanding novelist and a second-rate critic like Benjumea” still admits to seeing similarities in the work of the two when he (grudgingly) adds that “nonetheless, the latter’s ‘philosophic’ reading of *Don Quixote* has its equivalent in Galdos’s *episodios nacionales* (national episodes) and *novelas contemporaneas* (contemporary novels)” (*A Companion* 242).

Although—as is made obvious by Anthony Close’s comment—Díaz de Benjumea is still far from universally recognized as a serious Cervantes scholar, the prior examples demonstrate that his work has found a greater degree of acceptance in modern studies of *Don Quixote*. While the school of esoterism he started has almost entirely fallen and remained in disfavor, an exception seems to be increasingly made for Díaz de Benjumea himself. For example, Carlos M. Gutierrez, in his 1999 article discussing Cervantine

scholarship at the turn of the twentieth-century, has few positive words for the esoteric school in general. However, Gutierrez does grant Díaz de Benjumea the status, “*sensu stricto*,” of “cervantista,” citing especially the edition of *Don Quixote* directed by the critic (117). Gutierrez further acknowledges that “el influjo de don Nicolás [Díaz de Benjumea] se hizo notar grandemente” (“the influence of don Nicolás [Díaz de Benjumea] made itself greatly notable”; 117) in later Cervantes criticism. On this count, even Anthony Close agrees, stating that “the *systematic* symbolical exegesis of Cervantes’s novel can effectively be dated from Benjumea’s ‘Comentarios filosóficos’ . In more developed forms, it has been a feature of Quixote criticism ever since” (*Romantic* 104). Finally, Finello agrees, and recognizes the revolutionary nature of Díaz de Benjumea’s methodology:

Benjumea's NeoRomanticism influenced generations thereafter but did not necessarily prevail among his contemporaries, at least not immediately. It often takes a great deal of time for an iconoclastic or unconventional method to prove its worth, if it has any. As it turned out, the implications of Benjumea's work were far more significant and influential than the criticism itself. (62)

Perhaps it is Martínez Torrón who best captures the value of the work of Díaz de Benjumea when he states:

Creo que Benjumea parece un crítico moderno, que se anticipó a su tiempo con su ensayismo lúdico y diferente, y alude a hechos aún vigentes

en los estudios cervantinos, aunque haya caído también en un evidente exceso de imaginación en otros aspectos. (“La polémica” 120)

I think that Benjumea seems like a modern critic, who was ahead of his time with a playful and different essayistic style, and alludes to facts that are still relevant in Cervantes studies, even though he may have also succumbed to an evident excess of imagination in other aspects.

Indeed, as can clearly be seen even through this very brief investigation, several of Díaz de Benjumea’s ideas were so progressive that they are only now being revisited and further examined.

In some ways, Martínez Torrón goes so far as to attribute a quixotic spirit to the esoteric Cervantist, painting Díaz de Benjumea as a lone liberal devotee of the spirit of *Don Quixote* tilting against an entire army of unforgiving militant Cervantistas. As he puts it:

Su consideración de Cervantes como un reformador social de espíritu democrático es muy atractiva. Se enfrenta con valentía a la crítica conservadora del momento, que no le perdonó la novedad de sus planteamientos. Ofrece un modo de análisis ideológico de la obra cervantina que creo hay que recuperar, aunque sea para tratarlo desde la perspectiva más sólida y científica del saber de los estudios recientes. Se pueden corregir los errores de Benjumea, pero debemos asimilar su talante, el punto de vista próximo a la relación entre ideología y literatura desde el que escribe y piensa a Cervantes. Su obra aporta un semillero de

ideas de algunas de las cuales, las menos polémicas, ha bebido la crítica posterior. Poseía una gigantesca imaginación crítica y el rigor que podía pedírsele a la época a que pertenecen sus estudios. (“La polémica” 120)

His consideration of Cervantes as a social reformer with a democratic spirit is very attractive. He boldly confronts the conservative criticism of the time, which did not forgive him for the novelty of his proposals. He offers an ideological method of analysis of the works of Cervantes which I think must be recovered, even if to consider it from the more solid and scientific perspective of knowledge gleaned from recent studies. The errors of Benjumea can be corrected, but we must assimilate his frame of mind, the point of view on the edge of the relationship between ideology and literature from which he writes and thinks about Cervantes. His work provides a hotbed of ideas, some of which (the less polemical ones) have informed subsequent criticism.

In this summation of the value of Díaz de Benjumea’s work, there is certainly much good judgment. The value of the esotericist’s contributions was much too harshly judged in his own lifetime, and much of the tarnish that the contemporary polemics put on his armor has remained to the current day—effectively making Díaz de Benjumea’s nearly thirty-year span of publications on Cervantes’s works a quixotic quest against an unreceptive academic tradition. Further, it is also true that many of Díaz de Benjumea’s original ideas have been vindicated as worthy with the passage of time—as well as with the decline of the “militant cervantistas” of his era. These analyses, when combined with



the rigor of modern day studies and interdisciplinary findings from the many other fields which can inform our understanding of literature—such as the discoveries culled from recent cognitive approaches to the arts—promise to bring new light to the subject of Don Quixote.

On the other hand, it is also quite true, as Martínez Torrón warns, that much of Díaz de Benjumea’s theorizing on Cervantes’s novel also suffered from “un evidente exceso de imaginación” (“an evident excess of imagination”; “La polémica” 120). Cristina Iglesias agrees, but defends the fantastic leaps the esoteric Cervantes scholar occasionally took as having been progressive:

No fueron pocos los que escudriñaron el verdadero sentido de la obra, no el que naturalmente se desprende de ella, sino el oculto, el metafísico, el intrincado o difícil. Hemos visto que Benjumea fue uno de los críticos que más trabajó por enaltecer el nombre de Cervantes y su obra. Fue considerado un visionario, por su forzado interés en encontrar el "sentido oculto" que esconde la obra. (162)

Not only a few scrutinized the true significance of the work, not that which naturally flows from it, but rather the occult, metaphysical, intricate or difficult one. We have seen that Benjumea was one of the critics who worked most to exalt the name of Cervantes and his work. He was considered delusional, because of his unnatural interest in finding the “concealed meaning” hidden in the work.

However, while Martínez Torrón claims that “se pueden corregir los errores de Benjumea” (“the errors of Benjumea can be corrected”; “La polémica” 120), and Iglesias defends the value of some of the esotericist’s imaginative stretches, some of those blunders to which the former refers were almost fantastically preposterous, and beyond the hope of repair. To wit, some of Díaz de Benjumea’s assertions have been labeled “raras inducciones” (“strange inferences”; Saldías 75), “wild suggestions” (Purser 41), “disparatadas” (“ludicrous”; Romero Tobar 119), “delirantes” (“insane”; Asensio y Toledo “Notas” 239), “spurious” (Finello 60), “absurdas” (“absurd”; Barrera y Leirado 203), “desvarío” (“madness”; González de Mendoza “Lucubraciones” 377) and ultimately, even “risible” (“laughable”; Menéndez y Pelayo *Ideas estéticas* 264)—despite the fact that at least a few of these evaluations come from his supporters. Indeed, in reference to this side of the esoteric critic’s approaches, Anthony Close writes that “Benjumea had a flair for detecting anagrams which would have done credit to a crossword-puzzle composer, and he brought this skill remorselessly, and sometimes humorously, to bear on Cervantes’s text” (*Romantic* 89). It is precisely to these sorts of far-fetched analyses and erratic approaches to which the next chapter of this study is dedicated—for if Díaz de Benjumea’s interpretations inspired a great deal of subsequent studies of a legitimate and valuable nature, they also seem to have inspired an even greater number of deranged and lunatical (even if often quite entertaining) investigations.

CHAPTER 3. *CADA LOCO CON SU TEMA*: EXEGETICAL VERSUS ESOTERIC INTERPRETATIONS OF *DON QUIXOTE*

Nicolás Díaz de Benjumea was many things—an attorney, a poet, a businessman, a newspaper editor—but above all he was a Cervantista. As shown in the last chapter, while his approach was controversial, Díaz de Benjumea did make major contributions to Cervantes studies. His primary offense to “cervantismo militante,” as discussed, was challenging the notion that Cervantes’s stated purpose was his only, or even principal intention in the composition of *Don Quixote*. Time has shifted the terrain on which the battle of intentionality in the first modern novel was fought in the mid to late nineteenth-century, and what was considered a radical stance then is now by and large accepted—and when not, at least tolerated—in modern Cervantes studies, to greater or lesser degrees. Despite this change, the work of Díaz de Benjumea has on the whole maintained the same notoriety it suffered over a century ago, likely due to some of the esotericist’s eccentricities and exaggerations. While these idiosyncrasies have been received with persiflage among academics, they have emboldened legions of impassioned lay readers to expound on their own esoteric theories on the hermetic meaning of *Don Quixote*. While a complete and thorough review of each of these occasionally interesting, often preposterous, and almost always phrenetic explorations is impossible,<sup>11</sup> in this chapter we

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<sup>11</sup> The impossibility is not only due to the unfeasibility of the time and space constraints, but also to the particularly thorny nature of summarizing “reasoning” that, at least to this

will discuss several of the more notable examples of these esoteric readings, and present some of the highlights of the lucubrations of these creative and original thinkers in their own words.

In 1997 in Menorca, Spain, an international conference dedicated to “fijar una mirada crítica en una gama representativa de ‘locuras’ que el gremio cervantófilo ha engendrado durante su historia” (“fixing a critical gaze at a representative range of ‘madnesses’ that the Cervantophile guild has conceived during its history”); Bernat Vistarini and Casasayas 15) took place with presentations by some of the most renowned critics in Cervantes studies, including Juan Bautista Avallé-Arce, James Iffland, Krystof Sliwa, Daniel Eisenberg and Anthony Close. Appropriately, and humorously, the conference was named “Locos Amenos” (“Pleasant Madmen”), a playful pun on the *topos* of the *locus amoenus*. The foci of the studies presented in the conference ranged widely (and wildly) from the dated to the modern and the sources cited in them were equally diverse. James Iffland’s conference exposition was an examination of a 1991 study of *Don Quixote* published by a North American scholar in New York City in which he noted the existence of “una larga tradición de lo que solemos llamar lecturas “esotéricas” del *Quijote* (“a long tradition of what we typically call “esoteric” readings of the *Quixote*”; 292). It is in the spirit of the above conference that this chapter gathers the studies of this tradition—with an eye to the ludic—while also noting some of the errors in logic and context of many of these approaches which were responsible for their ultimately fallacious conclusions.

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investigator, seems to frequently and fancifully liberate itself of the strictures of logic and coherence.

In the case of Díaz de Benjumea, many of the wildest assertions he made were born of his proclivity for anagrams—the same penchant for which Close took the esotericist to task (*Romantic* 89). Díaz de Benjumea presents the first of the words supposedly scrambled for encryption by Cervantes as the name of Don Quixote’s lady-love. Díaz de Benjumea writes in *La estafeta de Urganda* that Dulcinea is “el anagrama exacto de *dina luce*, la digna *donna Lux* de Guinicelli, la *donna filosofia* del Dante, (beatitudo[*sic*]-Beatriz,) la Angélica de Boyardo y Ariosto, la Isette de los bardos de la Armórica, la Oriana de las epopeyas Greco-galas” (“the exact anagram of *dina luce*, the worthy *donna Lux* of Guinicelli, the *donna philosophy* of Dante, (beatitued-Beatrice,) the Angelica of Boiardo and Ariosto, the Isette of the bards of Armorica, the Oriana of the Greco-Gaul epic poems”; 26). While the initial anagram presented, *dina luce*, is at the very least thought-provoking, Díaz de Benjumea does not take the opportunity to defend it or adequately explain its relationship to the text of *Don Quixote*. His jump from that point on is nebulous, and sounds more poetic and symbolic of its own right, lacking contextualization and connection to the initial anagram offered. Regardless, this may be Díaz de Benjumea’s most grounded and valuable anagram.

Later in *La estafeta de Urganda*, after Díaz de Benjumea introduces his aforementioned theory regarding the role Juan Blanco de Paz played as the inspiration for the various antagonistic forces in *Don Quixote*, the esotericist begins to apply similar anagrammatical analyses to these enemies of the knight errant. The first of these nemeses appears in Chapter 19 of *Don Quixote I*, and is a university-educated bachelor named Alonso López, who is one among a mysterious group of priests in a late night funeral procession. Don Quixote asks the men to stop and explain the cadaver they are

transporting, and when they refuse to answer, he charges the group, breaking the leg of Alonso López. Alonso López manages to ride off, only to return with the news that Don Quixote has been excommunicated for having attacked the priests. In this event, Díaz de Benjumea sees a literary incarnation of Blanco de Paz in the character of Alonso López. Díaz de Benjumea bases his conclusion on the manner in which López is introduced. When Don Quixote asks him who he is and who the men in the group were, the university graduate eventually states: “llámome Alonso López; soy natural de Alcobendas; vengo de la ciudad de Baeza, con otros once sacerdotes” (“I am Alonso López; I am a native of Alcobendas; I come from the city of Baeza with eleven other priests”; 1.19:273). With regard to this self-introduction, Díaz de Benjumea states the following:

Tómense los nombres de *Lopez de Alcobendas* y se verá que es el anagrama exacto del siguiente epígrafe de la aventura: *Es lo de Blanco de Paz*. ¿Qué mas pruebas pueden exigirse? Cervantes separa el nombre *Juan del Doctor*, y el nombre *Alonso* del bachiller disciplinante dejando dos en cada uno de construccion análoga; *Lopez de Alcobendas* y *Blanco de Paz*. La palabra *natural* está intercalada á propósito para envolver la alusión.  
(59-60)

Take the name *Lopez de Alcobendas* and one can see that it is the exact anagram of the following epigraph to the adventure: *It is that of Blanco de Paz*. ¿What more proof could one ask for? Cervantes separates the name *Juan* from the Doctor, and the name *Alonso* from the penitent bachelor

leaving two in each one of analogous construction; Lopez *de* Alcobendas and Blanco *de* Paz. The word *native* is inserted on purpose in order to cloak the allusion.

As Dominick Finello puts it, “Benjumea's anagram, ‘es lo de Blanco de Paz,’ coming from Lopez de Alcobendas, is ridiculous” (73). This investigator concurs. Díaz de Benjumea does not even stick to an anagram of an actual character name—rather, he invents his own version of the name by adding the hometown of the character to his surname, then willfully disposes of the character’s given name *Alonso* before scrambling the letters into the very unusually worded epigraph. As Finello appropriately determines with regard to this particular Díaz de Benjumea decryption: “His use of anagrams to reach the conclusion that Cervantes attacked his enemy Juan Blanco de Paz is unacceptable” (79).

Another entertaining anagram that Díaz de Benjumea cites as proof of Blanco de Paz’s evil omnipresence in the text of *Don Quixote* is detailed in *La verdad sobre el Quijote*: “¿Será tambien azar, casualidad ó acertijo el haber llevado á Don Quijote á que le venciese el de la *Blanca* Luna en Barcelona, que lleva el anagrama *Blanco era*? ¡Quizás piensen asi los que creen que la Creacion es efecto del acaso!” (“Could it also be chance, coincidence or enigma having taken Don Quixote to be defeated by the *White* Moon in Barcelona, which has the anagram of *it was Blanco*? Maybe that is what those who believe that Creation is the result of chance think!”; 312). While his connection of the Caballero de la Blanca Luna (“Knight of the White Moon”) with Blanco de Paz might be more logically defended, given the Blanca-Blanco correspondences, it is surprising that Díaz de Benjumea focuses the argument on the rearrangement of the letters of the

city name into yet another weak caption for the scene. As Revilla sums it up, Díaz de Benjumea has a tendency “deducir de los pretendidos anagramas las más arbitrarias y aventuradas conclusiones” (“to deduce from the supposed anagrams the most arbitrary and risky conclusions”; “Opiniones” 425).

Likely the most brazen of Díaz de Benjumea’s decrypted anagrams comes in reference to the scene of the enchanted head from *Don Quixote II*, Chapters 62-63. The enchanted head is a bronze cast with a hollow tube that is spoken into by a friend of Don Quixote’s Catalanian host, Antonio Moreno. When one of Antonio’s other guests asks the head to guess his name, the head tells him he is Don Pedro Noriz (2.62: 549-50). Díaz de Benjumea uses this to defend his assertion that the second book of *Don Quixote* published by the pseudonymous Alonso Fernández Avellaneda was in truth penned by Andrés Pérez. Díaz de Benjumea explains it thus:

A salvo de una leve modificacion, con las letras que forman los nombres de *Andrés Perez*, resultan los de *Pedre Narez* que no distan mucho de *Pedro Noriz*. Curioso fuera, que [...] saliesen de ese nombre y apellido las palabras *Ondro Periz*, semejanza y eco que nos está atrayendo á los de *Andro, André, Andrés, y Periz, á Perez*. (*Verdad* 312)

Besides a slight modification, with the letters that form the names of *Andrés Perez*, result those of *Pedre Narez*, which are not very different from *Pedro Noriz*. It is curious that [...] the words *Ondro Periz* would come from this name and surname, whose similarity and echo attracts us to those of *Andro, André, Andrés, and Periz, to Perez*.



Lest this seem too incredible, Díaz de Benjumea immediately adds that “Esto no es cuestión de acertijo, porque no es la letra, sino el espíritu del *Quijote* el que nos trae á suponer tal revelacion, y todo anagrama tiene que pasar por esta severa prueba y piedra de toque para que se crea formado espresamente por el autor.” (“This is not a question of an enigma, because it is not the letters, but rather the spirit of the *Quixote* which brings us to suppose such a revelation, and every anagram must pass this severe test and touchstone in order for it to be believed to have been created precisely by the author.”; *Verdad* 312). Díaz de Benjumea does not explain the criteria of the trial of great vigor to which he put this proposed decrypted anagram, and once again, Revilla is unconvinced with the anagram:

Buscar en el nombre de D. Pedro Nóríz el de Andrés Pérez, suponer que Cervantes encerró en pueriles y oscuros anagramas las supuestas alusiones de su obra, es una empresa pueril, que sin honrar á Cervantes, cuyo ingenio se coloca así en lugar muy bajo, hace muy poco honor al espíritu crítico del Sr. Benjumea. (“Opiniones” 407)

To seek in the name of D. Pedro Nóríz that of Andrés Pérez, to suppose that Cervantes cloaked in puerile and obscure anagrams the supposed allusions in his work is a puerile enterprise, which, rather than honoring Cervantes, whose genius in this way is held to a very low level, does very little honor to the critical spirit of Mr. Benjumea.

As is immediately obvious upon comparing the two names (Pedro Nóríz and Andrés Pérez), they are in no way anagrams to begin with—the two O’s of Pedro Nóríz are lost

entirely, three E's appear in the new name while there was one in the first, there is an S in the new name which did not exist in the first. Beyond that, no strong logical argument is made to explain precisely why the (correct) name uttered by a bronze head placed as a party prank would connect to the authorship of the spurious edition of *Don Quixote*. It seems as if the fictional hollow head of *Don Quixote II* may have found some like-minded company in Díaz de Benjumea—at least while the esotericist expounded this particular theory as to the existence of an anagram behind “Don Pedro Noriz” hiding the authorship of the *Quixote* attributed to Avellaneda.

All of this is not to say that there were no serious supporters among other critics—indeed, even modern-day academic Diego Martínez Torrón recently stated of the Pedro Nóriz/Andrés Pérez anagram and others like it suggested by Díaz de Benjumea that they are “conjeturas, pero atractivas” (“conjectures, but attractive”; “La polémica” 121). The prestigious nineteenth-century Cervantes scholar Ramón León Mainez even cites Díaz de Benjumea's decrypted *Lopez de Alcobendas* as support for the theory that Blanco de Paz was often cloaked behind the evildoers of *Don Quixote* (*Vida* 161). Perhaps less surprisingly, Díaz de Benjumea's contemporary Luis Ricardo Fors, who was also a frequent collaborator with the foremost esotericist in the latter's later years, called such decryptations “anagramas justos claros y sin saltos” (“clear and just anagrams without jumps”; *Criptografía* 19).

In 1865, Ramón Antequera published a study titled *Juicio analítico del Quijote* in which he attempts to prove that all major characters of *Don Quixote* are based on real-life individuals from the town of El Toboso—which Luis Astrana Marín states is a “libro de sana intención, pero no poco desaliñado y fantástico” (“book of good intentions, but not

just a little bit untidy and fantastic”; *Cortejo* 29). Antequera bases a great deal of the conclusions upon local legend, beginning with the choice of Ana Zarco de Morales as the real-life Dulcinea. Additionally, Antequera finds proof by means of anagram to support the Tobosan folklore about the muse of Cervantes who supposedly inspired Don Quixote’s lady love:

[E]l nombre de Dulcinea es un nombre compuesto por anagrama, y para mí es formado de las palabras latinas *Dulcis Ane* que pronunciadas *Dulce*, *Dulcis Ana Ane*, y tomando la palabra *Dulce* y la *Ane*, tenemos *Dulceane*: Y variando aún mas, es decir, anteponiendo *Dulci* y descomponiendo el *Ane*, y colocando la *a* despues de la *e* tenemos *Nea*, que unido al *Dulci*, dá formado el nombre de *Dulcinea*. Esto así visto, nos lleva á creer que la tradición es exacta, y Ana Zarco de Morales es en quien personificó Cervantes á Dulcinea. (18)

[T]he name of Dulcinea is a name composed by anagram, and in my opinion it is formed of the Latin words *Dulcis Ane* which pronounced *Dulce*, *Dulcis Ana Ane*, and taking the work *Dulce* and the *Ane*, we get *Dulceane*: And varying it even more, that is to say, putting *Dulci* in front and separating the *Ane*, and placing the *a* after the *e* we have *Nea*, which joined to the *Dulci*, forms the name of *Dulcinea*. Seen this way, it leads us to believe that the legend is true, and Ana Zarco de Morales is upon whom Cervantes based Dulcinea.

Of this proof by anagram, Astrana Marín states that it only demonstrates that Antequera “ignoraba por completo el latín” (“was completely ignorant of Latin”; 31). Astrana Marín further states that “argumentos de tan descabellada especie ellos mismos se anulan. Jamás leí tal jerigonza” (“arguments of such an outlandish sort cancel themselves out. I never read such gibberish”; 31).

In 1893, Adolfo Saldías published the study *Cervantes y el Quijote* in Argentina. His work, according to Saldías himself, brought a particularly South American perspective to the table—one which he claimed revealed truths in Cervantes’s novel that could not be seen by the traditionalists (266). Saldías rejected Cervantes’s stated intention of the novel, and declared that the purpose of *Don Quixote* “fué más serio y más transcendental” (“was more serious and more transcendental”; 3-4). Indeed, his view was one which “which regarded Cervantes' novel as a hidden attack on the aristocracy of the author's time and as a work of democratic exaltation” (Drake and Viña 204)—a theme which resonated with the needs of the Latin American colonies in need of liberation from the yoke of Spain (Saldías 239). Saldías begins his exploration stating that “El mismo Cervantes será mi guía. Sus ecos, los grandes ecos de su espíritu iluminado, expondrán la verdad que yo me propongo reivindicar para su genio.” (“Cervantes himself will be my guide. His echoes, the great echoes of his illuminated spirit, will expound the truth which I propose to reclaim for his genius.”; 4). As Saldías describes this truth, the meaning of *Don Quixote* can be found in its foreshadowing of the movement for freedom which began two centuries later in the New World:

El *Quijote* era el vínculo de la libertad. Como tal trasuntaba las aspiraciones supremas de sociedades nuevas, lanzadas al albur de sus

destinos, si bien con la intuición de que los realizarían en los tiempos. Y tan fiel era el trasunto, que lo que Cervantes se propuso de que reviviese en su país la tradición de libertad por medio de la antigua organización política y social, fué lo que en principio pusieron en práctica las comunas iniciadoras de Sud América, para consumar la transformación política más trascendental que ha presenciado el siglo XIX. (240)

The *Quixote* was the nexus of freedom. As such, it exuded the supreme aspirations of new societies, launched at the mercy of their destinies, albeit with the intuition that they would be made real in time. And so true was the transcription, that what Cervantes proposed, that the tradition of freedom in his country would be revived through the ancient political and social system, was what was initially implemented by the pioneer districts of South America, to consummate the most momentous political transformation that the nineteenth-century has witnessed.

Saldías explains that the advice given by Don Quixote to Sancho throughout the novel represents the advice that Cervantes gives to the colonies in their future fight for independence and freedom (129). This Argentinian critic explains that the slow process of the development of an advanced moral compass is an analogy for the manner in which Latin America will eventually gain its own sense of ethics as it advances towards the freedom it seeks from Spain (130-34).

Also in 1893, Benigno Pallol, under the pseudonym “Polinous,” published his own esoteric reading of Cervantes’s novel titled *Interpretación del Quijote*. It also

featured, alongside the title, the label *Primera parte* (“First Part”), although no second part was ever published. Pallol’s principal argument is that Cervantes’s claimed goal of the novel is a smokescreen, and that in truth “el *Quijote* es una invectiva contra los libros sagrados y sus derivaciones” (“the *Quijote* is an invective against the sacred books and their derivations”; 27). Pallol defends this stance arguing that the overwhelming cruelty of the Inquisition had effectively killed what should have been the true Christian message of love in the Iberian Peninsula, which he states had become the “centro [...] de la más *brutal* intransigencia religiosa” (“center [...] of the most brutal religious intransigence”; 26). Pallol describes this brutality, stating that the Holy Office replaced pity with torment, that “el amor fraternal habíase trocado en hoguera” (“fraternal love had changed into bonfires”; 26) and that “en vez de enseñar se descuartizaba” (“instead of teaching, [the Inquisition] dismembered”; 26).

In reference to the general conclusions of Pallol with regard to the text of *Don Quijote*, Asensio y Toledo states that they are “extrañísimas y tan infundadas” (“very strange and so unfounded”; *Interpretaciones* 13). Asensio y Toledo goes on to say that Pallol’s analyses are “más equivocados que los de Benjumea y Saldías, si caben grados y jerarquías en equivocaciones de este género” (“more erroneous than those of Benjumea and Saldías, if degrees and hierarchies are fitting in errors of this type”; 13). Former Biblioteca Nacional bibliographer Gabriel Río y Rico (as quoted by Manuel Serrano Vélez) declares derisively of Pallol’s study that “la interpretación esotérica del *Quijote* que en él se expone fue dictada mediante la sugestión y en estado de sonambulismo, por un modesto carpintero [...] que jamás había leído el *Ingenioso Hidalgo*.” (“the esoteric interpretation of the *Quijote* that is expounded within it was dictated by means of

hypnotic suggestion and in a state of somnambulism, by a modest carpenter [...] who had never read the *Ingenious Nobleman*.”; 34).

Despite the negative reception of his work, however, Pallol does go on to defend some of his arguments relatively well—and indeed, may have been a victim as much of the conservative environment and vision that largely described Cervantes studies of the time as he was of his own excesses. Indeed, many of his arguments in favor of *Don Quixote* as an attack on Scripture were echoed—in a much less complete and thorough manner—by Marthe Robert almost 80 years later (55-63), and later supported by James Parr (*Touchstone* 49-50)—without a mention by either one of the pioneering work of Pallol.

As this chapter primarily deals with esoteric excesses, however, it is also quite important to mention at least a pair of hilarious examples from the work of Pallol. Indeed, when Pallol went astray, he was virtually unmatched—which likely made it almost impossible for most to seriously entertain his more legitimate notions. One of the moments in which he runs afield is in his insistence that the character Maritornes is, as Navas Ocaña summarizes Pallol’s argument, “el símbolo de la Iglesia Católica” (“the symbol of the Catholic Church”; 144). Maritornes is a “servant-prostitute” who works at Juan Palomeque’s inn and first appears in *Don Quixote I*, Chapter 16 (Mancing *Encyclopedia* 2:465). Pallol, like so many other esoteric critics of *Don Quixote*, had a fondness for analyzing the details of character names—and he makes no exception for Maritornes. Pallol first argues the appropriateness of choosing Maritornes, based on her character, to represent the church, as “se prostituye la Iglesia de la manera más escandalosa” (“the Church prostitutes itself in the most scandalous way”; 168). Pallol

then defends the suitability of the name “Maritornes” itself as a label for the character who exemplifies the Catholic Church: “Por esto no la da Cervantes el nombre de la Virgen (que ha venido á ser símbolo de la castidad): llámala *Maritornes* y componiendo él mismo exprofeso este vocablo; y quiere decir *María te vuelvas*, pues necesitada estás de purificación” (“Because of this Cervantes doesn’t give her the name of the Virgin (which has come to be a symbol of chastity): he calls her *Maritornes* and composes this word himself, on purpose; and it means *María may you return*, because you are in need of purification”; 168). While in and of itself this analysis of the name is at least intriguing, it does seem a stretch that such a major player in Pallol’s study as is the Catholic Church would be represented by a secondary character in the scope of *Don Quixote* like Maritornes.

Perhaps Pallol’s most entertaining analysis of the nomenclature in *Don Quixote* arises when he analyses the name of the protagonist. Pallol imagines the scene of Cervantes thinking about the protagonist of his literary creation, just after finishing the novel which cost the autor such great effort:

Así debió de exclamar Cervantes, el siempre jovialísimo autor, cuando contempló al hijo de su maravillosa fantasía trocado en caricatura, pero libre de la muerte. ¡Qué hijote!<sup>12</sup> ¡Qu’ijote! Esta contracción de dos

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<sup>12</sup> According to *A History of the Spanish Language*, “-ote is almost always pejorative in tone and ‘augments’ the concept expressed by the base to which it is attached: *frescote* ‘cheeky devil’, *machote* ‘tough guy’, *palabrota* ‘swear-word’, *serióte* ‘glum’ (Penny 298). In this case, as Pallol describes the degradation of the ideal vision in



palabras, ajustada rigurosamente á la índole de nuestra  
 léngua, se compadece en absoluto con el estado psicológico del autor: tal  
 vez nació entre una lágrima y una carcajada, como los más famosos  
 pasajes del *Quijote*. (17)

Thus must have exclaimed Cervantes, the always very jovial author, when  
 he contemplated the son of his marvelous fantasy changed into a  
 caricature, but free from death. What a pathetic son! Qu'ixote!<sup>13</sup> This  
 contraction of the two words, adjusted rigorously according to the nature  
 of our language, condoles absolutely with the psychological state of the  
 author: perhaps it was born between a tear and a guffaw, like the most  
 famous passages of the *Quixote*.

Between a tear and a guffaw indeed. Obviously, the notion that Cervantes would have  
 completed the novel before naming the protagonist is in itself ridiculous. But it is difficult  
 to disagree with José de Lázaro, who writes that it is “verdaderamente entretenido”  
 (“truly entertaining”) to follow Pallol in his explanation, despite the preposterous nature  
 of the analyses (134-35). Manuel Serrano Vélez concurs, saying that the explanation “es  
 pintoresca, por no decir chusca” (“is bizarre, to not say hilarious”; 34).

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the mind of Cervantes resulting in a mere caricature once on paper, the *-ote* ending  
 would add some pejorative effect, such “pathetic,” “nasty,” “horrible,” etc.

<sup>13</sup> While in Spanish the contracted form of “Qué hijote” could feasibly become  
 “Qu'ijote,” which would sound exactly the same as “Quijote,” as Pallol suggests, there is  
 no way to render this in English.

Baldomero Villegas y de Hoyos was a colonel in the artillery división of the Spanish military and also a moderately recognized contemporary writer at the turn of the nineteenth-century (Romero Muñoz 443). Villegas y de Hoyos authored six separate publications (including three full-length books) on Cervantes and *Don Quixote* over a period of seven years, from *Estudio tropológico sobre el Don Quijote de la Mancha del sin par Cervantes* in 1897 to *La cuestión social en el Quijote* in 1904. Throughout these works, Villegas y de Hoyos was consistent in presenting *Don Quixote* as a veiled critique directed against the Inquisition. Villegas y de Hoyos claimed that Cervantes viewed the mission of the Inquisition as an enforcing agent of the Church as a direct and blatant violation of the teachings of Jesus Christ, stating that the author of *Don Quixote* believed that “Nuestro Señor Jesucristo [...] nunca jamás quiso ni reinar ni gobernar, ni aun obligar ó someter por la fuerza los Poderes civiles, sino persuadirlos y convencerlos, predicar y ejemplarizar” (“Our Lord Jesus Christ [...] never wanted to reign nor govern, nor even oblige or suppress by force the civil powers, but rather to persuade and convince them, to preach and make an example”; *Estudio* x).

Villegas y de Hoyos believed that Cervantes’s message distilled to four principal precepts, which he enumerated as follows: first, that priests must only concern themselves with spiritual matters (x); second, that the military should not be “una fuerza bruta al servicio del poder imperante” (“a brute force in the service of the imperial power”), but rather a means of maintaining peace (x); third, that the courts should be independent from the imperial power motivated only by “la virtud de la justicia” (“the virtue of justice”; xi); and fourth, that the monarchy was not divinely appointed, but rather constructed by men, and that it must therefore have “la virtud de la templanza” (the

virtue of temperance”; xi). In one interesting passage, Villegas y de Hoyos states that Cervantes is the:

...creador de un orden de cosas nuevo, que dé nueva luz en el mundo [...] y para que tengamos paz en la tierra los hombres de buena voluntad.....; todo eso tan hermoso y tan magnífico, es lo que enseña Cervantes en el QUIJOTE, que si hasta ahora se ha leído riendo, es necesario leerlo en adelante con recogimiento y como un evangelio, de rodillas y pidiendo inspiraciones al Cielo. (xiii)

...creator of a new order of things, which may give new light in the world [...] and so that we, the men of goodwill, may have peace on the Earth.....; all of that is so beautiful and so magnificent, that is what Cervantes teaches in the QUIXOTE, that if until now it has been read laughing, it is necessary to read it from now in religious meditation like a gospel, kneeling and asking for inspiration from Heaven.

Villegas y de Hoyos finds important meaning in the names of the characters of *Don Quixote*, and often repeats theories from other esotericists—especially Benigno Pallol—but almost always without crediting them. Indeed, in *Estudio tropológico* Villegas y de Hoyos states of the name “Quixote” that “El nombre que se pone, *Que hijote*, corresponde á la situación en que queda este parto de su ingenio, desfigurado y contra hecho, convertido en una verdadera caricatura para poder vivir” (“The name given him, *Que hijote*, corresponds to the situation in which this offspring of his intellect remains, disfigured and deformed, converted into a true caricature in order to be able to

live”; 49)—clearly echoing the explanation of the name “Quixote” elaborated by Pallol a few years earlier.

However, Villegas y de Hoyos also proposes original meanings for other names, such as that of Sansón Carrasco, who, as Don Quixote’s enemy, naturally represents the institution against which Villegas y de Hoyos insists Cervantes is rebelling between the lines of the novel. Villegas y de Hoyos claims that the character is, “por su nombre, representación de fuerzas colosales; por su apellido, semejante a las carrasacas con que se encendían y atizaban las hogueras de la Inquisición” (“by his name, the representation of colossal forces; by his surname, similar to the holm oaks with which were lit and stoked the fires of the stakes of the Inquisition”; *Revolución* 112). While this makes for a rather clever analysis of the name, this investigator has yet to find documentation of any special preference for holm oaks as stoking wood described in any literature on the Inquisition published contemporary to Cervantes or since.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> The only specific mention of holm oaks as kindling for bonfires that this study has been able to turn up in the texts of Golden Age Spain comes from the 1655 *Historia de la Virgen de la Cueva Santa*, which recounts various miracles attributed to the Virgin Mary in a cave in the vicinity of Villa de Altura, located near Castellón. In one account, the details of a tragedy are related prior to the miraculous intervention of Mary: “En la Pobleta de Andilla à diez y ocho de Oftubre mil feiscientos quarenta y nueve, dio de ojos por descuido de sus padres en vna hoguera grande de brafas de carrasca Esperança del Toro, niña delicada de tres mefes” (“In the village of Andilla on the eighteenth of October of one thousand six hundred forty-nine, Esperanza del Toro, a delicate girl of three months, due to the carelessness of her parents burned her eyes in a large bonfire of holm oak embers”; *Iusticia* 170).

Villegas y de Hoyos continues the theme of Cervantes's omniscience in the governance of mankind first expounded in *Estudio tropológico* in 1903's 623-page work *La revolución española: Estudio en que se descubre cuál y cómo fué el verdadero ingenio del Don Quijote y el pensamiento del simpár [sic] Cervantes* ("The Spanish Revolution: Study in which is Unveiled which was the True Genius of Don Quixote and how it Worked, and the Thought of the Peerless Cervantes"). Despite such extravagant praise of the so many unproven skills of Cervantes that he claims are evident, Villegas y de Hoyos does not understand (and laments) the lack of support he finds for his studies among established Cervantes scholars (*Cuestión 4*). Indeed, as Romero Muñoz describes it, Villegas y de Hoyos did not only feel misunderstood, but even "perseguido, objeto de una odiosa conjuración" ("persecuted, the object of a hateful conspiracy"; 446). While Romero Muñoz does agree that much of the criticism against Villegas y de Hoyos was disproportionately harsh, he finds no evidence to support the notion of such machinations against the critic, and also acknowledges the extravagant shortcomings in the esotericist's methodology (469-71).

Luis Ricardo Fors was "an exiled Spanish republican" who lived and worked for many years based in Argentina and Uruguay (Moreau Gottschalk xxix). Fors was also a "defensor de las teorías de Benjumea" ("defender of the theories of Benjumea"; Serrano Vélez 36) who published several tomes on Cervantes and his work in which he presented his own esoteric interpretations of *Don Quixote*. Beyond simply supporting the views of Díaz de Benjumea, however, Fors was also an "íntimo amigo de Benjumea, con el que colaboró en distintas publicaciones tanto en Londres como en España" ("intimate friend

of Benjumea, with whom he collaborated on distinct publications in both London and Spain”; 36).

In 1905’s *Criptografía quijotesca* (“*Quixotic Cryptography*”), Fors discusses the state of affairs in current Cervantes studies with regard to esoteric interpretations of *Don Quixote*. He begins his analysis by stating that he plans “demostrar con cuánta facilidad influye la pasión en los ánimos mejor dispuestos, y que parecen ser los mejor preparados y serenos para la crítica literaria.” (“to demonstrate with how much ease passion influences the best endowed souls, and how they seem to be the best prepared and most serene for literary criticism.”; 2). These “ánimos mejor dispuestos” (“best endowed souls”), unsurprisingly, include Díaz de Benjumea and the legion of esoteric scholars he inspired.

Fors divides all Cervantes scholars into two camps: the esoteric school and “la iglesia exotérica” (“the exoteric church”; 9). As far as concerns *Don Quixote*, the latter group—the exoterics—does not “considera en él más que la letra, la forma externa y el objeto manifiesto y declarado que lo caracterizan” (“consider in it more than the letter, the external form and the manifest and declared object which characterizes it”; 8). The other side—the esoterics—considers the novel in a different manner. This group “lo estima y lo ensalza, ante todo, por el sentido interno que la obra encierra” (“esteems and acclaims it, above all, for the internal meaning that the work contains”; 8). Fors explains in his 1901 work *El espíritu del Quijote* the nature of the meaning that he believes is guarded within the Cervantes novel, stating that it is a:

...generoso esfuerzo dirigido a flajelar los vicios e instituciones de los siglos XV y XVI:—es un admirabilísimo artificio levantado por modo

ingenioso y encubierto, para que proclame y difunda a través de los siglos los dogmas de justicia, de abnegación y de libertad entre los hombres. (18)

...generous effort directed towards flogging the vices and institutions of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries: —it is a very admirable artifice raised by ingenious and cloaked means, in order to proclaim and disseminate across the centuries the dogmas of justice, abnegation, and liberty among men.

Further, and more specifically, Fors argues that *Don Quixote* is also a scathing social critique of contemporary Spain. But beyond that, Fors sees in Cervantes's novel a prophecy of the future defeat of the oppressive regime controlled by the dual powers of the Inquisition and the monarchy. Fors declares that the text of *Don Quixote* is, at its very heart:

...una valiente y arriesgada profecía arrojada a la faz de la sociedad española de aquellos tiempos, amordazada y oprimida bajo el poder absoluto e ilimitado de Carlos V y de los Felipes:—predicción formulada por el genio a la vista de los esbirros, familiares, ministros y verdugos de la *Santa* Inquisición, anunciando las luchas, los martirios y las victorias futuras de la conciencia humana. (18)

...a valiant and risky prophecy thrown in the face of the Spanish society of those times, silenced and oppressed under the absolute and unlimited power of Carlos V and of the Philips: —a prediction formulated by the

genius at the sight of the henchmen, the familiars,<sup>15</sup> ministers and executioners of the *Holy* Inquisition, announcing the struggles, the martyrdoms and the future victories of human conscience.

In addition to granting Cervantes the power of clairvoyance, Fors also attributes to him the tendency of encoding meaning in anagrams—a trait that he points out was first noticed and studied by Díaz de Benjumea (*Criptografía* 15-16). Fors accuses the exoterists, which he claims include the “sesudos y prudentes críticos” (“wise and prudent critics”; 19) who make up academic Cervantes studies, of ridiculing the “los perfectos anagramas de Díaz de Benjumea” (“the perfect anagrams of Díaz de Benjumea”; 19). Fors then deftly takes to task several of these “pontífices de la verdad cervantina, que repudian y hasta escarnecen los procedimientos de lectura criptográfica en sus adversarios” (“pontiffs of Cervantine truth, who repudiate and even mock the proceedings of cryptographic readings in their adversaries”) for their own anagrammatical excesses (14).

One of the abuses of anagrams mentioned by Fors was committed by Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, certainly one of the preeminent Spanish literary scholars of all time. Fors states that Menéndez y Pelayo simply took the first 28 letters of the first sentence of the apocryphal *Don Quixote* by Avellaneda, then arbitrarily chose 14 of those letters and

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<sup>15</sup> According to Henry Kamen, “the familiar was a common feature of the mediaeval Inquisition and was continued in the Spanish one. Essentially he was a lay servant of the Holy Office, ready at all times to perform duties in the service of the tribunal. In return he was allowed to bear arms to protect the inquisitors, and enjoyed a number of privileges in common with the other officials” (145).



put them in a new order to arrive at “*alonsolanberto*.” From this, Menéndez y Pelayo deduced that the author who wrote under the pseudonym “Avellaneda” must have been Alonso Lambert, as the name is only one letter off from result of the series of letters at which he arrived in his manipulations (21). Fors notes of Menéndez y Pelayo’s procedure that “le han bastado apenas cinco palabras (sin sentido)” (“just five words (without sense) were enough for him”; 22), and that this methodology was an “absurdo sistema” (“absurd system”; 23) for decrypting hidden messages. While this investigator concurs with Fors in his conclusions, a brief consideration of Menéndez y Pelayo’s own words is appropriate in this discussion—if for no other reason than to be able to judge them on their own merit.

In the introduction to his 1905 edition of *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quixote de la Mancha* by the pseudonymous Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda, Menéndez y Pelayo forwards a theory of the name of the true author. Before beginning his reasoning in the defense of his proposed author, he comments on the relative ease with which he has identified the true identity of Avellaneda:

Al llamar nueva á la conjetura que voy á exponer, sólo quiero decir que no la he visto en ningún libro ni se la he oído á nadie; aunque por lo demás, me parece tan obvia, que de lo que únicamente me admiro es de que no haya sido la primera en que se fijasen todos los críticos que han tratado de esta materia. (xiv)

By calling the conjecture which I am going to expound new, I only mean to say that I have not seen it in any book nor have I heard it from anybody;

even though, apart from that, it seems to me so obvious, that the only thing that surprises me is that it wasn't the first thing noticed by all of the critics who have dealt with this material.

Menéndez y Pelayo follows this claim with several pages of discussion of contemporary authors and poets, as well as their relationships with Cervantes (xiv-xxxvii). Finally, Menéndez y Pelayo begins to discuss the “oscurísimo nombre de Alfonso Lamberto” (“the very obscure name of Alfonso Lamberto”; xxxvii), a poet of whom little is known other than he was from the region of Aragón. After explaining some of the motives that caused Menéndez y Pelayo to suspect Lamberto of the authorship, he makes the following statement: “Soy poco aficionado á los anagramas, y estoy escarmentado de ellos por el ejemplo de Benjumea, pero éste, para casualidad, me parece mucho.” (“I am not an aficionado of anagrams, and I have learned my lesson on them through the example of Benjumea, but this, by happenstance, seems important to me”; xliii). Menéndez y Pelayo supports this declaration by claiming that the secret to the author's identity lies hidden within the very first prose sentence of the apocryphal *Don Quixote* (xlii). That sentence reads as follows:

El sabio Alisolan, historiador no menos moderno que verdadero, dize que, siendo expelidos los moros agarenos de Aragón, de cuya nación él decendia, entre ciertos anales de historias halló escrita en arabigo la tercera salida que hizo del lugar del Argamesilla el invicto hidalgo don Quixote de la Mancha, para ir á unas justas que se hazian en la insigne ciudad de Çaragoça, y dize desta manera. (6)

The wise Alisolan, historian no less modern than real, says that, having been expelled the Muslim Moors from Aragon, from whose nation he descended, among certain annals of histories he found written in Arabic the third sally of the unconquered nobleman Don Quixote of La Mancha from the place in Argamesilla, to go to some jousts that were being done in the famous city of Zaragoza, and he says it in this way.

Menéndez y Pelayo states that the entire secret lies in the first five words: “El sabio Alisolan, historiador no” (“The wise Alisolan, historian no”). He explains his anagrammatical discovery thusly:

En esas cinco palabras van embebidas las catorce letras del nombre y apellido de *Alonso Lamberto*, sin más diferencia que el haber cambiado la *m* en *n*: cambio que nada significa tratándose de dos letras que delante de la *b* suenan del mismo modo. Puede Vd. comprobarlo prácticamente numerando las letras. (xlili)

In those five words are embedded the fourteen letters of the name and surname of *Alonso Lamberto*, without more difference than having changed the *m* into *n*: a change which means nothing, having to do with two letters which sound the same in front of the *b*. You can verify it practically by numbering the letters.

Menéndez y Pelayo follows this explanation with a brief chart of the sentence with the letters numbered in the order he believes they should be read, leaving the letters to be ignored unnumbered (see figure 1).

E l s a b i o A l i s o l a n h i s t o r i a d o r n o  
 11 7 8 10 6 1 2 5 3 4 13 14 12 9

Figure 1. The first five words of the apocryphal *Don Quixote*, with the letters numbered to uncover their “hidden” anagram (Menéndez y Pelayo “Introduction” xliii).

Immediately after revealing the chart which illustrates the discovery, Menéndez y Pelayo states that “confianza me da de haber acertado” (“I am confident that I have guessed correctly”; xliii).

It seems incredible that a scholar of Menéndez y Pelayo’s stature could err so regrettably. While it is imaginable that such an idea might occur to a very thoughtful and studied person after hours of pondering a line, it seems inconceivable that such an argument could survive the editing and proofing processes between that moment and the publication of the volume. To begin with, that the first five words, in no meaningful phrasing, should be pulled from the text and isolated seems rather random. Second, that half of those, with no (expressed) rhyme or reason would be tossed aside is also inexplicable. Finally, the rearrangement of those letters done in such a way that it conveniently supports the critic’s favorite theory with regard to the true authorship of the apocryphal *Don Quixote* is simply ridiculous. Despite the prestige of Menéndez y Pelayo in Spanish letters, this particular reading is undoubtedly esoteric—to be understood in the most disparaging sense of the word. Luis Astrana Marín agrees, and questions the possibility of more extreme errors by lesser scholars: “Pues si Menéndez y Pelayo, con toda su sólida cultura, desbarró tan lamentablemente, imagínese los que carecieron de

ella.” (“So if Menéndez y Pelayo, with all of his solid erudition, so lamentably wrote such nonsense, just imagine those who lacked it.”; *Vida* 181).

The first sentence of the apocryphal *Don Quixote* by Avellaneda was also the subject of an anagrammatical dissection by yet another respected Cervantes scholar, the very same Cayetano A. de la Barrera who helped expose the scam of the *Buscapié* (and who strongly opposed Díaz de Benjumea and his esoteric interpretations) presented the first portion of the Avellaneda sentence as evidence that Fray Luis de Aliaga was its author. Barrera discusses the following segment: “El sabio Alisolan, historiador no menos moderno que verdadero, dize que, siendo expelidos los moros agarenos de Aragón” (“The wise Alisolan, historian no less modern than real, says that, being expelled the Muslim Moors from Aragon”; 6). Barrera cites the fact that Aragón is mentioned as one fact to back his theory of Aliaga, who was also Aragonese, as author. Further, he argues that just as Cervantes included a fictitious Arabic narrator with a name that was “un anagrama casi perfecto del suyo” (“an almost perfect anagram of his own”; “Investigaciones” cxxiv), accompany by the demonstration “CiDE HAMETE Ben EnGELI.—Migel de Cebánte” (cxxiv), and asserting that the true author of the apocryphal *Don Quixote*, in an effort to parody the original, was bound to have done the same. Barrera then deciphers the sentence from Avalleneda as follows: “ALIsolAn: hé aquí indicado el apellido ALIAga, y contenidas dos letras del nombre *Luis*” (“ALIsolAn: here is indicated the surname ALIAga, and contained are two letters of the name *Luis*”; cxxiv).

In response to this anagrammatical analysis, Fors calls Barrera an “habilitoso y acrobático cervantista” (“skilled and acrobatic Cervantisa”) and a “flamante Colón

alfabético” (“fabulous alphabetic Colombus”; 18). Fors critiques that to come up with this anagram, Barrera:

...ha tenido que dar un salto por encima de *setenta y dos letras* nada menos, y suprimir además otras *doce letras*, que nada significan y ningún papel representan en el anagrama *barrerista*. Por este sistema tan gracioso y socorrido para descubrir arcanos en el texto del *Quijote*, no se necesitan tantas palabras como las que han servido para la risueña combinación.”

(19)

...has had to jump over *seventy-two letters* no less, and also to suppress another *twelve letters*, which don't mean anything nor play any role in the *Barrerista* anagram. For this very humorous and helpful system for discovering mysteries in the text of the *Quixote*, there is no need for as many words as those which have served for the cheerful combination.

Atanasio Rivero, likely the master anagrammarian of all Cervantes studies, parodies the effort of Barrera to see Aliaga in the first sentence of the apocryphal *Don Quixote*. Rivero points out that Barrera has missed the fact that in addition to there being “Ali” present in the opening sentence, there is also the “aga.” Rivero then sarcastically exclaims: “¡Basta! ‘Ali’ en ‘Alisolan’ y ‘Aga’ en ‘ag-arenos’... ¡Ali-aga! ¡Ni una palabra más! ¡He aquí el famoso licenciado Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda, natural de Tordesillas!” (“Enough! ‘Ali’ in ‘Alisolan’ and ‘Aga’ in ‘aga-renos’... Ali-aga! Not another word! Here is the famous Bachelor Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda, native of Tordesillas!”; 34).

Fors's rather logical and reasoned critique of several critics' analyses extends over several pages of *Criptografía quijotesca*, and is intertwined with a defense of the work of Díaz de Benjumea (9-36). Fors states that the reason he is calling the academic Cervantistas (among them Menéndez y Pelayo, Barrera, José María Asensio y Toledo, and Bartolomé Gallardo) to task for their own anagrammatical abuses of the text of *Don Quixote* is:

...para que los espíritus juiciosos y desapasionados aprecien el grado de ecuanimidad y de lógica que forman el carácter de los modernos Aristarcos que marisclean en el sanedrín de admiradores de la forma cervantina, y que, sistemática y obstinadamente, cierran ojos y oídos al sentido interno del gran poema. (25)

...so that judicial and impartial spirits appreciate the degree of fairness and logic that form the basis of the modern aristarchs who marshal in the Sanhedrin of admirers of the Cervantine form, and who, systematically and obstinately, close their eyes and ears to the internal meaning of the great poem.

Ultimately, however, all of this leads to Fors's suggestion of his own candidate in the effort to determine the authorship of the apocryphal *Don Quixote*. Not surprisingly, being a disciple and colleague of Díaz de Benjumea, Fors arrives at an anagrammatical proof for the defense of his theory that André Pérez was the real Avellaneda. Fors states that Avellaneda himself, at the end of the Prologue to the apocryphal *Don Quixote*, announces the sonnet of Pero Fernández, who in turn "manifiesta á su vez, que es él, y no otro, quien

escribe la segunda parte del *Quijote*” (“manifests in turn that it is he, and no other, who writes the second part of the *Quixote*”; 37). In regard to the attribution of the poem, Fors states: “he aquí ahora un segundo enigma que se presenta como clave del primero y cuyo desciframiento ha de desvanecer el misterio de que se trata” (“behold now a second enigma which presents itself as a key to the first, and whose decipherment must dispel the mystery in question”; 37-38). Fors reveals the secret of the anagram, stating that one must begin by “modificando un tanto el orden numérico” (“modifying a great deal the numerical order”; 39). He offers a figure with the letters of “De Pero Fernández” number according to his proposed solution (see figure 2).



Figure 2. The attribution of a sonnet from the apocryphal *Don Quixote*, with the letters numbered to uncover their “hidden” anagram (Fors *Criptografía* 39).

Fors states that in this rearranged order one can read “Don F. Andre Pérez,” and states that the form is one that “tampoco puede tacharse de caprichosa o fantástica” (“can neither be faulted as capricious or fantastic”; 39), as it was common for religious figures at the time to use their titles as initials—and as Fors’ purported author was a friar, he was commonly known as Fray Andrés Pérez (39-40). Fors seems proud of his newly hatched hypothesis, stating: “nadie, que yo sepa, la ha fundado antes de ahora en lo que yo la fundo” (“nobody, to my knowledge, has established it before now, when I establish it”;



40). Further, he compares this new hypothesis to previously extant theories of the authorship of the apocryphal *Don Quixote* and claims that his is “la mejor establecida, la más lógica, y la más conforme con los hechos” (“the best established, the most logical, and the most in agreement with the facts”; 40).

While Eulalia Hernández Sánchez (facetiously) calls this anagrammatical deduction by Fors “un alarde de ingenio” (“a display of ingenuity”), she also reports that it fell quickly into discredit—partly due to the refutation issued by Menéndez y Pelayo himself in answer to the criticisms issued toward his own similar analysis (10). Indeed, beyond the unusual and arbitrary procedure of including the full honorific of “Don” in the anagram, yet only the initial “F” of “Fray,” there is also the problematic issue that by reordering the letters as suggested in his numbered chart, the name comes out “DONFANDREEPEREZ”—and not precisely as Fors specifies. Interestingly, neither critic to comment upon the weak anagrammatical argument seems to notice this shortcoming.

While Fors decidedly lands in the camp of the esoteric Cervantes critics, much like Díaz de Benjumea he defies the earlier cited definition from the *Gran enciclopedia cervantina* as being one of those who “afectaron el cervantismo esporádicamente” (“affected Cervantism sporadically”; Tausient 4264). Indeed, in addition to the two earlier cited studies, Fors also published several others, including: “Anagogia del *Quijote*” (“Anagogy of the *Quixote*”; 1900), an extensive article published in two parts which includes esoteric interpretations of several aspects of Cervantes’s novel, as well as an ekphrastic analysis of the frontispiece of the *princeps* edition of *Don Quixote*; “Las mujeres del *Quijote*: Estudios cervantinos” (“The Women of the *Quixote*: Cervantine

Studies”; 1903), a 24-page article published in six parts which may be one of the earliest studies of the female characters of the novel; *Filosofía del Quijote ordenada alfabéticamente* (“*Philosophy of the Quixote ordered alphabetically*”; 1912), which enumerates the maxims present in *Don Quixote* and which claims to reveal “la filosofía propia de Cervantes” (“Cervantes’s own philosophy”; 11) and “sus sentimientos personales” (“his personal sentiments”; 11); and *Vida de Cervantes* (“*Life of Cervantes*”; 1916), which is a biography which claims to shed new light on the life of the author, including firmly stating that the author’s birthplace was Alcalá de Henares and rejecting all other proposed locations, ultimately claiming “destruir la leyenda de la extrema miseria del autor del *Quijote*” (“to destroy the legend of the extreme poverty of the author of the *Quixote*”; 87). Beyond these and a few other publications, Fors, as a Spanish expatriat, also made contributions to Cervantes studies in Argentina by leading the effort to establish a Cervantes collection with a focus of the works and criticism of the author in the Biblioteca Pública de La Plata (“Public Library of La Plata”), first through a detailed bibliography of such titles, and later by raising funds to grow the collection (Fernández 52-53).

Miguel de Cortacero y Velasco, in his *Cervantes y el Evangelio, o, el simbolismo del Quijote* of 1915, tried to prove that all of *Don Quixote* was a retelling of the Bible, with particular emphasis on the New Testament. As Henry W. Sullivan puts it, Cortacero y Velasco was one of those “critics who champion the devout Cervantes” (45). While this is accurate, Salvador Muñoz Iglesias’s statement that Cortacero y Velasco’s is a “postura exagerada” (“exaggerated posture”; 20) is also decidedly true.

Cortacero y Velasco rejects the notion that Cervantes's intention was to attack the books of chivalry, stating that “no fue su objeto ridiculizar los libros de caballería” (“it was not his object to ridicule the books of chivalry”; 243)—rather he singles out certain types of books based on their content. Cortacero y Velasco discusses specific categories of books that were in the sights of the author of *Don Quixote*—with the purpose of imbuing his own novel with what was lacking in those books:

Cervantes se propuso satirizar todos los libros faltos de moral, de arte y de belleza bajo la denominación de libros de caballería, y como los escritores de su tiempo buscaban esa moral, arte y belleza en las Sagradas Escrituras, plagiando sus principales hechos y personajes, que después ponían en comedias y dramas bajo la denominación de *Autos Sacramentales*.

Cervantes varió de ruta y puso en novela los hechos culminantes del Evangelio, adornándoles con su ingenio peregrino y con un lenguaje gloria del habla castellana. (244)

Cervantes resolved to satirize all books without morals, art and beauty under the denomination of books of chivalry, and because the writers of his time sought those morals, art and beauty in Scripture, plagiarizing its principal facts and characters that they would later put in comedies and dramas under the denomination of *Autos Sacramentales*. Cervantes changed course and put in novel form all the crucial facts of the Gospel, adorning them with his devout genius and with a language which is the glory of Castilian speech.

Cortacero y Velasco also sees the characters in Cervantes's novel as parallels to those of the New Testament, with Don Quixote as Christ and Dulcinea as the Virgin Mary. Further, Cortacero y Velasco reasons that “si Cervantes quiso adornar a su intrépido caballero con las virtudes de Jesús ¿por qué el canónigo, el cura y el barbero y los cuadrilleros no iban a representar con todos sus odios a todos los enemigos de Cristo?” (“if Cervantes wanted to adorn his intrepid knight with the virtues of Jesus, why wouldn't the Canon, the priest and the barber and the officers represent with all their hatred all of the enemies of Christ?”; 169).

Of course, such a comparison between Christ and Don Quixote can be problematic when considered as a pious form of tribute to Catholic beliefs, as Don Quixote is, after all, a madman who performs crazy acts—and who calls himself a knight when he is not. Not surprisingly, not long after publication of *Cervantes y el Evangelio*, one nameless critic mentioned by Cortacero y Velasco censured the esotericist, claiming that he was confusing the fool Don Quixote with the true Christ, which was essentially a mockery. Cortacero y Velasco replied to this accusation the following year in his *Quisicosillas del Quijote* with a rhetorical question, after declaring that he himself was an ordained priest and a devout believer: “¿Podría yo ignorar que el verdadero Cristo, es Cristo hijo de Dios vivo, y no ningún otro?” (“Could I not know that the true Christ, is Christ the son of the living God, and no other?”; 77).

Despite this supposed awareness, Cortacero y Velasco does go quite far in claiming equivalence between the Bible and *Don Quixote*. Indeed, the critic argues this similarity to the point that he states that had Cervantes simply rearranged the order of the adventures, by relocating the adventure of the Cave of Montesinos from *Don Quixote II*,

Chapters 22 and 23 to a different point in the novel, then Cervantes “hubiera seguido todo el proceso del Evangelio sin desviarse un punto” (“would have followed the entire progress of the Gospel without digressing one point”; *Evangelio* 208). This investigation agrees with Helena Percas de Ponseti that such a statement, especially from a theologian, is quite “curious” (“La cueva” 394).

In 1916, the esoteric theories of Atanasio Rivero regarding the hidden messages that Cervantes encrypted into the pages of *Don Quixote* were the talk of all of Madrid. Indeed, even Rivero’s most ardent critic, the eminent Cervantes scholar and member of the Real Academia de la Lengua Española Francisco Rodríguez Marín (Gil 13) stated of the esotericist’s several then-recent articles in the newspaper *El Imparcial* that they have “puesto el nombre de Cervantes en los labios de todos los españoles, y en *tupis*, cafés, peluquerías y betunerías no se ha hablado ¡ni aun de toros! tanto como de Cervantes y sus andanzas, cosa que es harto de estimar” (“have put the name of Cervantes on the lips of all Spaniards, and in the *tupis*,<sup>16</sup> cafés, hair salons and shoeshine shops they have not spoken—not even of bulls!—as much as of Cervantes and his deeds, which is something to be highly esteemed”; *Apócrifo* 15).

The story of Rivero’s discoveries begins several years earlier, when “a la trepidante luz de los volcanes americanos” (“by the blazing light of American volcanoes”; Sánchez 450-51) the esotericist claims he learned of a complete second book contained in code and hidden within the surface text of *Don Quixote*. This second book, which Rivero claims is the true text that Cervantes wished to communicate, “se obtiene

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<sup>16</sup> *Tupis* were modest Madrid establishments where coffee was served, named after the coffee brand “Tupinamba” that was served in them (Herzberger 133)

manipulando las mismas letras según la misteriosa *traza*” (“is obtained by manipulating the same letters according to the mysterious *scheme*”; Sánchez 450) which *Don Quixote*’s author invented and Rivero managed to detect three centuries later. According to Domingo Blanco, a reporter for *El Imparcial*, Rivero, a native of the Spanish region of Aragón, had himself been a successful reporter in Cuba for several years after having dropped out of the University of Oviedo (6-7) and then:

...en sus correrías por Centro América había sido incluso coronel de una de las bandas revolucionarias del Salvador; que en Guatemala hizo periódicos, que en México fue corredor de comercio y que, finalmente, en Cuba, tenía que ganarse el pan de los suyos escribiendo diariamente muchas cuartillas para los periódicos. (9)

...in his travels through Central America had even been a colonel of one of the revolutionary bands of El Salvador; in Guatemala he made newspapers; in Mexico he was a trading broker and, finally, in Cuba, had to earn a living for his family by writing many pages every day for the newspapers.

Even Blanco, a colleague and friend of the Asturian adventurer-cum-Cervantes critic, when considering all of this in the context of Rivero having had the time to read Cervantes’s novel—let alone make any groundbreaking discovery within the pages of *Don Quixote*—admits to being “un poco confuso” (“a bit confused”; 8) at how Rivero could have possibly managed such a feat of literary scholarship as he claims. However, while in the end Blanco accepts the reality of the accomplishment as presented by Rivero

(24), Rodríguez Marín—at best—asks “¿Será un loco este hombre?” (“Is this man insane?”; *Apócrifo* 20), and—at worst—wonders (in private correspondence) if Rivero’s entire theory was just part of “un negocio que se prometía fructífero” (“a business which promised to be fruitful”; Cruz Casado 238).

In *El apócrifo “Secreto de Cervantes,”* Rodríguez Marín introduces a brief history of esoteric readings of *Don Quixote*, a tradition in which he squarely places the work of Rivero. Rodríguez Marín then decisively debunks the claims of Rivero one by one. He also recounts the details of his own few meetings with the colorful Rivero, from their first meeting in Rodríguez Marín’s office in the Biblioteca Nacional, where he served as director, to an unannounced visit to the home of the member of the Real Academia, at which time Rivero pressed Rodríguez Marín for a meeting the following day. During that last encounter, Rivero revealed his technique for uncovering the second book which he claimed existed within the lines of *Don Quixote*. As Rodríguez Marín describes it, Rivero showed up “con puntualidad no española” (“with a punctuality that is not Spanish”; 21) and with an assistant in tow. The assistant helped Rivero set up a display box with movable letters in which the dedication to the Duke of Bejar was written out in full. Rivero then began moving the individual letters and rearranging them to form a new text. As Rodríguez Marín describes the result: “El nuevo texto empezaba así, poco más ó menos: ‘Esta no es la verdadera dedicatoria del *Don Quijote...*’” (“The new text began a little like this, more or less: ‘This is not the true dedication of the *Don Quixote...*’”; 22).

Indeed, his memory must have been rather close as to the overall particulars, as Rivero’s own account of the events of the same meeting largely agrees with that of

Rodríguez Marín (168-70). However, Rivero recalls the comments made in response by the director of the Biblioteca Nacional rather differently, and as having been much less harsh than what Rodríguez Marín claimed in his own account. To illustrate his own superior recollection of the minutiae of the meeting, Rivero even partakes in a humorous and detailed Cervantes-like description of Rodríguez Marín: “Es alto de cuerpo y de pecho, rapado de cabeza, luengo y cano de barbas, afónico por defecto, asmático sin chiste y chistoso sin alarde. En los tiempos antiguos hubiera sido profeta; en los arábigos, muezin, y hoy dirige la Biblioteca Nacional...” (“He is tall in body and chest, bald-headed, with a long gray beard, hoarse by default, asthmatic—all humor aside, and humorous without showing it. In ancient times he would have been a prophet; in Arabian days, a muezzin, and today he directs the National Library...”, 169).

In *El crimen de Avellaneda*, Rivero also describes what he takes to be the true message of Cervantes revealed by his rearrangement of all of the letters of the entire dedication. The very first part of what Rivero considers the unscrambled missive gives a general feeling for his take of the esoteric meaning of *Don Quixote*. The following result of his decoded dedication displays Rivero’s fashion of typically extreme anagrammatical reshuffling:

No es esta la dedicatoria con q este libro debe ir a las manas magnifs. de S.  
Ex. el Duque de Bejar. Fué volunta i encarecimiento d sus cortesanos  
sevillans. q amenazaron no recibille en su agrado el poner este retacillo del  
ilustre Herera. Así determiné havello. P<sup>a</sup> remate y desgracia vino a la casa  
d Arguixo Lope d Vega Carpio buscando amparo p<sup>a</sup> su novela El



Peregrino i hube malandanza, pues q a su censura sometieron tambien la dedicator<sup>a</sup> con lo q quedé desahuciado... (150)

This is not the dedication with which this book must go to the magnificent fountains of your Excellency the Duke of Bejar. It was the will and praise of your Sevillian courtesans that threatened to not receive in their generosity the placement of this small snippet of the illustrious Herrera. So I determined to do it. To kill it off, by adversity Lope de Vega came to the house of Arguijo seeking refuge for his novel *The Pilgrim* and I suffered misfortune, because they also submitted the dedication to his censure, because of which I was left hopelessly lost...

Such a rearrangement of the letters requires unusual abbreviations (“p<sup>a</sup>” for “para,” “q” for “que,” “magnifs” for “magníficas,” etc.) and misspellings (“volunta” for “voluntad,” “Herera” for “Herrera,” etc.) to work with the given letters. Further, some of the vocabulary and grammatical constructions offered in the text “decrypted” by Rivero are more typical of the era of Rivero than of Cervantes, as Rodríguez Marín points out (*Apócrifo* 28). When Rodríguez Marín personally asked Rivero if were possible to get other messages out of the same letters of the text, the esotericist answered that “descifrar esa prosa interna no era cosa arbitraria, y así, de cada período no puede salir más de un texto” (“to decipher that internal prose was not an arbitrary thing, and so, no more than one text can come out from each period”; 25)—obviously, that exclusive, occult, alternative text was the very one that Rivero provided—without, however, any clue as to the procedure followed in the rearrangement.

Also of interest is what Rivero claims the encrypted words revealed. These words, according to Rivero, in effect represent the memoirs of Cervantes himself. Indeed, Rivero published them as part of his *El crimen de Avellaneda* study, as a second book within the main work called *Las memorias maravillosas de Cervantes* (“*The Marvellous Memories of Cervantes*”). In this second work, Rivero reveals what he claims are the secret frustrations and desires of the author of *Don Quixote*, and tells the story of Cervantes’s own daughter—all in a manner quite similar to the one seen above in the case of the dedication to the novel, with entire sections of several pages in length rearranged anagrammatically, syllable by syllable, with an unusual choice of alternate spellings, abbreviations, and vocabulary.

However, Rivero did not limit himself to the works of Cervantes. Indeed, he claimed that the Conde de Lemos, who Cervantes instructed on the use of the encryption used in *Don Quixote* (75), betrayed the author’s trust and shared it with his enemies (86-87)—including the pseudonymous Avellaneda—who then turned the special code against Cervantes himself (87). Rivero uses this logic to defend the reason he is also able to thereby identify Avellaneda (after ridiculing many of the efforts already discussed in this chapter). But despite the fact Rivero is well-versed in the anagrammatical decryption method which he chooses to keep to himself, he nevertheless suffers one admitted misstep prior to striking gold on the correct writer responsible.

Rivero begins his indagations, as have several of the other critics we have seen, on a segment of the first sentence of the apocryphal *Don Quixote*—in this case limited to the words “El sabio Alisolan, historiador no menos” (“The wise Alisolan, historian no less”; 6). Rivero reveals that this partial phrase “es el exacto anagrama de esta frase:

*Tirso Molina ossó y hiso el vano alarde*" ("is the exact anagram of the phrase: *Tirso Molina dared and made the vain ostentation*"; 32). Besides the obviously odd choice of words from the sentence, which do not even complete a phrase, the decoded anagram includes the misspelled "ossó" and "hiso"—the latter of which would only sound the same as "hizo" (the proper spelling of the third-person conjugation of the preterite form of "hacer," which means "to do" or "to make") in a very limited area of Spain and in Latin America (Díaz-Mas xiv) —perhaps only coincidentally where Rivero had spent the majority of his years. Despite the shortcomings in having arrived at this unexpected identification, Rivero describes having been quite overcome by his anagrammatical discovery:

Un poco sorprendido y un mucho asustado puse los ojos en los dos textos y rompí a sudar; meséme las barbas, ya aborascadas; brinqué sobre la silla, y en la paz austera de la callada noche tropical se oyeron otras manifestaciones no menos cultas de mi sano regocijo... Después me dormí como un bienaventurado; en mis sienas había soplado el hada del éxito.  
(33)

A little surprised and a lot scared I laid eyes on the two texts and I broke into a sweat; I pulled the hairs of my already stormy beard; jumped onto the chair, and in the austere peace of the quiet tropical night were heard other equally cultured manifestations of my sane joy... Afterwards I slept like a blessed one, the fairy of success had blown on my temples.

Despite his apparent satisfaction with having uncovered the real Avellaneda, Rivero soon realizes his error—a process which he explains in detail (36-39). Suárez Figaredo explains that although Rivero “tenía otro candidato confeso” (“had another confessed candidate”) for the crime of Avellaneda with this new anagram, that “prudentemente, lo descartó” (“he prudently discarded it”; 26). The nail in the coffin of his proposal of Tirso de Molina as author is that Cervantes states that Avellaneda is “*aragonés*” (“*Aragonese*”), and Tirso de Molina “no era *aragonés*” (“was not *Aragonese*”; 38). However, Rivero seems to let go of his theory rather sufferingly, and asks the question: “¿Cuántos, dentro del pellejo de mi éxito, hubiesen desdeñado el Tirso de mi anagrama? Nadie; porque es perfecto” (“How many, in my shoes with such success, would have disdained the Tirso of my anagram? Nobody; because it is perfect”; 38). Rivero even compares the perfection of his decryption to those lesser anagrams suggested by Barrera y Leirado, Menéndez y Pelayo, and Pellicer (39-47) which he calls “vanos” (“vain”; 39) and “incompletísimos” (“very incomplete”; 47) before moving on to decipher the ultimately “true” author behind the apocryphal *Don Quixote*.

Rivero shares the experience of his discovery in rather amusing detail:

Un día de atracción premió Dios mi contumacia: se ofuscó mi espíritu, la sangre se escapaba de mi cabeza; palidecí... Había visto al *aragonés*, estaba escondido allí en la primera línea del *Avellaneda*, mirándome quieto, frío, sin parpadeo, como miran los lagartos, desde el misterio de su nombre y de sus tres apellidos: “*El sa-bio Ali-Solan histori-ador.*” (66)

One day of attraction God rewarded my contempt: my spirit was darkened, blood was leaking from my head; I turned pale... I had seen the *Aragonese*, he was hidden there in the first line of the *Avellaneda*, watching me silently, coldly, without batting an eye, like lizards watch, from the mystery of his name and his three surnames: “*The wi-se Ali-Solan histori-an.*”

Rivero once again resorted to the opening line of the apocryphal *Don Quixote*—this time dropping off the “no menos” he had included in his identification of Tiro de Molina as the author. Continuing on from the purposefully italicized and hyphenated first four words of the text, “*El sa-bio Ali-Solan histori-ador*” (“*The wi-se Ali-Solan histori-an*”), Rivero explains that:

Con el leve cambio de lugar de una *ene* y de una *erre*, resulta: “*el sa-bion Al-i-sola histori-ardo*”, es decir: las cuatro terminaciones del nombre y de los tres apellidos de Argensola el mozo: Gabri-*el* Leon-*ardo* Al-*bion i* Argen-*sola*, disimuladas en las cuatro terminaciones de las cuatro primeras palabras del libro de *Avellaneda* ...*el* ...*ardo* ...*bion i* ...*sola*. Y tomando el *Al* de *Alisola*, y dándole su puesto lógico, queda: ...*el ardo* ...*Albion i* ...*sola*. Era el *aragonés*, el *Argensola*. (66-67)

With the slight changing of place of an *n* and an *r*, it becomes: “*el sa-bion Al-i-sola histori-ardo*,” which is to say: the four endings of the name and the three surnames of Argensola the youth: Gabri-*el* Leon-*ardo* Al-*bion i* Argen-*sola*, concealed in the four endings of the first four words of the

book of *Avellaneda* ...*el* ...*ardo* ...*bion i* ...*sola*. And taking the *Al* of *Alisola*, and giving it its logical place, what is left is: ...*el ardo* ...*Albion i* ...*sola*. It was the *Aragonese*, the *Argensola*.

With this identification, Rivero explains that Cervantes's own descriptions of Avellaneda all make sense: "el más malo; el autor moderno, impertinente y disparatado, que no sabía el trabajo que costaba componer un libro, que no sabía el trabajo que costaba hinchar un perro" ("the worst; the modern autor, impertinent and ludicrous, who did not know the work it took to compose a book, who did not know the work it took to inflate a dog"; 67). Rivero experiences great relief at having discovered the "criminal" author of the apocryphal *Don Quixote*, as he so colorfully recounts: "Arrojé el bastardo *Quijote* lejos de mí y me acosté en la cama. Mis nervios se habían agotado y mi espíritu se adormía con las últimas sollicitaciones de una ira dulce, suave, melancólica" ("I threw the bastard *Quixote* far from me and I got into bed. My nerves had run out and my spirit was falling asleep with the last sollicitations of a sweet, smooth, melancholic ire"; 67).

With great confidence that he had made such weighty revelations in the area of Cervantes studies—especially for his work in uncovering the hidden autobiography of the author within the very text of *Don Quixote*—Rivero summarized his contribution in a few lines:

Busqué, ahondé, investigué, desentrañé... Mi éxito no tuvo límites. Se buscaba un nombre, una noticia, y yo doy a España una historia maravillosa de concisión y sencillez; portentosa de interés y de valía. Es la

resurrección del Siglo de Oro, la reliquia que guarda la autografía genial del genio español. (70)

I sought, I delved deeper, I investigated, I untangled... My success had no limits. What was sought was a name, a piece of news, and I give Spain a marvelous history of conciseness and simplicity; magnificent with interest and value. It is the resurrection of the Golden Age, the relic which holds the brilliant autograph of the Spanish genius.

However, despite Rivero's own certainty regarding the merit of his analyses, Charles Lindsay Adams (in agreement with the evaluation of Rodríguez Marín) states of the sum total of Rivero's discoveries that "the anagrams, which he evidently spent much time in compiling, are mere figments of his imagination" (11).

In 1960, the Madrid attorney José de Benito published his esoteric interpretation of the Cervantes novel titled *Hacia la luz del Quijote*. Benito modestly proclaims of his analysis that "casi me atrevería a calificarlo de 'milagroso'" ("I would almost dare to qualify it as 'miraculous'"; 10). However, he does not make that claim—at this time. He explains the evaluation of his discoveries as earning this near-miraculous status in light of the long tradition of scholarship on *Don Quixote*:

[P]orque resulta un tanto inconcebible que pueda aún "saltar a la vista" algo nuevo, en un panorama más que conocido y sobre el que han venido trabajando con ahinco, amor e inteligencia, *durante siglos*, cuantos se han ocupado en España de la gran obra cervantina, en particular, y de nuestra literatura, en general. (10)

[B]ecause it seems rather inconceivable that something new could still “jump out at one” in a panorama that is more than known and about which have been working with earnestness, love, and intelligence, *for centuries*, all those in Spain who have focused on the great Cervantine work, in particular, and on our literature, in general.

Benito explains that he is a layman in terms of Cervantes studies, but states that he has read *Don Quixote* several times (10-11), and that during one of the readings he found himself “en estado de ‘gracia’” (“in a state of ‘grace’”; 11). Benito acknowledges that such a discovery may be strongly opposed by academics, but emphasizes again “el carácter milagroso” (“the miraculous character”; 11), stating that there is no other expression which could better describe “el milagro—de lo acaecido” (“the miracle—of what happened”; 11). Benito states, rather modestly, that “el descubrimiento de estos siete anagramas en el *Quijote* constituye el primer hallazgo fundamental para afirmar or confirmar una auténtica interpretación del pensamiento de Cervantes al escribir su obra más importante” (“the discovery of these seven anagrams in the *Quixote* constitute the first fundamental finding to affirm or confirm an authentic interpretation of the thinking of Cervantes upon writing his most important work”; 11). The overall analysis offered by Benito in his book is, then, the presentation and explanation of the seven anagrams the esotericist discovered during his examination of the Cervantes novel in his enlightened state.

The first anagram “discovered” by José de Benito is expressed in the simple formula “ROCINANTE = ANTE – ROCÍN” (“ROCINANTE = BEFORE – NAG”; 35). This anagram, however, is one that is plainly revealed by Cervantes himself in the text of



*Don Quixote I*. In Chapter 1, the narrator states of Don Quixote (before he has named himself so) as he is naming his steed: “le vino a llamar *Rocinante*, nombre, a su parecer, alto, sonoro y significativo de lo que había sido cuando fue rocín antes de lo que ahora era, que era antes y primero de todos los rocines del mundo” (“he came to call him *Rocinante*, a name, it seemed to him, high-flown, resonant, and significant of what he had been when he was a nag, before what he was now, which he was before the first of all of the nags of the world”; 1.1: 118). Indeed, Benito states that the reason that “hace el juego a la vista del lector” (“plays the game in view of the reader”; 31), displaying the fact that the name contained a meaning that may at first have been hidden—and also the reason for purposely not mentioning the word “anagram”—was to communicate the second layer of significance of the names and the means by which one could discover them to sensitive readers while avoiding alerting the “possible censor del libro” (“possible censor of the book”; 31). Benito explains that this was the method by which Cervantes created the novel in which he “cifrabá su más grande ilusión y sus mejores esperanzas para servir con él a su gloria y a su fama” (“encrypted his greatest dream and his best wishes in order to serve with him in his glory and his fame”; 31).

Following on the heels of the first important anagram, Benito reveals the name of the protagonist itself also conceals an import, anagrammatical meaning—that “Don Quijote de la Mancha” disguises “HIJO DEL QUE DATAN MANCO” (“SON OF HE WHOM THEY LABEL ONE-ARMED”; 40). Benito explains that as Cervantes had famously lost the use of his left hand in the Battle of Lepanto, he was known as the “manco sano” (“healthy one-armed man”), and that as his novel, *Don Quixote* was the child of Cervantes’s intellect (40). While the content of the anagram seems reasonable

enough, it certainly doesn't qualify as the sort of thing that by Benito's own earlier explanation would have required such encoding. Further, the use of the word "datar" to mean "label" is more than a bit of a stretch—indeed, Benito himself has to explain it to be understood as such (40). Despite this shortcoming, this is by far the most logical of Benito's "revelatory" anagrams.

In the name "Dulcinea del Toboso," Benito finds the cryptic "OSADO CULTO DEL BIEN" ("DARING CULT OF GOOD"; 47), which Benito defends as Don Quixote's particular opinion of Dulcinea (46). From the nickname "El Caballero de la Triste Figura" ("The Knight of the Mournful Countenance") that Sancho Panza gives to Don Quixote in *Don Quixote I*, Chapter 19, Benito exposes "CALLAR TU LIBERTAD E FE E GLORIAS" ("TO SILENCE YOUR LIBERTY AND FAITH AND GLORIES"; 59)—which seems to this investigator an anagram best hidden from all readers, rather than just possible censors. Benito also argues that "El Caballero de los Leones" ("The Knight of the Lions"), a title earned by Don Quixote in the (mis)adventure of the Lions in *Don Quixote II*, Chapter 17, conceals the message "ES EL AÇOR DEL BLASÓN, LÉELO" ("IT IS THE GOSHAWK OF THE BLAZON, READ IT"; 70). Benito then explains that the anagram refers to the coat of arms on the frontispiece of the *princeps* edition of *Don Quixote* (see figure 3), which includes a hooded falcon (referred to by Benito as a goshawk). Benito then states that there is a four-word phrase which appears in the emblem, and that one should "LÉELO" ("READ IT") as the anagram commands. The words which circle the emblem are "POST TENEBRAS SPERO LUCEM" ("AFTER DARKNESS I HOPE FOR LIGHT"), about which Benito comments "Y el asombro

crece hasta el límite de lo prodigioso” (“And the astonishment grows to the limit of prodigiousness”; 70). Indeed.



Figure 3. Emblem from the frontispiece of the *princeps* edition of *Don Quixote I* (1605).

The most entertaining of Benito’s anagrammatical decryptions—and the one which not coincidentally has the least connection to any discernible text plot or logic—is the one he provides for the last title given Don Quixote in the novel, in the final chapter of *Don Quixote II*, after the would-be knight errant has recovered his sanity, and just before his death: “Alonso Quijano el Bueno.” The decoded message in this title, according to Benito, is “EL NO QUISO ABAJO UN LEÓN” (“HE DID NOT WANT TO BELOW A LION”; 118). Benito’s explanation of the significance of the anagram is rather unusual—first, he states that the “león” (“lion”) is the one who appears on the

bottom of the coat of arms of the frontispiece, which explains the “abajo” (“below”). Then, Benito explains that he is the same lion from the aforementioned (mis)adventure with the lions. Why? Because in that scene, when the lion keeper open the gate to the cage, the lion “no quiso” (“did not want”) to exit (118). Precisely why such an anagram would need to be encoded when all of the parts are on the literal and visual surface of the novel is not discussed. In considering this last unveiled secret missive, Santiago López Navia revels (tongue in cheek) in its manifestness, praising the fact that:

...de “Alonso Quijano el Bueno” desembocamos en una solución tan evidente y digna de consenso como “él no quiso abajo un león.” Casi nada. Y no dice que no es lo mismo tomar el sol en la puerta del metro que tomar el metro en la Puerta del Sol<sup>17</sup> porque no está tan claro, y para afirmar cosas discutibles ya estamos los demás. (335-36)

...from “Alonso Quijano el Bueno” we flow into a solution as evident and worthy of consensus as “he did not want to below a lion.” Obviously. And he doesn’t say that it is the same to sunbathe in the entrance to the subway

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<sup>17</sup> This line starting with “no es lo mismo” is a common joke form in Spanish (impossible to translate and maintain the humor), which breaks the elements of common words and rejoins them in a new order for comical effect—in a manner not terribly dissimilar to Benito’s last anagram—although the meaning is typically much clearer in these one-liners than in “él no quiso debajo un león.” An attempt to imitate the style of these jokes in English would be: “It’s not the same for her to sunbathe in Hollywood as if Holly would bathe her son.”

as to take the subway in Puerta del Sol because it is not so apparent, and to affirm debatable things, the rest of us are already here.

At the end of his 342-page tome, Benito expresses the hope that his words have not caused readers to nod off into a deep sleep, stating that his only hope had been “mantenerlos atentos en curiosa y grata vigilia” (“to keep them attentive and in a curious and pleasant vigil”; 342). At least in this goal, Benito is successful—in his study there is no shortage of rather “curious” theorizing that makes for pleasant and entertaining reading.

In what is likely one of the “most interesting” (McGaha “Is There” 174) of the modern readings categorized as esoteric by the majority of Cervantes scholars, 1966’s *Don Quichotte, prophète d’Israël*, Dominique Aubier connects several elements of *Don Quixote* with particularly Iberian versions of the Jewish Cabala. All told, Aubier has published over thirty books ranging in focus from *Don Quixote* to tourist guide books of Spain to tomes regarding the cosmic order of the universe. Benjamin Ivry informs that Aubier was born Marie-Louise Labiste, and “adopted her present name after joining the French Resistance” (1). According to Michael McGaha, Aubier has received two separate nominations for a Nobel Prize (174). However, this investigation turns up no corroborating evidence for either of those claims outside of the biography on Aubier’s personal website, and respected Cervantes biographer Jean Canavaggio cautions that Aubier is a “hoax” (*Don Quixote* 223).

As for critical reception of her ideas, the majority of Cervantes scholars, like Daniel Eisenberg, find her theories on *Don Quixote* “highly misleading” (“Teaching” 66). On the other hand, Wolski argues that her suggestions merit “further consideration” (27),

while McGaha suggests that the reason that Aubier's study has not had "a significant impact on Cervantes scholarship" is partly because it was not "written by an academic with specialized training in Cervantes studies" (174) and points out that there are some ideas worthy of consideration in Aubier's view of *Don Quixote* (175).

In summary, Aubier argues that Don Quixote as a character is a prototypical Jewish hero, and that *Don Quixote* is a call for religious tolerance among the the three principal religions of Spain—Christianity, Judaism, and Islam (233-34). Aubier argues that the text functions as a commentary of the *Zohar*, which itself ultimately functions as a commentary on the Bible (227). The evidence Aubier cites to begin her analysis is that, by her arguments, the Jews are the "people of the book," and Don Quixote is essentially trying to construct his own persona as if bringing a book to life (11).

In building her argument, Aubier claims that one of the primary tasks Cervantes took on and achieved was building a text which was the "primera en haber franqueado la barrera semántica entre una lengua sagrada y una lengua de utilidad" ("first in having traversed the semantic barrier between a sacred language and a language of utility"; 13). In doing so, Aubier continues, Cervantes created a text which was capable of prophesying the future, which it disguised in a manner that makes it difficult to decode in the modern day:

La historia del *Quijote* invoca una explicación 'en el futuro,' 'en el porvenir.' En función del 'golpe previsto,' del 'golpe organizado' que el Conocimiento ha montado en su plano, el del Absoluto, la obra de Cervantes reviste hoy su potencia irradiante y mensajera, intelectual y espiritualmente mesiánica. (13-14)

The story of the *Quixote* invokes an explanation ‘in the future,’ ‘in days to come,’ based on the ‘foreseen coup,’ on the ‘planned coup’ that Awareness has mounted on its plane, that of the Absolute, the work of Cervantes today cloaks its intellectually and spiritually messianic, irradiant, and message-bearing potential.

Later, Aubier deliberates about the scene of the burning of the books of *Don Quixote I*, Chapters 5-7, and focuses on one particular work titled *La Carolea*, which was sent to the flames without being discussed. As part of her analysis, she uses the time-honored approach of the esoteric critics—the anagrammatical methodology: “¿Qué relación puede existir entre el *Talmud* y la *Carolea*? ¿Caro-lea es el anagrama de lea caro, lee el Carro (en hebreo *Mercabah qrâ*)? El Carro es, efectivamente, una rama de estudios talmúdicos” (“What relationship could there be between the *Talmud* and *la Carolea*? Is *Carolea* the anagram of *lea caro* [‘read dear’], *lee el Carro* [‘read the Cart’] (in Hebrew *Mercabah qrâ*)? The Cart is, effectively, a branch of Talmudic studies”; 116).

Aubier next begins to analyze some of the names of *Don Quixote*, focusing most heavily on the name of protagonist. She correctly points out that he has several names in the course of the text, and focuses on Quixote, Quexana, Quixano, and Quixada, on separate lines, stacking them up vertically and aligned so the letter x approximately aligns on each word. Aubier then explains why she arranged these four different names in such a manner:

En el centro de los nombres, estas X forman como una columna vertebral.  
Vértebras encajadas unas dentro de las otras. Cada una de estas X une la

parte izquierda del nombre con la parte derecha. *Qui* con *ada* en Quixada. *Qui* con *ote* en Quixote. *Qui* con *ano* en Quixano. Se ve aparecer una izquierda y una derecha en los nombres del hidalgo. A la izquierda *qui* y *que*. A la derecha *ana*, *ada*, *ota* y *ano*. En cuanto a las sílabas terminales de Quexada y Quixana, leídas de abajo a arriba dan *nada*. Pero en hebreo *nada* es leído al revés *adán*. (206)

In the center of the names, these X's form a type of vertebral column. Vertebrae nested one within the other. Each one of these X's joins the left part of the name with the right part. *Qui* with *ada* in Quixada. *Qui* with *ote* in Quixote. *Qui* with *ano* in Quixano. One can see a right and a left appearing in the names of the *hidalgo*. On the left *qui* and *que*. On the right *ana*, *ada*, *ota* and *ano*. As far as the ending syllables of Quexada and Quixana, read from bottom to top they yield *nada* [“nothing”]. But in Hebrew *nada* is read in reverse *adán* [“Adam”].

Aubier goes on to ignore this *adán*, refocus on *nada*, which she analyses via San Juan de la Cruz, stating it corresponds to the birth of His Word, that it transforms into its opposite, which is *ani*, which she claims “significa yo soy, es decir Quixote” (“means I am, that is to say Quixote”; 206). As we begun the long analysis with “Quixote,” this investigator tends to agree with the conclusion that it ultimately means “Quixote.” However, with regards to the twisting and turning path along the way, the anonymous anagrammatical *adán* seems anomalous, while the *ano* and the *ani* nearly brought on an anoxic attack from anxiety about where the analysis might possibly “end.” Of course, as



Aubier explains, to fully understand *Don Quixote* (and her analysis of it), it is necessary “saber bajar y volver a subir por los signos simbólicos de las mutaciones jerarquizadas que constituyen el orden y el movimiento de este mundo” (“to know how to descend and ascend again via the symbolic signs of the hierarchical mutations which constitute the order and the movement of this world”; 227)—and only then is it possible “reconocer el lugar atribuido al *Quijote* en la sucesión de libros que miden la evolución paralela y enteramente cósmica del espíritu humano” (“to appreciate the place assigned to the *Quixote* in the succession of books which measure the parallel and entirely cosmic evolution of the human spirit”; 227). Despite some effort by this investigator to learn “how to descend and ascend again via the symbolic signs of the hierarchical mutations which constitute the order and the movement of this world,” in the end, the steps more typically followed in the current study proved significantly easier to scale, and therefore the visionary understanding of Mme. Aubier’s interpretation of *Don Quixote* remained elusive.

In the case of 1969’s *El Greco, personaje y autor secreto del Quijote: Estudio del “sustrato de creación” de la historia del ingenioso hidalgo* (“*El Greco, character and secret author of the Quixote: Study of the “Substrate of Creation” of the Story of the Ingenious Nobleman*”) by Guillem Morey Mora, the title truly summarizes the gist of the work—that El Greco, and not Cervantes, was the true author of *Don Quixote*—although Morey Mora occupies 375 pages to illuminate the viewer with the minutiae of the theory. Indeed, as Sylvie Kourim points out, from the very first pages Morey Mora states as fact his “thèse qu’il ne met jamais en doute et qui semble être une vérité éternelle” (“thesis that he never puts in doubt and which seems to be an eternal truth”; 266). As Morey Mora

explains when he is about to begin to share the evidence to support his ideas (apparently unnecessarily): “Vamos a conjugar una aparente hipótesis de estudio ensayístico, aun cuando manejamos datos enteramente documentales” (“We are going to put together an apparent hypothesis of an essayistic study, even while we are dealing with entirely documentary facts”; 15).

In a nutshell, in this book Morey Mora argues that Doménikos Theotokópoulos (aka El Greco) fell in love with “la mágica belleza” (“magic beauty”; 15) of a Moorish woman named Jerónima de las Cuevas soon after his move to Toledo. Morey Mora states that this romance grew into until it reached the level of a “sofisticada locura de extravagantes hechos” (“sophisticated madness of extravagant deeds”; 15). Jerónima, according to Morey Mora, is the real-life woman who inspired El Greco to paint her “con su inconfundible toquilla semítica que dice a claras su íntima religión” (“with her unmistakably Semitic shawl which states clearly her private religion”; 15). This woman is the equivalent to El Greco that Aldonza Lorenzo is to Don Quixote, a simple laborer girl who then by inventive madness becomes converted into a goddess-like Dulcinea in the imagination of El Greco (16). The madness that she inspired in El Greco, claims Morey Mora, drove him to behave much like Don Quixote in his lovesick frenzy, eventually causing him to write the story of his love in novel form (15-16).

Apparently, however, when the relationship ended, the artist could not bear to keep the record of his lost passion any longer, and “en su extravagante complejo de conciencia, decidió *perder* su propia obra hasta malvenderla en el baratillo del Alcaná de Toledo” (“in his extravagant complex of conscience, he decided *to lose* his own work to the point of selling it off cheaply in the street market of the Alcaná de Toledo”; 13).

Remarkably, Morey Mora later states that El Greco sent his son, Jorge Manuel, to the Alcaná de Toledo to sell the manuscripts because they contained dangerous reference to Inquisitorial personnel (41). Of course, this logically equates El Greco with the fictional Arabic author within the novel—Cide Hamete Benengeli—which Morey Mora clearly states (340). However, he also calls El Greco “el gran Quijote” (368), and asserts that the initials of Dulcinea del Toboso, “D.T.,” correspond to his own (Doménikos Theotokópoulos) because Dulcinea is simply his personal, idealized vision of Jerónima de las Cuevas (226)—which somehow confuses the point of which character is truly El Greco. Regardless, the theme to which Morey Mora most consistently returns is his claim that Cervantes purchased the book in manuscript form in the marketplace—“salvándole del fuego del Santo Oficio” (“saving it from the fire of the Holy office”; 72) and had them translated to Spanish, later completing the story (72-82).

As late as 2004, 35 years after the publication of *El Greco, personaje y autor secreto del Quijote*, Morey Mora was still asserting “la palpable existencia de los manuscritos arábigos” (“the palpable existence of the Arabic manuscripts”; 21) in a self-published pamphlet titled “El enigma literario de Cervantes.” In this study, Morey Mora defends Cervantes’s role in the composition of *Don Quixote*, arguing that the fact that he started his work based on the manuscripts of El Greco “de ningún modo empaña los valores cervantinos” (“in no way tarnishes the validity of Cervantes”; 2). Although Morey Mora dedicates the work to elucidating the ways in which Cervantes criticized the Inquisition between the lines of all of his works, citing *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda* and *Viaje al Parnaso* along the way, he never gives up the opportunity to state that “se ha concretado que el autor *cierto*” (“it has been established that the *true*

author”; 2) of a large portion of *Don Quixote* was the “autor arábigo” (“Arabic author”; 2), who was Cide Hamete Benengeli, who was, in turn, El Greco.

Despite all of the above, in *El Greco, personaje y autor secreto del Quijote* there are also a great deal of interesting discussions and comparisons of the histories of El Greco and Cervantes that certainly cause the reader to consider whether the two may have been personally acquainted. Also, there are several El Greco images quite intriguingly deliberated and linked to the text of *Don Quixote*—what essentially amounts to one of the earliest studies of *ekphrasis* in Cervantes’s novel (344-370). Regardless, with all theories presented in this study there is an important caveat—as Kourim puts it, “les délires de Monsieur Morey Mora sont inégalables. Il exagère, il triche!” (“the delusions of Mr. Morey Mora are incomparable. He exaggerates, he deceives!”; 266). It is quite true that when Morey Mora needs a convenient fact, he simply states it. Perhaps the better word is “invents.” Indeed, after a long silence in the world of print, Morey Mora returned in 2002 with a book co-authored by Mercedes Guasp Rovira titled *Yerros sobre cenizas de Gloria*—a fiction novel about a researcher named Alberto who discovers an El Greco painting under a repainted canvas, which leads him to find documents in the artist’s hand which prove to be the original manuscripts purchased by Cervantes that fateful day in the Alcaná de Toledo.

The back flap to *The Great Quixote Hoax or Why Wasn’t Cervantes Burned at the Stake?* by Caesar Johnson claims that “Caesar Johnson is not a conventional writer.” As this was a self-published work, it seems safe to assume that Johnson (a pen-name of Fred de Javanne, a psychologist and jazz musician) was well aware of this incontrovertible fact. The same text goes on to state that Johnson is “the only one in three and a half

centuries to decipher Cervantes' ingeniously coded masterpiece.” As this study has reviewed several (supposed) decryptions, it must be assumed that the author believes it is the first correct decipherment—a belief which in and of itself is certainly not a first. What is indeed new here is that Javanne is said here to have an ear which “has long been tuned” to “strange music” that “he says emanates from certain familiar great classics.” Of all the esoteric critics of *Don Quixote* reviewed in this chapter, this is the only one who admits to hearing things in the novels he analyzes.

One of the “new” decoded elements offered by Johnson is the name of Maritornes, the servant-prostitute who first appears in *Don Quixote I*, Chapter 16: “*Mari* is *Mary* (*Maria*) of course. How about *tornes*? *Tornes* is the *familiar* form of the subjunctive mood of the Spanish verb *tornar*. Dictionary definitions are: ‘to return; to turn; to change, alter.’ So *Maritornes* means *Mary thou returnest*” (39). This decryption is the same one offered by the also pseudonymous Polinous in our earlier discussion—however while the earlier esotericist claimed Maritornes represented the Catholic Church, Johnson claims she is a mockery of the Virgin Mary (40).

The Christian connections of names from *Don Quixote* is a common theme of Johnson's analysis—as is demonstrated by his discovery of the true identities of the Barber, the Priest, and Sansón Carrasco: “the Three Wise Men have appeared together, paralleling the Gospel” (94). Apparently Johnson did not bother to research his claim, or he might have learned that “the Bible does *not* say that three wise men—much less three *kings*” came to visit the newborn Jesus or had anything to do with the nativity story (Lang 18). Indeed, the wise men mentioned were never enumerated, and the number “three” only referred to the number of gifts (Lang 19). Of course, the popular myth of the three

wise men was also commonly believed in Golden Age Spain, and so it is at least arguable that Cervantes was also ill-informed.

Johnson argues that in the tradition of Unamuno's observation, Don Quixote represents Jesus Christ (66-70). The esoteric critic then also ventures into the popular area of attempts at deciphering the name of the protagonist of *Don Quixote*, which he suggests may derive from:

...a saying in Spanish: '*no saber ni jota*'—'to be completely ignorant of something.' Then *qui jote* could be a contraction of 'who was completely ignorant of something'—that something being the utter futility of Church Christianity in a worldly milieu. Such a name would be highly appropriate for the Knight's life-style. Then by substituting the *x* for *j* the pronunciation remains the same and the *name* is crucified right down the middle. (69)

Johnson connects this to one of the names provided in the text as being the possible surname of Don Quixote before he adopts the knightly moniker: Quesada. Johnson defends this idea by stating that because it is the one chosen of all of these by Unamuno, the esotericist "cannot quarrel with an edict that proceeds directly from out of the Kingdom of Heaven, from the unconscious *knowing* of a true poet" (68-69). Johnson then connects the name Quesada to the word "queso" ("cheese"), and states that this makes sense in the context of *Don Quixote* because "the essence of the Christ idea or *Christianity* is symbolized by *milk*—'the milk of human kindness'" (69). Further, Johnson links this to the scene in *Don Quixote* I, Chapter 17 in which the protagonist puts

on his helmet (which unknown to Don Quixote is full of cheese curds), and then believes that his brains are melting. Johnson claims that by means of this scene, “Cervantes is implying that the Church has soured this milk of human kindness—*curdled* it. This is a most moderate indictment of the cruel, hierarchical institution that turned the words of Jesus into torture and burning and Purgatory. Thus Quixote (*quesado*) is the *Curdled Christ*” (69).

One of the most unusual of the entries in this list comes from the academically prepared and respected scholar George Camamis—which certainly removes him from the category described by the *Gran enciclopedia cervantina*’s definition of esotericists as critics who “afectaron al cervantismo esporádicamente” (“affected Cervantism sporadically”; Tausiet 4264). But while Díaz de Benjumea and Fors also defied such a classification based on the longevity and quantity of their Cervantine output, Camamis’s case adds on the fact that he earned a Ph.D. from the City University of New York in Spanish Literature and made significant contributions to two separate areas of Cervantes studies—the first being research on the period during which the author of *Don Quixote* was held hostage after being captured by Turkish mercenaries, and the second, studies on *ekphrasis* and references to extratextual images in the works of Cervantes. Indeed, in what has become the definitive study of the captivity of Cervantes in Algiers (*Cervantes in Algiers: A Captive’s Tale*), María Antonia Garcés credits Camamis on several occasions for his contributions to the knowledge regarding the confinement of European hostages in North Africa during the age of Cervantes (16, 33, 48, 129, 150, 271). In regard to Camamis’s book on this same topic, titled *Estudios sobre el cautiverio en el Siglo de Oro* (“*Studies on Captivity in the Golden Age*”), Jack Weiner states that: “El

libro de Camamis es excelente, tanto por su esmerado análisis y grandes conocimientos sobre la materia, como por su lenguaje tan claro que facilita y anima la lectura. [...] Creo que el profesor Camamis ha hecho una contribución duradera al estudio de este tema tan apasionante.” (“Camamis’s book is excellent, as much for his painstaking analysis and great knowledge of the material, as for his very clear language which facilitates and enlivens the reading. [...] I believe that Professor Camamis has made a lasting contribution to the study of this very exciting topic”; 728). Ana María Gómez Laguna, a specialist on visuality in the work of Cervantes, thanks Camamis (among others) in the second sentence of her article concerning the use of imagery in *Coloquio de los perros* for the fact that “visual and pictorial component has also become a constitutive feature of Cervantes criticism, one that allows us to consider and explore the Cervantine works for what they are: fully embodied works of art” (“Bonfires” 23).

Despite all of his unquestionable contributions, however, in 1991 Camamis also wrote what is indisputably an esoteric interpretation of *Don Quixote*—titled *Beneath the Cloak of Cervantes: The Satanic Prose of Don Quixote de La Mancha*—and not just any such analysis, but rather one that Cervantes scholar James Iffland has called “uno de los textos críticos más divertidos y más alocados que he leído en mi vida” (“one of the most entertaining and most crazy critical texts I have read in my life”; 291-92). On the first page of the prologue of the book Camamis himself admits that “eleven scholarly journals on three continents and one archipelago refused to publish the first chapter of this book which I circulated as a separate article” (13)—apparently not indication enough for this intrepid critic to reconsider or rehone his work.



Camamis begins in a daring enough manner, with a prologue that echoes that of *Don Quixote*, complete with a conversation with a friend about how to compose it. Laura Gorfkle encapsulates the exchange: “Pen in hand, [Camamis] converses with a ‘friend’ over his tenure denial and consequent exclusion from the academic ranks. His friend assures him that his worries are unfounded. He is a seer and a prophet” (277). Next in this dialogue, Camamis frets that he has not quoted any of the “renowned *Cervantistas*; not even the names of the grave and titled personages that are the pride of our best universities here and abroad,” a comment to which the friend states that he could just pick up any scholarly journal dealing with the topic and “copy from the bibliography at the end all the names of the famous *Cervantistas*, starting, for example from Abramson or Allens [*sic*] and ending with Villanueva, or perhaps Zaney” (15). As Gorfkle summarizes it, the friend adds that “unlike his prestigious predecessors, [Camamis] alone has enough talent to decipher the text and therefore complete it” (277).

In truth, considering that Camamis had published such a great deal of significant work in the field, it is rather astounding that in the entire 537-page expanse of this work there are not even half the number of citations as in his shortest article. This lack of expert support does not prevent Camamis from making bold statements, however. Indeed, rather early on he claims that this work has “the redeeming grace of explaining exactly what Cervantes meant” (14)—and though in this instance it is in reference to Cervantes’s claim that he was the “stepfather” of Don Quixote, frighteningly similar assertions are made as to the author’s intentions without ever being couched in the slightest “words of

estimative probability”<sup>18</sup> to indicate the fact he could not know with certainty what the author was thinking when he wrote the book almost four centuries prior. Further, Camamis sees it as his duty to once and for all make the hidden message of Cervantes plain to the readers of *Don Quixote*:

We are now at a critical point. We must now rend Cervantes’ cloak and reveal the great mystery that it has covered for so many centuries. Let us do it boldly, I could almost say quixotically, without regard as to what pusillanimous critics might say. The moment is propitious; the time is now. (29)

His first assertion is that his initial estimation of what Don Quixote symbolizes — Jesus Christ—was incorrect, but that “he most certainly is a Christlike figure” (22-23). He argues that following the thread of Don Quixote as Christ was helpful in making some important connections, specifically because in truth he actually symbolizes the papacy—which ultimately serves as an extension of Christ in earthly form. However, while he represents the institution of the papacy, Don Quixote can also embody several different specific popes at different times towards the end of illustrating the papal tradition (24-31). In Camamis’s words, “Beneath the cloak of Cervantes we see a vicious, unrelenting

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<sup>18</sup> This was a concept developed by C.I.A. analyst Sherman Kent (“a principal father of the modern intelligence profession”; Harold P. Ford 25-26) assigning relative mathematical probabilities to estimative terms. Kent developed this for predictive purposes for assigning likelihood to possible future events, but it has also since been applied to determining probabilities regarding prior events and their players (Steury 133-46). Kent classified wordy analysts who preferred long statements as “poets,” and those who preferred hard numbers and percentages he labeled “mathematicians” (Steury 138).

satire of the papacy in which Cervantes shows no quarter in his unceasing efforts to lampoon the vicar of Christ as had never been done before” (29). Despite the fact that Camamis sees Don Quixote primarily as a pope figure with Christ-like elements, he also sees him as a representation of pope-condoned institutions—such as the Inquisition. Indeed, Camamis states that the reason for which Don Quixote receives the nickname “El Caballero de la Triste Figura” (“The Knight of the Mournful Countenance”) derives from the fact that “the mournful countenance has now become a picture of the dour, stern, and sad look of the Grand Inquisitor, or any inquisitor, as he sits on the tribunal facing the victim. Thus Don Quixote’s mournful countenance is that of an inquisitor in search of his prey” (421).

From his first deductions, it follows that in Sancho’s cycle of sleeping and waking we have the reign and death of each successive pope (29), that “Don Quixote mounted on Rocinante represents nothing less, and it could not be otherwise,<sup>19</sup> than the *Supreme Pontiff seated on the Chair of St. Peter* and holding the reins of the Holy See of the Roman Catholic Church (47), that Dulcinea represents Eve and the Roman Catholic Church all at once (36), that the niece of Don Quixote represents Lucretia Borgia—and all other illegitimate children of popes (because as the offspring of illicit affairs, they were often referred to as “nieces” or “nephews”; 43), that Juan Haldudo represents Martin Luther (119), and that the prostitutes at the first inn that Don Quixote mistakes for a castle represent the Cardinals at the Vatican (99).

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<sup>19</sup> Such a statement, from an intelligence analyst of the “poet” variety as specified by Sherman Kent, would indicate a 100% probability of fact.

In addition to the aforementioned symbolic-allegorical parallels provided by Camamis, he also applies other analytical techniques to his dissection of *Don Quixote*—and “su herramienta predilecta en esta compleja labor es la numerología” (“his favorite tool in the complex labor is numerology”; Iffland 296). As Iffland summarizes it, each chapter of *Don Quixote* represents one year, starting from the date of birth of Cervantes—but before this begins to sound too logical, Camamis also states that this corresponds to the reigns of Charles V and Phillip II, because simultaneously each week also represents a period of seven years. What? In the end, as Iffland puts it, “no podemos examinar todos los efectos de este terremoto hermenéutico” (“we can’t examine all the effects of this hermeneutic earthquake”; 296). Camamis applies similar numerological analyses (or rather, mathematical gymnastics) to the book burning scene of *Don Quixote I*, Chapters 5-7, and determines that the numbers of the books burned add up to the only possible coherent conclusion that Cervantes “está cometiendo el atrevido acto satánico de quemar todos los libros de la Biblia” (“is committing the insolent satanic act of burning all of the books of the Bible”; 197). He argues that the books of chivalry mentioned specifically by name represent the Old Testament, while those not directly named represent the New Testament (197).

From all of the above information, Camamis deduces that the prime instigator for Cervantes in writing *Don Quixote* was the trial and execution of Giordano Bruno by the Catholic Church. Camamis explains that Cervantes was first exposed to the philosophy of Bruno during his stay in the employ of Cardinal Acquaviva, and that Bruno’s ideas grew in Cervantes years later, when he was back in Spain and had learned of the prohibition against Bruno’s books. Then, Camamis claims, when Cervantes learns of the injustice

committed against one of his heroes, he is unable to remain silent and encodes a virulent attack against the papacy between the lines of his novel (499-526). One of the analytical tools applied by Camamis to the text of Cervantes's novel to the end of uncovering the aforementioned message is that old standby of Quixote esotericists, the anagram. As Camamis puts it:

[T]here is absolutely no doubt that Don Quixote is addressing Giordano Bruno himself; for when he asserts that Cardenio is living like a BRUTO ANIMAL ["Brutish animal"], we have another striking anagram that gives us BRUNO ALMA T. I. It is the type of anagram we have seen before, and shall see again, in which two or three leftover letters serve as initials and give a more complete expression of a basic truth. In this case, the initials stand for *Tormentado* and *Inquisición*, that is, ALMA DE BRUNO TORMENTADA POR LA INQUISICIÓN ["Soul of Bruno tormented by the Inquisition"]. (430)

Well stated, indeed—because despite this tome having been penned by a respected and academically trained Cervantes scholar, this is precisely the type of anagram we have seen before. It is rather impressive that from an 11-letter, 2-word expression uttered once about a secondary character in *Don Quixote I* Camamis is able to deduce a 37-letter, 7-word phrase which goes to the heart of the true meaning of the novel.

On the other hand, as humorous as much of this work (unintentionally) is, it is hard not to worry that Camamis may well have succumbed to a madness similar to that

suffered by Don Quixote himself—especially when he writes in the closing pages of his esoteric study:

Even now, as I write this, I feel that I am reliving the episode of the young Cervantes and Bruno as the Lord of Hearts and Regions, and that for me Cervantes has now become the Intellectual Sun and I myself the Moon-Disciple, the one who receives the splendor of his master's rays and reflects them over the entire sphere of the earth. And when I look up now to the starry heavens above, I see another luminary—the white star of hope that makes straight the paths of Truth, the star that has now become my master's *dulce esperanza*. (534)

As if this alone were not enough to make the reader question the sanity of the critic, Camamis then states that it is his hope that as long as no “apocalyptic catastrophe” happens in the course of the next thousand years, that “this child of my brain would go down in history, in the third millennium, as the *Third Quixote*” (534). If only he were joking, this would be hilarious. If only.

In 2003, Mather Walker published a web article on the site [www.sirbacon.org](http://www.sirbacon.org) titled “The ‘Madness’ of Don Quixote Eyed Awry” in which he asserts (as did his contemporary and fellow Sir Bacon member Francis Carr) that *Don Quixote* was not written by Cervantes but by British author Sir Francis Bacon. One of his primary pieces of evidence is the full title of the protagonist, Don Quixote de La Mancha—which Walker believes openly conceals clues which lead to Bacon:

"Ote" in French means "to hide", and "qui" means "who." In Spanish Don Quixote is Don Quijote. Is there anyone simple enough to think it is accident that Don Quijote de la Mancha makes perfect sense in French as "D'on qui j'ote de la Mancha", i.e. "Of one who I hide of the English channel"? In the English version the book has the title, "Don Quixote de la Mancha." This incorporates the "X", defined in Webster's New World Dictionary as "a person or thing unknown or unrevealed." The title is, "D'on qui "X" ote de la Mancha", i.e., "Of one ("X") who is hid of the English Channel." Who was this "One" of the English Channel who was hidden? We are told in Don Quixote that Cid Hamet Benengeli, the Arabian historian, is the real author of the book. Cid is a title in Spanish that equates with Sir or Lord. In French "et" means "and". "Ben" means "son of" in Hebrew, and engeli is obviously England. So we have "Sir Ham, and son of England". This is so transparent it is not even a veil. Sir Bacon, and son of England. (pars. 9-11)

Walker leaves no option for other possibilities, closing the argument incontestably.

Interestingly, however, the word "ôter," according to the *Collins Robert French College Dictionary* does not mean "to hide" under any of the several listed definitions. Rather, it means "to take off" or "to remove" (926).

The following year saw the publication of the full-length book by Walker's colleague Francis Carr titled *Who Wrote Don Quixote?* Here Carr expands the arguments and presents further evidence to support the theory of Francis Bacon's authorship of *Don Quixote*. Carr includes a similar argument for proof of a hidden British author within Don

Quixote's full title: "Don Quixote is indeed an odd name to choose for a Spanish hero. To a Frenchman, the name, if pronounced *Don Quixote*, sounds like *Don qui s'ôte*, the knight who hides himself, or *d'on qui s'ôte*, one who hides himself" (76). Beyond repeating Walker's error of translation for the word "ôter," Carr adds further errors of his own. Regardless, it is certainly curious that the colleagues share such similar explanations of the meaning of the name without crediting one another.

Carr states that there is an almost total lack of documentation tying Cervantes to the writing of *Don Quixote* (23-35). Carr argues that Francis Bacon was the original author, and that therefore the version of *Don Quixote* commonly thought to be the original was in reality Bacon's own Spanish translation of his English original—indeed, Carr also suggests that the person commonly recognized as the first English translator of the novel, Thomas Shelton, did not actually exist and that the name was merely a pseudonym used by Francis Bacon (46-54). Carr argues that it is not possible for Cervantes to have written *Don Quixote*, describing him as "persistently and barrenly unsuccessful" outside of the one novel written by Francis Bacon. He argues that even when "every effort is made to regard his work, however mediocre, in a favourable light" it simply does not meet the mark. Carr goes so far as to argue that even Cervantes's final work is pedestrian work of literature, slightly misquoting William Byron as having stated that "*Persiles* is emotionally feeble. It is a static, sluggish book"<sup>20</sup> (29). Further, he

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<sup>20</sup> The actual quote from Byron states: "With no real inner conflict to animate it, the *Persiles* is emotionally feeble, a piece of science fiction in which events, phenomena are more striking than the characters. All its whirlwind movement does not, paradoxically, save the *Persiles* from being a static, sluggish book" (517).



claims that there are several commonalities grammatically, lexically, and stylistically between the works of Shakespeare and the text of Cervantes's novel (at least the one that the present study considers to be the work of Cervantes)—and as the esotericist accepts as a given that Bacon authored all works credited to the author of *Hamlet*, he takes this as proof that Bacon also penned *Don Quixote* (128-166).

Carr also argues that the word “bacon” is one which appears inordinately often in the pages of *Don Quixote*, appearing as many as seven times in one 80-page stretch (154). Although this is true, it is also true that it only appears three additional times (beyond the seven mentions referred to by Carr) throughout the course of both volumes of the novel. Further, according to Michelle Hamilton, the inclusion of words referencing pork products was a commonly used tactic by the Crypto-Jews of Golden Age Spain to disguise their works in order to avoid Inquisitorial censorship—precisely because of how commonly consumed the meat was while also being one that was forbidden by the Semitic religions (172).

So who first developed the notion that Francis Bacon penned *Don Quixote* and not Cervantes? Although both of these authors write on the subject, neither one refers to their forefathers in this particular esoteric tradition. It turns out that within the Bacon community, most claim that the attribution of *Don Quixote* to Bacon was first made by Edwin Durning-Lawrence—as does Nieves Mathews when he writes that “the suggestion of Baconian authorship was first made by Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence” (543). Mathews also lists several articles and studies which followed during the next several years dedicated to the same topic (543). Durning-Lawrence first suggests this idea of Bacon as author of *Don Quixote* as an aside in his 1910 book *Bacon is Shake-Speare*. In

it, Durning-Lawrence claimed to have a copy of the 1612 English edition translated by Shelton, with corrections in the style of a galley proof by the hand of Bacon (55).

Durning-Lawrence delved further into this notion and supported his earlier assumption in the 1914 article “Did Bacon Write *Don Quixote*?” (170).

However, yet again credit was being withheld from a prior thinker who had truly (it seems) first claimed that Bacon wrote *Don Quixote*—Ignatius Donnelly. Donnelly was a lieutenant governor, a U.S. congressman and also a state senator from Minnesota who was widely considered to be a philosopher and who published books on Atlantis and Shakespearian cryptograms—and even helped found a “communal utopian village” called Nininger City (Morse-Kahn 21-23). In an 1898 newspaper interview with the *San Francisco Call* in regard to work he was doing for an upcoming book on cyphers in the literary works of Bacon, Donnelly stated: “There are, startling as it may seem, allusions to the great Spanish work, ‘Don Quixote,’ the author of which died in the same year as Shakespeare. These create a suspicion that this book, too, was from the brain of the same ubiquitous and universal genius, Francis Bacon” (“Bacon Wrote *Don Quixote*” 3).

Warren Hope and Kim Holston state of Donnelly with regard to this work which was published in 1900 as *The Cipher in the Play, and on the Tombstone* that “in it he argues that Bacon wrote *Don Quixote* (45). However, in the actual work in question, following his discovery of “cipher symbols” ending in the letters “OTE” on the tombstone of Shakespeare (which he believes were encrypted there by Bacon), Donnelly writes: “We seem to perceive evidences of much more than we have worked out: including a claim to the authorship of a great Spanish work, which has hitherto not been in anywise associated with the name of Francis Bacon” (87)—without specifically mentioning either Cervantes

or *Don Quixote* in the entire 372-page expanse of the book. It appears that between his interview in 1898 and the completion of the work Donnelly must have grown less confident in this aspect of his analysis by “cryptogram.”

Another recent esoteric reading of *Don Quixote* which asserts that Bacon was the true author is 2008’s *Don Quixote and the Brilliant Name of Fire: Qabalah, Tarot and Shakespeare in the Greatest Novel* written by Michael Buhagiar—whose training includes earning a Bachelor’s of Science in Biochemistry and currently works “in the book industry” in Australia, with one previous title to his credit—*Ugly Dick and the Goddess of Complete Being* (back cover). Buhagiar claims in reference to Bacon to be able to add to:

...the evidence for his authorship of *Don Quixote*: a litany of clues which cannot fail to alert the scholarly eye, if it be hunting in a truly objective and disinterested way, and a long series of more or less harmful hammer blows to the Cervantian position, to which the argument of the pages to come will add the final, irrefragable coup-de-grace. (20)

Buhagiar credits the foundational work in the area of Bacon’s authorship of *Don Quixote* done by Walker and Carr, and also acknowledges the early work done by Alfred Weber von Ebenhof in his “highly suggestive identification of Don Quixote himself with the English knight Sir Henry Lee” (20-21). However, in his 1917 book *Bacon-Shakespeare-Cervantes* Weber von Ebenhof does considerably more—stating directly that Bacon was “der wahre autor des *Don Quixote*” (“the true author of *Don Quixote*”; 241). Also curious is that while neither Walker nor Carr mention Donnelly in regards to

the notion of Bacon's authorship of *Don Quixote*, Buhagiar does indeed cite the nineteenth-century philosopher/politician—but only for his work on cryptograms which prove (according to Donnelly, Walker, and Carr) Bacon's authorship of Shakespeare's titles (43).

One of the more original of the interpretations made by Buhagiar regarding *Don Quixote* comes from his analysis of the scene of the enchanted bronze head from *Don Quixote II*, Chapters 62-63. As Buhagiar describes it:

This is of course a reference to the famed brazen head of Roger Bacon, which is itself an instance of the Sufi principle of the brazen (or golden) head as a symbol of enlightenment and self-realisation, the Reflective-Intellective power of the fully achieved human being who is intoxicated with Beauty. This is also the meaning it holds here: of the enlightened author—Qabalistically speaking, the Tiphareth—whose verbal expression is *Don Quixote*. (38)

Buhagiar reasons that just as the enchanted head in *Don Quixote* is not what it first seems on the literal plane, “that all is not as it seems, that there is a hidden voice making itself heard through the pretence of the visible author. The inference to be drawn is that this hidden author is, of course, Sir Francis Bacon” (38). Of course. Buhagiar also discusses the source of the voice heard in the (Bacon's) novel as a clue towards *Don Quixote's* true authorship:

The concealed voice is named here as the nephew of Don Antonio. A highly plausible construction to be placed on all of this is that he is in fact

a reference to Anthony Bacon, Francis' older brother. The naming of the hidden voice as the nephew's is therefore precise, for Francis was in truth, as the son of Queen Elizabeth and Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, who had been given out to the Bacons for adoption, not Anthony Bacon's brother at all; but rather he may more properly be considered his 'nephew' in the familiar-friendly rather than blood usage of that term. (38)

The sheer number of inaccuracies and stretches in this “plausible construction” require a short essay to address fully—suffice it to say that the name Antonio is a common one and may refer to other people of that name beyond Bacon's (presumed) brother; that there is no solid evidence of an affair between Queen Elizabeth and Robert Dudley (although it was a widely known rumor, even in Spain<sup>21</sup>); it is even less certain there were any offspring, and yet another ratio less likely that it was Francis Bacon; and, finally, the *Oxford English Dictionary* reports no such “familiar-friendly” usage of the word “nephew.”

Other interesting (and dubious) connections suggested by this esotericist include one between Sancho Panza's wife Theresa (who has two names in *Don Quixote*—Teresa and Juana) and Saint Theresa. Indeed, Buhagiar flatly claims of Sancho's wife that “her name is a reference to Saint Theresa, the famous self-styled sinner” (48). Likewise, Sancho's daughter (known variably as Sanchica, Mari Sancha, Marica, and Sancha

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<sup>21</sup> In 1587, a suspected British spy was caught in Spain. When questioned, he claimed he was Arthur Dudley, the illegitimate son of Queen Elizabeth and Robert Dudley, and in discussions with Philip II's English secretary even offered to side with Spain against the British Crown in future conflicts (81-82).

through the course of *Don Quixote*) is “her mother reborn (even as the Puritan subject is reborn into enlightenment)—is named Mary, for she will be the Goddess of the (Gnostic) Christ or Solomon-figure” (48). Despite these holy connections of the Panza family:

The devil of *Don Quixote* is Sancho Panza; yet the Don takes him with him, with promise of an island—finally, Bacon’s New Atlantis—to govern. And Sancho will indeed turn into a god, as signified by his new-found intoxication with proverbs and their wisdom: for the letter Yod, whose peshet value he bears, is yoked to Chokmah, the Sephirah of Wisdom. (58)

Of course, Buhagiar is also careful to point out that Rosicrucian works were of “striking relevance” to Bacon, especially after he faked his own death in 1626, and that all of this has important impact on *Don Quixote* (85). Gnosticism (19, 34, 48), the Cabala (14, 18, 24, 60-62), the Tarot (24, 49-73, 140-42), phallic symbols and unrestrained libidos (28, 44, 46, 64, 151), Freemasonry (28, 33 63-64, 134-35, 139), the Holy Grail (14) and even the *Lord of the Rings* (50) all play some role in the remainder of the analyses presented by Buhagiar—a difficult set of concepts to manage simultaneously, and this investigator still fails to see precisely how they connect to each other, and more importantly, how they connect to Bacon’s great novel *Don Quixote*.

In 2008, retired cardiologist Javier Alarcón Correa published the first of what would eventually be three books on *Don Quixote*, titled *Los tres Quichotes y vida de Cervantes*. On the very first page of his study, Alarcón Correa includes a short prologue which sets the tone of the analyses to follow. It begins thusly:

Lectores felices, empieza la escuela. Iremos directamente al texto del Quixote y que nos perdonen los cervantistas por no haberlos leído. Vamos a recorrer un camino nuevo, jamás hollado, y este es el motivo de que no citeamos a otros autores, a quienes respetamos. El honor de ser el descubridor de la cifra del Quixote y sus claves, es de un servidor y perdurará en los discípulos de esta escuela. Yo soy la voz que clama en el Quixote. (5)

Happy readers, school begins. We will go directly to the text of the *Quixote* and may the Cervantistas forgive us for not having read them. We are going to explore a new path, never trodden, and this is the reason that we will not quote other authors, whom we respect. The honor of being the discoverer of the cypher of the *Quixote* and its codes, is that of a servant and will endure in the disciples of this school. I am the voice that cries out in the *Quixote*.

Shortly after this introduction, the voice that cries out in the *Quixote* (aka Alarcón Correa) does a decryption of several of the key names in Cervantes's novel. Of central importance is the name of the protagonist, a topic into which Alarcón Correa certainly takes an untrodden path when he states: "Vamos a estudiar la génesis de la palabra Quixote y digamos que viene del nombre de la lengua del Inca, el Quichua." ("We are going to study the genesis of the word Quixote and say that it comes from the name of the language of the Incas, Quechua."; 21). From the name of the Andean indigenous language, Alarcón Correa explains that:

Cervantes debió pensar que el aumentativo *ote* sería burlesco y así quedó forjado el Quichote que decidió escribir con equis como Quixote, y manteniendo el sonido *che* del Quichua, que es prevalente. En Quichua no hay sonido equis, ni jota, ni ge. En nuestra escuela escribiremos pues Quixote, pero pronunciaremos Quichote porque así se deduce de la cifra y por tanto así lo quiso Cervantes. (22)

Cervantes must have thought that the augmentative *ote* would be burlesque and so the Quichote was forged, which he decided to write with an X, as Quixote, and maintaining the sound of the CH of Quechua, which is prevalent. In Quechua there is no X sound, nor J, nor G. So in our school we will write Quixote, but we will pronounce it Quichote, because like so the cypher is deduced, and therefore it was so that Cervantes wanted it.

After this logical elucidation, Alarcón Correa adds “decimos que Quixote es Don Quichua en honor a la lengua de los indios” (“we say that Quixote is Don Quechua in honor of the language of the Indians”; 22).

Later, after reminding the reader that “El nombre Quixote ya está descifrado” (“The name Quixote is already deciphered”; 36), Alarcón Correa takes on a larger chunk of the full title of the protagonist. He writes: “Vayamos ahora con la expresión completa: *Quixote Mancha = ix-e-M-ancha = Mexichana = Mexicana*” (“Let’s now take on the complete expression: *Quixote Mancha = ix-e-M-ancha = Mexichana = Mexicana*”; 36). Alarcón Correa then explains that with this cypher, Cervantes has been able to refer to the



two Viceroyalties of the New World—the Mexican and the Quechua (36). Interesting here is the choice of “*Quixote Mancha*” as a “complete expression”—one which never appears in *Don Quixote*. It seems rather fortunate for Alarcón Correa that he was so cleverly able to first identify this expression before engaging in his (creative) anagrammatical analysis which uses only 8 of the original 13 letters to arrive at the true encoded meaning.

Santiago López Navia, when faced with reviewing *Los tres Quichotes*, states that he believes that whoever may read his lines about the work will be overcome by “escándalo o de la risa, y es que no cabe reaccionar de otra manera antes tamaña fabulación” (“scandal or laughter, and it’s that there is no other fitting manner in which to react when faced with such colossal fabulation”; “Sinrazones” 334). Following his reaction to these qualities of Alarcón Correa’s investigation, López Navia then takes into account the esotericist’s admission of not having read the work of prior Cervantes scholars, something which he apparently finds particularly offensive:

Permítasenos una comparación muy didáctica, partiendo de que Alarcón Correa es médico, e imaginemos a un cervantista diciendo algo parecido a lo siguiente: ‘abriré consulta de cardiología y que me perdonen los cardiólogos por no haber estudiado medicina.’ Más allá de la *reductio ad absurdum* un punto exagerada, creo que será fácil apreciar la imprudencia. (“Sinrazones” 334)

Allow us a very didactic comparison, starting from the fact that Alarcón Correa is a doctor, and let’s imagine a Cervantista saying something

similar to the following: ‘I will open a cardiology practice and may the cardiologists forgive me for not having studied medicine.’ Beyond the slightly exaggerated *reductio ad absurdum*, I believe that it will be easy to perceive the imprudence.

While humorous, López Navia’s analogy is more than “slightly exaggerated” (it is one thing to opine on a work of fiction meant for the masses, another to operate on a patient’s heart), especially given his own earlier statement that “no me mueve la intención, ni mucho menos, de cuestionar la pertinencia” (“not in the least am I moved by the intention of questioning the pertinence”; 329) of esoteric readings of *Don Quixote*. He also states at that same time that the primary function of literature is to entertain (330), and that “cada cual tiene pleno derecho a escribir y a leer lo que le motive” (“everyone has the full right to write and to read whatever they may want”; 329), but finds the assumption that such interpretations are viable alternatives to “investigación científica”<sup>22</sup> (“scientific investigation”; 329) to be an “atrevimiento” (“audacity”), and such readings by authors devoid of formal training present “peligros” (“dangers”; 329) to be avoided. Thankfully, López Navia does not propose to negate the right to write of such lay authors of fiction as Miguel de Cervantes, who lacked formal training in his chosen field.

In Alarcón Correa’s 2009 investigation *Avellaneda es Cervantes. Quijote y Persiles son cifrados* (“*Avellaneda is Cervantes. Quijote and Persiles are encoded*”),<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> By this it is assumed López Navia means academic Cervantes studies.

<sup>23</sup> This work is (mercifully) the shortest of Alarcón Correa’s studies at 233 pages, while the previously discussed *Los tres Quijotes y vida de Cervantes* occupies 392 pages and 2013’s *Viaje a España con El Quijote y mucho más: Todo Cervantes descifrado y*

the esotericist explains that an important code is revealed in the tortures assigned to Sancho Panza in Chapter 69 of *Don Quixote II*. This scene is part of an elaborate spectacle at the estate of the Dukes in which a character identifying himself as Radamanto, a judge of the underworld proclaims what Sancho must undergo in order to revive Altisidora, who is playing dead at this point in the text: “¡Ea, ministros de esta casa, altos y bajos, grandes y chicos, acudid unos tras otros y sellad el rostro de Sancho con veinte y cuatro mamonas, y doce pellizcos y seis alfilerazos [en] brazos y lomos; que en esta ceremonia consiste la salud de Altisidora!” (“Hey now, ministers of this house, high and low, great and small, come one after the other and seal the face of Sancho with twenty-four smacks to the nose, and twelve pinches and six pinpricks on his arms and back; for the health of Altisidora is contingent on this ceremony!”; 2.69: 600-01).

Alarcón Correa explains that the “mamonas” (“smacks to the nose”) are secret Cervantine code for the diacritical marks used in old texts to indicate that the missing letter (either “m” or “n”) must be inserted in the reading—for example, “mũdo” should be read “mundo” (7-8). The esotericist argues that “alfilerazos” (“pin pricks”) refer to the “pins” of the letters themselves—for example the letter “a” is simply an “o” with a pin attached, while the letter “l” is defined by Alarcón Correa as “el alfiler largo por excelencia” (“the long pin par excellence”; 8). For the “pellizcos,” Alarcón Correa provides the following explanation:

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*documentado* (“*Voyage to Spain with the Quixote and Much More: All Cervantes Decyphered and Documented*”) encumbers 641.

Con la vocal *a* en cursiva, pellizcamos el alfiler y queda o. Pellizcamos la o por un lado y queda c, por arriba y queda u. Con la vocal e pellizcamos la rayita y queda c. Si cerramos con la rayita queda o. Si quitamos un arco de m queda n. Si basculamos n queda u y viceversa. Si pellizcamos el alfiler alto de h y lo colocamos sobre la n obtenemos ñ. Con las mayúsculas hacemos los mismos pellizcos. Así conseguimos V = A, // T = L, // M = V, // L = I. (8)

With the vowel *a* in cursive, we pinch the pin and we have o. We pinch the o on one side and we have c, from above and we have u. With the vowel e we pinch the little line and we have c. If we close it with a little line we have o. If we take out an arc from m we get n. If we swing n we get u and viceversa. If we pinch the high pin of h and we put it above the n we get ñ. With the capitals we do the same pinches. Like so, we obtain V = A, // T = L, // M = V, // L = I.

While the reasoning within the explanation seems clear enough when limited strictly to the visual appearance of the letters, the connection of this with the torments assigned to Sancho is of a logic so fuzzy it's wooly. Regardless, Alarcón uses this justification to apply any combination of “pellizcos,” “mamonas,” and “alfileres” in concert with anagrammatical operations and disappearing letters to virtually any word or phrase in the text to arrive at supposedly specific hidden meanings within *Don Quixote*—although by

using his methodology the number of possible outcomes seem close to infinite.<sup>24</sup> Just one example of Alarcón Correa's system follows, this one from *Viaje a España con El Quixote y mucho más: Todo Cervantes descifrado y documentado*. Here, the esotericist examines the words "renombre de valiente" ("renowned as valiant"; 1.prel.poems: 106) from the preliminary poem from Amadís de Gaula to Don Quixote:

Cervantes manco. Tomamos la mayúscula del verso y las palabras *renombre de valiente*. Sacamos el callo *re-nomb-re* y pellizcamos la partícula *re = rc*. Ahora jugamos con *rc-valiente = rc-va-ente = Cervante-*, a falta de la letra *ese* final. Este es el prototipo de una larga lista de Cervantes incompletos, faltos de la letra *ese* final, que están así cifrados mancos para darnos una gran sorpresa en el lecho de muerte de don Quixote. (76)

Cervantes one-armed. Let's take the capital of the verse and the words *renombre de valiente*. Let's remove the callous *re-nomb-re* and pinch the particle *re = rc*. Now let's play with *rc-valiente = rc-va-ente = Cervante-*, missing the final letter *s*. This is the prototype of a long list of incomplete Cervanteses, missing the final letter *s*, which are encoded one-armed like so in order to surprise us greatly on the death bed of Don Quixote.

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<sup>24</sup> This recalls the words of Sansón Carrasco (himself quoting Ecclesiastes 1:15 of the Vulgate Bible) regarding the large numbers of fans of *Don Quixote I*: "*Stultorum infinitus est numerus*" ("*The number of idiots is infinite*"; 2.3: 59).

First, Alarcón Correa has thrown out 10 of the 18 original letters of the quite mysteriously chosen three words from the seemingly haphazardly chosen poem. Then, of the remaining 8 he has “pinched” off the stem of the letter “e” so that it would be a “c,” and finally he has made the “c” a capital letter, as there was one at the beginning of the poem (on the first word of the first line, 11 lines prior).

In *Viaje a España* alone, Alarcón Correa applies similar methodologies to unveil the fact that on his death bed Don Quixote calls for Nostradamus (439), that Cervantes intends to compare Sancho Panza to the Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros (439), that Cervantes is Avellaneda (500), that the face of Don Quixote is visible on a sculpture in a church in Sigüenza (517), that a certain Gastón de Corella committed the murder of Gaspar de Ezpeleta in front of the Cervantes home—a crime for which Cervantes himself was initially questioned, and almost countless more amazing revelations. Despite all of these spectacular pieces of information, Alarcón Correa argues that *Don Quixote* is not widely read, and will continue to be less so because “tiene un language anticuado. Hay capítulos y aventuras y novelas que no presentan ningún interés para el lector actual. Habría que pasar por encima de ellas leyendo en diagonal.” (“has antiquated language. There are chapters and adventures and novellas that present no interest to a modern reader. One should pass them over reading diagonally.”; 23). The esotericist argues that when they are decoded using his methodology, some of the readings from Cervantes’s novel greatly increase in beauty (22). Alarcón Correa concludes his studies by expressing the hope and expectation that this previously unseen beauty in Cervantes’s novel—now unveiled by his own esoteric study—will encourage an increase in the readership of *Don Quixote* (23).

In 2012's *El misterio de Don Quijote*, Russian reporter and engineer Tatiana Buslova first makes a case for the Order of the Freemasons as a prohibited sect in Inquisitorial Spain (17-25), then claims to prove that Miguel de Cervantes was a member of the order by showing similarities between some scenes of *Don Quixote* and a few of the secret rites of the Freemasons (25-29). The principal scene on which Buslova focuses her examination is from *Don Quixote I*, Chapter 3, when Don Quixote convinces the innkeeper to dub him a knight following a night of standing vigil over his arms in the “chapel” of the inn that the protagonist has confused for a castle. Buslova compares the rite of the Freemasons and the scene from the novel as follows:

La iniciación de Don Quijote se parece mucho al rito de la iniciación al primer grado de la Orden de los francmasones. Durante esta ceremonia, que realmente pasaba por la noche, la persona iniciada se quitaba la ropa (en la novela es el armazón) y cerca de un ataúd vacío (una pila en la novela) se representaba, en cierto modo, un espectáculo en el que estallaba una batalla encarnizada en la que unos asistentes se oponían a admitir en la Orden al nuevo hermano (en la novela son unos arrieros) y otros luchaban por él (de parte de Don Quijote se puso el amo de la venta). Al final del ‘espectáculo’ el neófito se arrodillaba (también como Don Quijote), y después de darle tres veces con el plano de una espada, el neófito juraba, poniendo la mano sobre el evangelio (en la novela es un libro en el que el amo de la venta asentaba la paja y cebada que daba a los arrieros) y le entregaban la espada. (29)

The initiation of Don Quixote is very similar to the rite of initiation to the First Degree of the Order of the Freemasons. During this ceremony, which really took place at night, the initiated person would remove their clothes (in the novel it is the suit of armor) and near an empty coffin (a trough in the novel) was represented, in a certain way, a performance in which a fierce battle would break out in which a few attendees would oppose the admission of the new brother into the Order (in the novel they are a few muleteers) and others would fight for him (the innkeeper took Don Quixote's side). At the end of the performance, the 'neophyte' would kneel (also like Don Quixote), and after striking him three times with the broad side of a sword, the neophyte would take an oath, putting his hand on the Gospel (in the novel it is a ledger in which the innkeeper kept the record of the straw and feed he supplied to the muleteers) and they would give him the sword.

While it is certainly interesting that the dubbing described in *Don Quixote* bears so much similarity to the rite of initiation of the Freemasons as described by Buslova, it is most likely due to a common precedent – the traditional dubbing ceremonies of medieval knights. For while Mancing calls the scene from Cervantes's novel a "burlesque dubbing ceremony" (*Chivalric* 41), and Close calls the event a "grotesque travesty of that sacrosanct ritual" (*Companion* 33), both agree with Martín Riquer's conclusion that the dubbing of Don Quixote functions as a comedic parody of the same solemn act as it is performed in several of the same books of chivalry that Don Quixote claims as his inspiration (*Para leer* 127-30).



As far as concerns the other part of Buslova's claim, that the Freemasons were a persecuted sect in Spain during the period of the Inquisition, there is ample evidence to support her claim. Indeed, many instances of repression of Freemason gatherings and lodges are detailed in the records of the Spanish Inquisition (Llorente 526). However, Buslova's theory does suffer a problem of anachronism when one considers that the first volume of *Don Quixote* was published in 1605 – according to a study of the origins of the Order in Spain, the first organized groups of Freemasons did not gather in Spain until 1728 (Ferrer Benimeli 49). Further, the publication of the Papal bull condemning the practice of Freemasonry by the Spanish Inquisition did not occur until 1738, and the Royal Edict against the Order by King Felipe V was not issued until 1740 (77). Eventually, the official prohibition of Freemasonry by the Holy Office of the Inquisition entirely banned membership in the Order in 1748, with violators to be punishable by death for taking part in congregations that were “perversas, reprobadas y contrarias a la pureza de la Santa Fe” (“perverse, reprobate, and contrary to the purity of the Holy Faith”: 83).

Beyond the esoteric studies discussed above, there also exist several others which have not been reviewed here in detail. One of these is *El Quijote oculto: La cueva de Montesinos develada*, published in 1982 by Pedro Landestoy Duluc, but penned in its majority by his father Pedro Landestoy Garrido prior to his death in 1969. This study is a detailed examination of the adventure of the Cave of Montesinos, from Chapters 22 and 23 of *Don Quixote II*, which concludes that Cervantes's novel is a Masonic message declaring the author's heretical adherence to this sect in opposition to the Inquisition. The prologue by Rafael Robles Inocencio states that had many foregone Cervantes scholars

such as “Unamuno, José María Asencio [*sic*], Angel [*sic*] Ganivet y otros no menos ilustrados, hubieran develado el mensaje esotérico de la Cueva de Montesinos, *El Quijote* no fuera la piedra angular de la literatura castellana” (“Unamuno, José María Asencio, Ángel Ganivet and others no less illustrious unveiled the esoteric message of the Cave of Montesinos, the *Quixote* would not be the cornerstone of Spanish literature”; 8). The premise here and throughout the study is that the Catholic Church would have destroyed the book and the careers of any scholar who exposed its Masonic content—even up to the lifetime of Miguel de Unamuno. Fortunately, according to Robles Inocencio, “la lámpara que enciende este libro” (“the lamp lit by this book”<sup>25</sup>; 11) will light the way to truer and more lucid interpretations.

Another of these studies is the 830-page monolith to esotericism in Cervantine studies by L.G. Hortigón titled *El Caballero del verde gabán*. In this examination, Hortigón claims to have found the real-life inspiration for the titular character from *Don Quixote* in contemporary of Cervantes named Rui González Quijada. Indeed, by page 13 he states that his original suspicion of this connection “quedó ampliamente confirmada” (“was amply confirmed”). After opening with this thesis (presented as absolute fact by this esotericist), Hortigón goes on to assert that the same Rui González Quijada was also the inspiration for Don Quixote. Hortigón then also claims that Cervantes was Don Quixote, however, which seems to suggest that Cervantes and González Quijada were the same person (while both are also Don Quixote and El Caballero del Verde Gabán,

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<sup>25</sup> While this seems to be the intended meaning of these words, they could also be interpreted as “the lamp which sets this book on fire”—which may well be more likely to illuminate a path to more lucid analyses of *Don Quixote* than this one.

resulting in four names for the same character, according to Hortigón)—a rather thorny and confusing state of affairs which the esotericist never addresses nor attempts to explain.

Better known for his works on Satanism, Santiago Camacho Hidalgo has also penned a pair of articles on Cervantes's novel which have appeared in the popular occult magazine *Más allá de la Ciencia*. Camacho Hidalgo offers little more than a recap of some of the previously mentioned esoteric readings of *Don Quixote* without crediting any of the original critics.

Throughout the corpus of his esoteric scholarship on Cervantes, Federico Ortés explores the possibility that *Don Quixote* is based on the biography by Pedro de Ribadeneyra of Ignacio de Loyola, the founder of the Jesuit Order. The body of Ortés's investigations into this topic is no mean one—it includes several articles, a dedicated website and a total of five full-length books, most significantly his 689-page opus *El triunfo de Don Quijote: Cervantes y la Compañía de Jesús: Un mensaje cifrado*, published in 2002. While the possibility of references to knight-cum-theologian Ignacio de Loyola is an interesting one—and indeed, one which had been explored by Miguel de Unamuno 90 years before in his *Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho* (21)—Ortés insists that all of Don Quixote's adventures can be explained by such an association and that Cervantes's intention was specifically to portray his knight as a hero to honor the memory of the theologian. Ortés even suggests that Cervantes used the name “Quixote” for his protagonist as a reference to a thigh injury suffered by Ignacio de Loyola, as the

literal meaning of the word “quijote” in the era of Cervantes referred to a piece of thigh armor (*El triunfo* 94).<sup>26</sup>

Pere Sánchez Ferré, who according to the back cover of *El caballero del oro fino: Cábala y alquimia en el Quijote* is the vice-president of the Centro de Estudios Históricos de la Masonería Española (“Center of Historical Studies of the Spanish Masons”), argues that Cervantes’s entire novel is a hermetic one. Sánchez Ferré claims that the true message that Cervantes wished to communicate with his novel *Don Quixote* is written between the lines and encoded using ancient rules of the Cabbala, and is one that discusses deep cabbalistic knowledge and alchemical secrets.

Although the work of esotericist Leandro Rodríguez initially generated interest among some Cervantes scholars following conference appearances in the late 1970s by the then-professor of International Law at the University of Geneva, the eventual publication in book form of his research was widely considered “a big disappointment” (McGaha 178). Since then, Rodríguez has published 15 titles, including 6 full-length books, all of which begin with the premise that Cervantes was born not of Catholics in Alcalá de Henares, but to a Jewish family in the village of Cervantes in the *comarca* of Sanabria, which is within the province of León. Rodríguez cites the use of language in *Don Quixote* which he asserts is evidence of this Leonese origin of the author and of his

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<sup>26</sup> Not surprisingly, Ortés’s work has not received a positive reception in academic Cervantes studies. Not one to leave well enough alone, Ortés responded by penning a 289-page book titled *Cronicón quijtesco* (“*The Quixotic Chronicle*”) describing his quixotic efforts to have scholars such as Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce and Helena Percas de Ponseti take his work seriously to no avail (50-72, 99-100, 106-108, 120, 139).

Crypto-Judaism. McGaha sums up this esotericist's corpus best when he states that Rodríguez's deductions are of "very little substance" (178).

Marketing expert César Brandariz Escudero, who can claim degrees in business and law, has also dedicated three book-length studies to the notion that Cervantes is not from Alcalá de Henares but from the same village named Cervantes indicated by Leandro Rodríguez. Brandariz Escudero further argues that Don Quixote is also actually from León, and that the reference to the region of La Mancha in *Don Quixote* is simply wordplay meant to refer to the literal meaning of the word "mancha" ("stain"), in reference to the Jewish bloodline of the people of the village. While the vast majority of the arguments of Rodríguez and Brandariz Escudero are not accepted by most Cervantes scholars, the points that both make with regard to the questionable nature of the document supposedly confirming Cervantes's baptism in Alcalá de Henares have been recognized as worthy of consideration (McGaha 178, Sliwa *Vida* 220).

In *Don Quijote de la Mancha, el Libro del Esplendor*, Hermenegildo Fuentes Gutiérrez takes a cue from fellow esotericist Dominique Aubier in suggesting that Cervantes's novel is a cabbalistic work in code, and insists that the decryption of *Don Quixote* simply reveals the *Zohar* re-written in Spanish (Aubier had argued previously that the novel was a commentary on the *Zohar*). Fuentes Gutiérrez, like Rodríguez and Brandariz Escudero, also defends the notions that the author of *Don Quixote* hailed from the village of Cervantes in the province of León, descended from a Jewish bloodline, and lived as a Crypto-Jew. Among the additional evidence Fuentes Gutiérrez presents to support his thesis, he calculates what he calls the "valor numérico" ("numerical value"; 133) of the name "Don Quijote de la Mancha," giving a value of "9" to the "Don

Quijote” and a matching value to “de la Mancha”—which Fuentes Gutiérrez states presents balance, and matches the number of letters in the name itself, which in turn signifies “la síntesis del Bien y del Mal” (“the synthesis of Good and Evil”; 132) and indicates that Don Quixote is an incarnation “del hombre que aspira a su regeneración” (“of the man who aspires to his regeneration”; 132). Curiously, the esotericist makes this calculation using the modern Spanish spelling “Quijote,” rather than the original “Quixote” used by Cervantes.

In *Los refranes esotéricos del Quijote*, Julio Peradejordi makes a similar claim to that of Fuentes Gutiérrez—that *Don Quixote* is essentially a re-writing of the *Zohar* in code. Where Peradejordi differs from Fuentes Gutiérrez is with regard to the methodology—this esotericist argues that Cervantes employed sayings and maxims which can be interpreted to have double meanings when considered in the light of the teachings of the Cabala, and that by considering all of these expressions as a whole, *Don Quixote* ultimately reveals itself to be a mere vehicle for the delivery of the sacred Jewish text.

In 2014, Santiago Trancón Pérez published *Huellas judías y leonesas en el Quijote: Redescubrir a Cervantes*, in which he defends and expands upon the notion discussed earlier that Cervantes and Don Quixote likewise were from the mountains of León and not La Mancha. Trancón Pérez, who has a doctorate in Hispanic Philology, has published several articles and books on various literary subjects. *Huellas judías* is the author’s first work in Cervantes studies, and he warns that to be able to fully understand the real message of *Don Quixote*, “es preciso leer el texto sin los prejuicios o prevenciones academicistas” (“it is necessary to read the text without the academic

prejudices and apprehensions”; 31). Trancón Pérez claims that these beliefs regarding Cervantes and his novel in the world of academia lead the reader afield from the true meaning of the work, because established scholarship is ignorant of the fact that *Don Quixote* “exige una actitud colaboradora, creativa y siempre inteligente por parte de sus lectores” (“demands a collaborative, creative and always intelligent attitude on the part of its readers”; 31). Although Trancón Pérez states that it is “casi imposible” (“almost impossible”; 25) to uncover which part of the novel reveals the true “voz del autor” (“voice of the author”; 25), he nonetheless claims to show “el judaísmo encubierto” (“the hidden Judaism”, 27) of the novel along with the critical and social intention of Cervantes, both of which contribute to offering a new discourse with regard to *Don Quixote* which is “mucho más atractiva y enriquecedora” (“much more attractive and enriching”; 27) than what has existed heretofore. Despite this claim, however, Trancón Pérez at one point claims that one of the primary objectives of Cervantes throughout his life was that he did not wish to make known his Jewish/Converso heritage, and that therefore “él encubrió casi todo lo referente a su origen y sus vínculos con el judaísmo” (“he covered up almost everything connected to his origin and his connections with Judaism”; 261), yet at another point claims that Cervantes purposely describes both Don Quixote and himself at the outset of *Don Quixote* and *Novelas Ejemplares*, respectively, in terms in which “cualquier lector de la época vería en esta descripción una alusión y una referencia al origen judío, tanto de Cervantes como de don Quijote” (“any reader of the era would see in this description an allusion and a reference to the Jewish origin of Cervantes and of Don Quixote, as well”; 31). So was Cervantes advertising his Jewish heritage or hiding it? This sort of inconsistency, along with Trancón Pérez’s conscious

and overt choice to ignore the vast majority of Cervantes scholarship, and to only very occasionally and selectively include a mixture of esoteric and “soft” criticism to support his claims weaken even some of his more interesting points.

As this chapter easily demonstrates, there has been no shortage of esoteric readings of Cervantes’s novel. Perhaps *Don Quixote*, with its protagonist who loses his mind in his books, is a logical inspiration for those who are prone to fantastic confabulations or have a proclivity for spurious exegeses. Very occasionally, even the wildest of these esotericists manage to hit the mark—if only by accident—and when they do not, the results can be rather comical. Yet while such readings can be almost incomparably entertaining—as Iffland indicates when he states that “no puedo hacer justicia a la cantidad y calidad de las carcajadas” (“I can’t do justice to the quantity and quality of the guffaws”; 303) provoked by having read one of such studies—Rodríguez Marín considers the history of such readings with what seems to approach bitterness. He colorfully recalls a moment of reflection on the history of esoteric readings (up until his own time) after first having been exposed to the theories of Atanasio Rivero on that fateful night in his own foyer:

[P]asaron por mi memoria, uno por uno, los muchos sujetos, entre embaucadores y visionarios, que gastaron una parte de su vida en enturbiar y corromper con la basura de sus invenciones ó vanos ensueños las puras aguas de la verdad histórica en todo lo que toca á Cervantes y á sus escritos. (Apócrifo 21)



[O]ne by one, they passed through my memory, the many individuals, among them swindlers and visionaries, who spent a part of their life muddying and corrupting with the trash of their inventions or vain fantasies the pure waters of the historical truth in all that regards Cervantes and his writings.

In the case of either extreme reaction to the exegeses in question, it is clear that the critics have fallen far from their intended marks.

As we have also seen in this chapter, the readings of *Don Quixote* commonly labeled “esoteric” are, plainly speaking, those which suffer from exegetical excesses. Such exorbitance comes in many forms, but likely the most dooming factor is a lack of textual and contextual support. Further, the methodologies utilized in arriving at these analytical conclusions are not, as they must be, both pertinent to the subject matter and adequately described. As Ludovic Osterc summarizes some of the shortcomings of these readings:

[L]a gran mayoría de sus conclusiones son del todo acientíficas y arbitrarias, ya que sus autores veían en la obra sinnúmero de misterios y magias, que había que descifrar como una cifra o un logogrifo. El Quijote se parecería a algo como jeroglíficos egipcios; cada nombre y cada personaje del libro constituiría un símbolo, alegoría o personificación de determinadas ideas que Cervantes tenía del mundo y su tiempo. (15)

[T]he great majority of their conclusions are completely unscientific and arbitrary, since their authors would see countless mysteries and magic

tricks in the work which had to be deciphered like a code or a word puzzle. The Quixote would seem like something such as Egyptian hieroglyphics; each name and each character of the book would constitute a symbol, allegory or personification of particular ideas that Cervantes had of the world and his time.

Does this somehow imply that any and all references to anagrams or acrostics automatically implies exegetical excess? Not at all—in fact, with regard to names, Verdun-Louis Saulnier argues that in the sixteenth-century “on aurait tort de ne voir dans l’anagramme sur les noms propres qu’une sorte de jeu de société” (“one would be wrong to not see a sort of societal game within the anagrams of proper names”; 27). Indeed, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz famously entered a poetry contest under the name Juan Sáenz del Cauri (Schmidhuber de la Mora 117)—a perfect anagram of her name which also disguised her identity behind a male name to escape gender bias by the judges. François Rigolot specifically refers to books of chivalry when he argues that anagrams were a typical recourse in narratives of fiction which encouraged the reader to distinguish between the narrative voice and that of the author, and further induced the reader to engage in detective-like investigatory methods to uncover other layers of meaning (83-84). Rigolot even cites the 1561 writer’s manifesto *La defense et illustration* by Joachim du Bellay as encouraging the use of wordplay in the form of anagrams and acrostics (23). Donald Perret sums up the situation with writers of the period most succinctly, stating that “anagrams are not unusual for poets of the period” (101).

But is it legitimate to assume that Cervantes would have wished to play with his readers in such a manner? As it turns out, the author himself states in the prologue to

*Novelas ejemplares* that “Mi intento ha sido poner en la plaza de nuestra república una mesa de trucos donde cada uno pueda llegar a entretenerse” (“Mi intention has been to put in the plaza of our republic a table of tricks where everyone can come to be entertained”; 1:prol.52). As can be seen here, on the immediate surface Cervantes compares his text to a game—an indication that he could well be playing the anagrammatical and acrostical games so typical of his time. Indeed, Cervantes plays some of these games at the very beginning and on the surface of the novel—as he does when he names the giant Don Quixote imagines defeating in Don Quixote I, Chapter 1 “Caraculiambro”—a name which combines “cara” (“face”) and “culo” (“ass”) “both” (“ambos”) in one name (Pozuelo Yvancos 72).

Also in the first chapter of the first volume, the name Rocinante is obviously composed of the parts “rocín” (“nag”) and “antes” (“before”)—as Cervantes himself makes obvious by including the two separate words within the same sentence in which the Don Quixote’s horse is named (Carroll B. Johnson *Don Quixote* 42). Beyond this, after the would-be knight invents these names as well as his own and that of Dulcinea, the narrator informs us that each one of the names Don Quixote has assigned is “músico y peregrino y significativo” (“musical and unusual and meaningful”; 1.1:119)—which is practically an invitation to the reader to decipher the meaning of all the names encountered in the novel, especially given both of these examples appear in the very first chapter of the novel. Further, Cervantes’s obvious games with words—even in the “cabo roto” (“truncated verses”) found in the preliminary poems—only add further substance to the argument that second meanings may be contained within the names and words in the text of *Don Quixote*.

While it may be appropriate to consider the possibility of second meanings in the novel (as Cervantes himself hints in the aforementioned examples), it is of the utmost importance to always be cognizant of what is literally expressed as compared to what one may exegetically infer is being insinuated. To ever arrive at the statement that what may be implied by a text is undeniably the truth of that work is always erroneous—and this is precisely one of the recurrent transgressions of the esotericists reviewed here.

Another tendency seen in the majority of these writers is that of viewing all analytical possibilities in terms of strict binaries—for instance, to many of the esotericists the text is either comic or it has a deeper level of intentionality. However, a work as complex and successful as *Don Quixote* could not possibly work unless the literal level of narration functions as a prerequisite to any second layer of meaning. Dividing interpretive possibilities into the two camps of “correct” (usually claimed as “mine” by such critics) and “incorrect” is reductionist, and ultimately short-sighted (black and white) in a world better described by shades of gray, if not in full-color.

Further, the tools employed in such an investigation should not be applied haphazardly—almost any anagram can be created given a sufficient number of letters. This leads to the truth that such analyses are limited in utility—especially if several unusual spellings must be incorporated, or additional letters added and others removed. Even more significantly, it makes absolutely no sense to choose random isolated words of minor significance and subject them to indiscriminate rearrangements in the hopes of revealing undiscovered holistic truths about a literary work. In the case of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, the anagram was perfect—and the encoded name cloaked a real name for a

logical reason in the historical, temporal and geographical context of the author of the work in question.

In the coming chapters, such possibilities are discussed for elucidating potential sources and meanings of names through an investigation which incorporates considerations of social and historical context, visual perception and cognitive function based on current scientific knowledge, as well as biographical data on the life of Cervantes that has been scrutinized and accepted by the most respected scholars in the field. It is the goal of this investigator to carefully avoid the pitfalls which negated the potential validity of the analyses presented in the current chapter.

PART II: PERSECUTION AND THE ART OF SUBVERSION

CHAPTER 4.<sup>27</sup> INVESTIGATING *DON QUIXOTE* WITH THEORY OF MIND: THE CASE OF THE KNIGHT ERRANT AND THE BANNED BIBLE

To structure an academic study as if it were a detective story is certainly unorthodox—although much the same could be said of analyzing literature using a theory of mind approach, while a cabal of other varieties of literary criticism reign supreme. However, if one wishes to uncover significant new information in a work such as *Don Quixote*—a work so extensively studied that a complete bibliography of its criticism looks like the catalog of an entire library in and of itself—then perhaps precisely such an unconventional *modus operandi* is just what Dr. Watson ordered. Regardless, no matter how many advances there are in the world of cognitive science, it is highly doubtful that the totality of the true intentions of any writer will ever be extrapolated purely from the words of their texts. What was in the (embodied) mind of the human being of flesh and blood who authored the novel when it was written will always be inaccessible to the reader removed in time and place from the author. However, “the

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<sup>27</sup> Portions of Chapters 4 and 5 of this study have appeared in print in earlier versions as “Cervantes Lands a Left Hook: Baiting the Inquisition with Ekphrastic Subversion” in *Cervantes* 32.1 (2012): 163-99 and “Drawing Between the Lines: Ekphrasis and the Subversion of Inquisitorial Prohibition in *Don Quixote*.” *Escrituras silenciadas: El paisaje como historiografía*. Alcalá de Henares: U de Alcalá, 2013. 337-60.

potential empirical difficulties of elucidating the fact of the matter—the executive intentions of the creator—do not negate that there is a fact of the matter” (Swirski 139). Therefore, arriving at some level of incontrovertible knowledge about the artist’s thought cannot be the only (or even primary) goal of using approaches informed by such research. Rather, the taking into consideration of the new information gathered by the cognitive sciences (which examine how human perception functions and interacts with language) can be the impetus for posing new questions that allow for fresh and original interpretations of texts, even those that have been examined and investigated for centuries. With any luck, these new lines of inquiry may bring us closer to understanding the authorial objectives. For, as Umberto Eco argues, it is a “dangerous critical heresy” to read whatever we may want into a text, and it is paramount that the reader always be “moved by a profound respect” for “the intention of the text” (5).

This study takes as a starting point the suggestion of several scholars that certain anti-Inquisitorial critiques (as well as possibly subversive ideas) are present in *Don Quixote*, written between the lines of the novel by its author Miguel de Cervantes. By constructing and adapting a working theory of mind of Cervantes, this investigation attempts to uncover ways in which he may have attempted to communicate messages that were decipherable by his intended audience, but which were capable of eluding censors and, thus, possible Inquisitorial retribution. Further, the substantial research done on the use of *ekphrasis* by Cervantes to allude to imagery from the visual arts within the text of his novel is employed to show how the author may have utilized similar techniques to refer to images connected to proscribed texts or subversive themes. All of this is subjected to examination through the lens of recent findings in cognitive science, with a



particular focus placed on how humans process visual information, both as a percept and in the imagination.

In her groundbreaking study *Why We Read Fiction*, Lisa Zunshine asserts that the detective novel exercises the theory of mind of the reader in a particularly focused way. If this is indeed the case, then perhaps the reverse is also true: that the investigation of the creative mind behind a work of fiction—as if it were deliberately manipulating the metarepresentational abilities of the reader in order to conceal an esoteric subtext comprehensible only to a select audience attuned to deciphering all of the textual clues—could empower the analyst to unmask a hermetic intention hidden below the surface of a novel. This, then, is the specific objective of this study: to construct a theory of mind of Miguel de Cervantes by means of a close, analytical reading of *Don Quixote* in order to expose potential textual intentionalities that may have heretofore gone unnoticed.

Of course, if we were to take Cervantes at his word, the beginning theory of mind for the author would have to accept that the entire text of *Don Quixote* was no more than “una invectiva contra los libros de caballerías” (“an invective against books of chivalry”; 1.prologue: 101). However, as we have seen in Chapter 1 of this study, many critical voices beginning from the time of the first publication of the Cervantes novel have seen more in *Don Quixote* than what meets the eye at the literal level. While in the time of Díaz de Benjumea the overwhelming majority of academic Cervantes scholars strongly opposed any reading that contradicted the intention outwardly stated by the author, a great deal of modern *Don Quixote* criticism is in agreement with the opinion of Américo Castro that Cervantes’s declared objective is nothing but a pretext (*Cervantes* 336). As Barbara Fuchs puts it:

Cervantes protests too much when he reiterates throughout *Don Quijote* his goal of demolishing the romances of chivalry. As critics have long noted, his exertions also seem misdirected: the foibles of the chivalric romance are hardly a worthy target for the sophisticated irony of the text. (397)

Marthe Robert agrees, suggesting that the “romances are so trivial” that “it would be reasonable to infer” that all the talk of books of chivalry “prudently masks texts of a rather different sort” (57). José Luis Abellán suggests that “la crítica a los libros de caballerías es una grande y cómoda percha” (“the criticism of the books of chivalry is a large and comfortable perch”) from which Cervantes can attack the various political and social institutions to which he is opposed, and that his stated intention is no more than an “ocurrente pretexto” (“clever pretext”; 15). Ryan Prendergast joins the chorus of non-believers in the literal truth of the announced purpose of *Don Quixote*, stating: “I follow the thinking of those critics that see Cervantes’s critique of the chivalric novel in *Don Quixote* as a feint [...] fabricated to divert attention from the incisive critique of the arbitrary imposition of social norms” (30).

Following the advice of Sherlock Holmes himself, “to begin at the beginning” (Doyle 198), this investigation opened with a look at the very first text that appears in *Don Quixote* which is credited to Cervantes. Just after the preliminary official documents, including the setting of the price, the comments by the corrector and the permission to publish from the king is found the dedication to the Duke of Béjar. The piece reads like a very typical dedication of that day and age, full of the trope of false modesty and highly reverential towards its subject—*id est*, not an especially noteworthy piece of writing,

especially given that it constitutes the opening lines of the author in what has come to be considered by many as the first and greatest novel of all time. But what was especially striking about this opening was the footnote to be found at the bottom of the page of this highly respected critical edition by John J. Allen (McGaha, “Contributions” 15), which explained that the italicized portions of the dedication above were those which Cervantes “tomó de la dedicatoria que Fernando de Herrera escribió” (“took from the dedication that Fernando de Herrera wrote”) to the Marques de Ayamonte in his annotated anthology of the works of Garcilaso de la Vega published in 1580 (1.dedication: 93). These italicized words made up 62 of the 162 words in the entire dedication—implying that a significant portion of the dedication was plagiarized from the aforementioned work by Herrera.

This purported theft merited further investigation. After all, how did this piracy fit in with Cervantes’s professed mission statement? The working theory of mind for the mind of Cervantes seemed to require some adjustment. Research into the dedication revealed an interesting state of affairs: (at least) one of the top Cervantes scholars seems to challenge the very authorship of the entire dedication in question. Notes by Francisco Rico confirm that several additional lines were directly copied from the introduction by Francisco de Medina that follows the dedication to the same Garcilaso de la Vega volume from which the previously indicated lines had originated. All told, approximately half of the words of *Don Quixote*’s dedication had been appropriated from the earlier text. These facts, combined with the fact that the first pages of the *princeps* edition of *Don Quixote* had, in Rico’s opinion, been thrown together with an “excepcional desahogo tipográfico” (“exceptional typographic disregard”) and featured “blancos insólitos” (“unusual blank

spaces”; *Don Quijote* 1:7) triggered him to conclude that the prefatory materials must have been misplaced or unavailable until the last moment, and further argue the following:

Una y otra circunstancia llevan a pensar que el mismo accidente que provocó el extravío de esos otros textos (en particular, licencia y aprobaciones) hizo también que no se tuviera a mano la dedicatoria escrita por C. y, en la urgencia por acabar la impresión, el editor, Francisco de Robles, con un proceder muy propio de su oficio, recurriera a improvisar otra, enteramente ajena a C., con fragmentos de Herrera y Medina. (*Don Quijote* 1:7)

These circumstances lead one to believe that the same accident which provoked the misplacement of those other texts (in particular, the license and approvals) made it so that there would neither be on hand the dedication written by Cervantes, and so, in the urgency of going to press, the editor, Francisco de Robles, acting in a manner very appropriate to his office, improvised another, entirely alien to Cervantes, using fragments of Herrera and Medina.

This argument, originally argued by Rico in his 1996 article “El primer pliego del *Quijote*,” is unconvincing. Indeed, it is clear that the leap of faith taken by Rico in assuming the existence of a prior, misplaced version of the dedication actually written by Cervantes is more indicative of his own possession of a creative fictive faculty than any

factual truth in the assertion. Indeed, in this article, Rico imagines the scene on the eve of the first pressing of *Don Quixote*:

...pero de la dedicatoria, según se venía temiendo, en el obrador de Cuesta no hay ni rastro. Nosotros podemos preguntarnos si no la dejaría el novelista para el último minuto, por si convenía introducir algún retoque de actualidad, algún halago más tempestivo, y si al final no la tuvo o no la entregó a tiempo. (324)

...but, as had been feared, in Cuesta's workshop there is not even a trace of the dedication. We can ask ourselves if the novelist might have left it to the last minute, in case it were advisable to insert some more current finishing touch, some more timely flattery, and if in the end he did not have it or did not turn it in on time.

Despite Rico's willingness to imagine such colorful scenes, he was at the same time quick to accuse others of taking similar visionary jumps in regards to this same dedication (Rico "Antifrasis" 70-76). It is important to note that Rico here is making speculations based entirely upon what might possibly have happened—there exists no evidence beyond the purely inferential of any such mislaid documents or last-minute substitutions. Rather than a logical deduction, it would appear that this is an example of Rico's own theory of mind in action. Moreover, it seems significant that in the prologue to *Don Quixote II*,<sup>28</sup> when Cervantes deals with several points of textual criticism about

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<sup>28</sup> From here on, *Don Quixote I* will refer to the first volume of *Don Quixote* released in 1605, while *Don Quixote II* will refer to the second volume, published in 1615.

*Don Quixote I*, including the failure of the novel to explain what occurred with Sancho's donkey, he makes no mention whatsoever about any irregularities with the prefatory materials.

However, despite the fact that here Rico introduces the cited argument tentatively, with the phrase “the circumstances lead one to believe,” just one year later and without the benefit of any new discovery of previously-unearthed historical documents to back his claim, he then states matter-of-factly in his notes to the 4<sup>th</sup> Centenary Edition of *Don Quixote* by the Royal Spanish Academy that the dedication “no salió de la pluma de Cervantes, sino que debe atribuirse al editor, Francisco de Robles” (“did not come from the pen of Cervantes, but rather must be attributed to the editor, Francisco de Robles”; 1:6). Apparently, Rico has gained markedly greater confidence in his prior assumption during the course of the intervening year.

In the first of these two articles, Rico seems genuinely offended by the fact that both Carlos Alvar and José Manuel Martín Morán had attributed the viewpoint that Cervantes was not the author of the dedication to the Duke of Béjar to “alcuni studiosi” (“some scholars”) and “buena parte del cervantismo” (“a considerable portion of Cervantismo”), respectively—insisting that besides Rico himself, “ningún cervantista había ni siquiera insinuado que la dedicatoria no se debiera a quien la firma” (“no Cervantista had even insinuated that the dedication was not written by he who had signed it”; “Antífrasis” 71).<sup>29</sup> The assumption is that Rico means to exclude himself from that last statement, just as he does from the rest of Cervantism<sup>30</sup>—at least on this one point.

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<sup>29</sup> Further fuel for Rico's ire towards Martín Morán seems to come from Rico's accusation that “Martín Morán plagia ahí una nota de mi edición del Instituto Cervantes”

In a second line of reasoning, Rico also points to textual characteristics in order to defend his thesis that the dedication to *Don Quixote I* is apocryphal. He focuses primarily on one turn of phrase from the dedication, “conteniéndose en los límites de su ignorancia” (“containing themselves within the limits of their ignorance”), noting the abundance of very similar phrases to be found in *Don Quixote II*, while claiming that fewer such word combinations, or alternate, more dissimilar locutions are to be found in *Don Quixote I*. Further, and even more generally, Rico asserts that similar formulations by Cervantes were rare prior to *Don Quixote I*, yet common beginning with *Don Quixote II* (“Pliego” 328). However, rather than concluding that Cervantes was obviously enamored of the wording of the expression as used by Herrera in his writings, which would concord precisely with Cervantes’s having borrowed Herrera’s particular syntax, Rico asserts that “se haría muy cuesta arriba no inferir que fue la propia dedicatoria apócrifa la que le llamó la atención” (“it would quite difficult to not infer that it was precisely the apocryphal dedication which called his attention”) to the turn of phrase. Rico suggests that because of the false attribution of the dedication to the author of *Don Quixote*, Cervantes focused his attention on that short text to such a degree that he

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(“Martín Morán plagiarizes there a note from my edition for the Instituto Cervantes”; “Antífrasis” 71), an assertion for which Rico makes a convincing case.

<sup>30</sup> In the same commentary under discussion, Rico, referring to Vicente Gaos, states that he, “como el resto de los cervantistas, no dudaba de la autenticidad del texto e intentó en vano explicar las razones del pillaje a Herrera y Medina” (“like the rest of the Cervantists, did not doubt the authenticity of the text and attempted in vain to explain the reason for the pillage of Herrera and Medina”; 71), effectively declaring his own viewpoint as fundamentally distinct from that of all other Cervantists.

became familiar with the phrasing used therein and began to use similar wording himself (“Pliego” 328-29).

Although this investigation finds that the study by Rico of the phraseology of the dedication is revealing, the conclusion derived here from the evidence is the opposite of that drawn by Rico—that Cervantes was indeed responsible for the text, and that the fact that several similar phrases can be found in *Don Quixote II* only demonstrates that the style was indeed typical of Cervantes as an author. Further, focusing on other phrases from the same dedication, a close examination finds no shortage of similar wording in either book of *Don Quixote*. To assume without any solid evidence that the authorship of the first words credited to Cervantes in the novel were *entirely* of another pen, and, beyond that, published without his knowledge or participation seems tenuous, at best. Moreover, to suggest that the 162 words of the dedication—which, according to Rico, were written by another person—were influential enough on Cervantes to influence all of his future writing style is unequivocally preposterous. All of this leads this investigator to suggest that Rico try “containing himself within the limits of his” knowledge.

To recapitulate: a crime had been committed—the plagiarism of the words of Herrera and Medina. The suspect, Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, had his name written all over it—quite literally, as his full name appears at the end of the dedication. The consensus of all Cervantistas (but one) was that it was the handiwork of that one and the same suspect—Cervantes. But what could his motive have possibly been? The new evidence necessitated the development of an adjusted theory of mind of Miguel de Cervantes.



Various scholars have provided a plethora of theories to explain the plagiarism—which, as Martín de Riquer has commented, “no deja de sorprender en la primera página de uno de los libros más originales que se han escrito” (“does not fail to surprise on the first page of one of the most original books ever written”; 71). Francisco Rodríguez Marín claimed that Cervantes composed the dedication “de tan mala gana que, por no tomarse el trabajo de redactarla de propia minerva” (“so unwillingly, that in order not to take the trouble to create it from his own mind”), he simply patched together some lines taken from Herrera’s dedication (Rodríguez Marín 9:12). Rodolfo Schevill and Adolfo Bonilla suggested that “siendo sólo la segunda vez que Cervantes se atreviese a escribir una dedicatoria, parece muy natural que buscase en otros libros un modelo que le sugiriera giros y frases convenientes” (“being only the second time that Cervantes dared to write a dedication, it seems very natural that he would search in other books for a model that could suggest to him convenient turns of phrase”; Schevill and Bonilla 1:412).

Despite all of these points, however, it does not take Hercule Poirot to deduce that the man who had just completed *Don Quixote* would be more than capable of generating his own dedication of 162 words without copying the words of another. Nor could it be argued that taking the several portions of text from the pieces by Herrera and Medina would be easier than writing an original text—the eight phrases came from nine different pages across the span of two entirely different sections of text, sometimes changing a few words, replacing them with a different phrase, or making the number and pronouns agree, as well as with coming up with completely original portions to flesh out the rest of the dedication and make it sound coherent and natural. As Rico has written, and here this investigation concurs: “Es, pues, una labor de taracea, un minúsculo *opus tessellatum*,

que supone un cierto trajín” (It is, then, a mosaic work, a miniature *opus tessellatum*, which figures a certain amount of effort; “Pliego” 330-31).

A few critics have decided that Cervantes must have had a motive for undertaking such a task—whether as a means of lambasting the idea of dedicating works of literature to members of the nobility (Gaos 315), or as a possible method of satirizing—through the use of an ironically stolen dedication—the Duke of Béjar himself (Carrascón 170). Strangely, however, very little attention seems to have been paid to the text from which the lines of the dedication were pilfered. So this investigation turned its focus towards the words of the text that Cervantes seems to be signaling to his most perceptive readers.

The introduction by Francisco de Medina to *Obras de Garci Lasso de la Vega* discusses the validity of the use of the Spanish language in place of Latin. He laments the fact that the educated classes of Spain only seem to value Latin, according less importance to writings in the vulgar tongue. Medina argues that Latin came to be the official language of Spain because it was the language of the conquerors, not because of any superiority of the language itself. He argues that now Spain is more powerful and controls more area than Rome ever had,<sup>31</sup> and so it is appropriate for Spanish to become the new official language—especially given the fact that the people of Spain do not speak Latin, nor do they understand it. In short, the Spanish Empire has become the new Rome, and likewise its language should become the new *lingua franca*. Medina goes on to say that the poets and writers who truly wish to communicate with the people must not write in Latin, rather, they should write in Spanish. As a result, Medina states, Garcilaso de la

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<sup>31</sup> The notion of Spain representing a new Rome will be visited in more depth later in this study.

Vega is important—because his poetry demonstrates that the Spanish language is capable of all of the beauty and subtlety of expression for which Latin had been theretofore recognized (1-12).

In the course of the discussion of the value of the vulgar tongue, Medina claims that:

Dos linages de gentes ái, en quien devieramos poner alguna esperança; los poetas i los predicadores; mas los unos, i tambien los otros (háblo de los q~ tẽgo noticia) no acuden bastantemente a nuefra intencion. Los predicadores, que, por aver en cierta manera sucedido enel oficio a los oradores antiguos; pudieran fer de mas provecho para este intento. (4)

There are two types of people in whom we should place some hope; the poets and the preachers; but the ones, and also the others (I speak of those of whom I have some notice) do not assist enough in our intentions. The preachers, who, having in a certain manner taken the place of the ancient orators; could be of greater benefit to this aim.

Given that the Catholic Mass at the time was held entirely in Latin, and that part of the service included direct Biblical citations, this paragraph only stops one small step short of saying that the Bible itself should be available in the vernacular—something which was expressly forbidden by the Inquisition in its list of banned books, called the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (Valdés 27), and the punishment for which often included torture or death at the stake (Adolfo de Castro *Historia* 55). In fact, precisely in Seville, where Francisco de Medina and Fernando de Herrera were based and where *Obras de Garcí*

*Lasso de la Vega* was published, a very intense battle over the notion of a Spanish-language Bible had been fought in the preceding years. During this time, several individuals found in possession of vernacular Bibles were burned publicly in *autos-de-fé* (Kamen 115) with as many as another “eight hundred persons” captured and imprisoned for either distributing or possessing these texts—which were often printed outside of Spain (often in majority Protestant locations) and smuggled in by couriers who also risked extreme penalties (Boehmer and Wiffen 64).

Also of interest—and potentially risky—in the introduction by Medina is his description of Fray Luis de Granada as a “maestro incomparable de discrecion i fantidad” (“incomparable master of discretion and saintliness”; Medina 4), despite the fact that three books by Granada had already appeared on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* of 1559 (Valdés 41), and that at the time of these comments he was living in exile in Portugal, where he was to reside until his death—more than likely in order to avoid the repeated troubles that the Inquisition had been causing him in Spain (Ticknor 163).

These remarkable clues from the text of Medina caused the investigation to adjust the developing theory of mind of Cervantes to again consider the possibility that he had committed the crime of plagiarism in order to communicate an anti-censorial message—most specifically with regard to the ban on the vernacular Bible—in a manner that might possibly escape the notice of the officials of the Inquisition. Such a suspicion finds at least some immediate grounding, in that as a student, the mentor of Cervantes had been “Juan López de Hoyos, an open follower of Erasmus” (Mancing *Cervantes*’ DQ 105)—or as Kurt Reichenberger describes the relationship between learner and instructor, the

future author of *Don Quixote* was a “disciple of López de Hoyos, a fervent *erasmista*” (81). Either way, the relationship was deep enough that López de Hoyos once even described Cervantes as his “caro y amado discípulo” (“dear and beloved disciple”; Sliwa *Vida* 257). Of particular interest here, many of Erasmus’s writings were banned beginning from the very first edition of the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* for being considered anti-Catholic—although Erasmus himself always considered himself to be a reformer and a loyal Catholic, and never a Protestant like Luther. Regardless, openly at odds with the commandments of the Vatican, Erasmus forcefully expressed his belief that “it is more than lawful, it is necessary that all Christians read the Bible; and so it must be translated for them into the language which they understand. It ought to be in Scottish and Irish, even in Turkish and Arabic” (Chadwick 19).

With this in mind, an even closer look was taken at the specific content of the dedication in question. As it turns out, even the relatively few words of the dedication of *Don Quixote I* seem to indicate a possible second level of intentionality, beyond that of merely laudatory praise of an aristocrat. In the opening line, the dedication talks of the “buen acogimiento y honra que hace Vuestra Excelencia a toda suerte de libros” (“the good reception and honor that Your Excellency gives to all sorts of books”)—in and of itself, the statement skirts on precarious, as nowhere near “all sorts of books” were permitted during this period. Many other portions have similar possible allusions. One of these is “no se abaten al servicio y granjerías del vulgo” (“do not lower themselves to the service and benefit of the masses,” in one possible interpretation, but which could also be read “are not humiliated by serving and benefiting the masses”). Yet another such phrase is the reference to the “elegancia y erudición de que suelen andar vestidas las obras que

se componen en las casas de los hombres que saben” (“elegance and erudition with which the works composed in the homes of men who know tend to be dressed”), which causes the perceptive detective to question just how the works are “dressed” (or disguised), who these “men” are, and what they may “know.” Also, and perhaps most significantly, the previously discussed phrase about those who should “contain themselves within the limits of their own ignorance” goes on to say that these same people “suelen condenar con más rigor y menos justicia los trabajos ajenos” (“often condemn with more rigor and less justice the works of others,” which could also be read as “foreign works,” as the word “ajeno” derives from the Latin *alienus*; Covarrubias Orozco 19). Could these “foreign works” possibly be a reference to the vernacular Bibles printed outside the country and then smuggled into Spain?

The investigation into the dedication dug up yet another curious controversy, however—the possible reasons behind the choice of the Duke of Béjar as the object of the admiration. Martín de Riquer, in his landmark study of *Don Quixote* entitled *Aproximaciones al Quijote*, states that the duke was a “personaje que, al parecer, no se interesó en absoluto ni por el *Quijote* ni por Cervantes” (“person who, it appears, had no interest whatsoever in either the *Quixote* or Cervantes”; Riquer 35). Howard Mancing concurs, saying that Cervantes “apparently received little or no support from the duke” (*Encyclopedia* 2:444), and César Vidal goes so far as to claim that the nobleman was “considerablemente tacaño” (“considerably stingy”; Vidal 197) in regards to showing any appreciation for the author of *Don Quixote*. If this lack of financial assistance from the duke was indeed the case, then why might Cervantes have dedicated his novel to the nobleman?

Significantly, perhaps, the name of the duke is never specifically mentioned—only the title, leading the legendary Cervantista James Fitzmaurice-Kelly to suggest in 1892 that it seemed more likely that Cervantes had intended to refer to someone other than the then-current Duke of Béjar. Fitzmaurice-Kelly points out that “*Don Florisel de Niquea*, one of the most ludicrous examples” of the books of chivalry—and written by Feliciano de Silva, who is specifically mentioned in the very second paragraph of *Don Quixote*—was also dedicated to the Duke of Béjar, who at that time was Francisco de Zúñiga, the great-grandfather of the duke of the dedication to *Don Quixote* (*Life of Cervantes* 211). A few years later, Fitzmaurice-Kelly also pointed out another interesting parallel: “In a previous age the author's kinsman had anticipated the compliment by addressing a gloss of Jorge Manrique's *Coplas* to Álvaro de Stúniga, second Duque de Béjar” (*History* 227), referring to a dedication by Alonso de Cervantes, a possible relative of Miguel de Cervantes, in his *Glosa famosísima sobres las coplas de don Jorge Manrique* of 1501 (176-78).<sup>32</sup>

The Duke of Béjar in the time of Cervantes was Alonso Diego López de Zúñiga y Sotomayor. Very little is truly known about the nobleman, outside of the fact that a few writers of the time dedicated their works to him. However, his ancestors were quite well-known by contemporary writers, as indicated by the aforementioned dedications. The very first Duke of Béjar played a rather significant role historically, and was likely the

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<sup>32</sup> In his 1991 study “En torno a la dedicataria,” Guillermo Carrascón meticulously reviews these comparable possible relationships; however, he fails to mention the work of Fitzmaurice-Kelly, and instead credits the Feliciano de Silva possibility to Vicente Gaos in 1949, and the Alonso de Cervantes discovery to himself (176-178).

most important duke of the line, arguably *the* Duke of Béjar. His name, which is entirely contained within that of the duke who was the contemporary of Cervantes,<sup>33</sup> was Diego López de Zúñiga (1350-1417). However, another member of the House of Zúñiga was even more renowned—Diego López de Zúñiga, who had the exact same name and was also directly related to the first Duke of Béjar, but this one a renowned theologian and Hellenic authority—indeed, according to Basil Hall, one of “the most famous in Spain” (Hall 133)—who lived a century later.

The scholar Diego López de Zúñiga was one of the principal translators charged with the work of compiling the *Biblia Poliglota Complutense*, a project which began in 1502 under the guidance of Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros. The *Biblia Poliglota Complutense* was a fifteen-year effort to compile a version of the Bible using as many as possible of the earliest available manuscripts in all of their original tongues, and then present them in a new set of volumes with each of the original languages side-by-side with their Latin translation. With the cooperation of the Papacy itself, and the financial assistance of Fernando and Isabel, the Catholic monarchs of Spain, Cisneros was able to gather all of the “best available texts” (Schenker 288)—in many cases through the direct purchase of the purportedly original documents, and in others by means of commissioning copies of those documents (Prescott 285). This was “the first time an attempt of a critical edition in print of the Hebrew (and Aramaic), Greek and Latin Bible

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<sup>33</sup> It is “contained” in the sense that a first name and last name are added on each end (*Alonso* Diego López de Zúñiga *y Sotomayor*), a possible explanation for the phrase “suelen andar vestidas” (“tend to be dressed”) of the dedication—in that the name he may have intended to elicit has been “dressed up” with the additional names.



texts [was] made” (Schenker 287). The massive undertaking was not completed until 1517, and the publication was delayed until 1520 because of a request from the Vatican. When it was eventually sent to press, only 600 copies were made, all of which ended up in ecclesiastical or government libraries (Schenker 287).<sup>34</sup> A few years later, all similar polyglot Bible translation projects were banned, because both the Aramaic and Hebrew tongue of some of the original Scriptures became officially considered vulgar tongues, and were thereby disallowed for use in the publication of any and all biblical texts (M’crie *Reformation in Italy* 154).

Quite interesting is the role that Diego López de Zúñiga played as a translator of the project (Prescott 288)—often changing the original Greek and Hebrew texts to agree with the Latin of the Vulgate Bible, which was the one and only text officially accepted by the Catholic Church (M’crie *Reformation in Spain* 69)—even though the latter was simply an often imperfect translation from a compiled Hebrew edition, which had itself been compiled from source Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek texts (Loewe 108). Ironically, in the introduction to the finished *Biblia Poliglota Complutense*, the placement of the Latin text between the other source language versions is described as being “al igual que Jesucristo entre los dos ladrones” (“just like Jesus between the two thieves”; Fernández

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<sup>34</sup> In his *The Book in the Renaissance*, Andrew Pettegree offers an alternative—and rather snide—interpretation of these facts. Pettegree views Golden Age Spain as a publishing backwater only able to turn out “tried and tested favourites for the vernacular market rather than attempting to compete in more challenging markets” (114). In his view, the small “print run of 600 copies far exceeded the evident demand for so expensive a book,” and was a demonstration of Spain’s inability “to contribute to the international book market” (114-15).

Marcos 417).<sup>35</sup> Further, against the advice of Cardinal Cisneros,<sup>36</sup> López de Zúñiga launched a public attack on Erasmus, claiming that his interpretations of biblical text were heretical. These denunciations were issued in several essays published just after the completion of the *Biblia Políglota Complutense* and the death of the cardinal (Rodríguez Peregrina 64).

In one oft-reported anecdote, all of the manuscripts and ancient codices collected for the compilation of the *Biblia Políglota Complutense* may have been destroyed after being sold “como membranas inútiles” (“as waste paper”) to a fireworks tradesman for making rockets (Dibdin xx). Although the authenticity of this story has been questioned (Richard Ford 827), it does seem that at least the notion of these missing or damaged texts had been circulating for many years prior to the visit to Alcalá de Henares by German Professor Moldenhower (Prescott 288). If this rumor dates to the time of

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<sup>35</sup>Ironically, it seems that of these three languages, Latin is the only one with which Jesus was likely completely unfamiliar, while it has been “shown that Jesus spoke Aramaic” as his native tongue, and he was familiar with Hebrew and Greek, according to Albert Schweitzer’s study *The Quest of the Historical Jesus* (225).

<sup>36</sup> In a footnote in a text by Sandys-Wunsch, the author states that “there is some variation in the spelling of his name. Spanish sources refer to him as Cisneros, Francisco Jímenez [*sic*] de; English sources tend to prefer Ximenez de Cisneros, Cardinal Francisco. Those searching for information should look under Cisneros, Ximenez, and Jímenez, allowing for minor differences in how Ximenez and Jímenez are rendered” (50). The unusual “Spanish” spelling of “Jímenez” aside, this situation repeats itself in the family name “Zúñiga,” which is also written “Estúñiga,” “Estúniga,” “Zúniga,” “Çúñiga,” and a few other ways in various histories. This is reminiscent of the variety of possible “real” names given for Don Quijote in *Don Quixote*, which include Alonso Quixada, Quesada, Quexana, Quixana, Quixano.

Cervantes, it could serve as a possible explanation for the scene in *Don Quixote I*, Chapter 9 when the narrator says:

Estando yo un día en el Alcaná de Toledo, llegó un muchacho a vender unos cartapacios y papeles viejos a un sedero; y, como yo soy aficionado a leer, aunque sean los papeles rotos de las calles, llevado desta mi natural inclinación, tomé un cartapacio de los que el muchacho vendía, y vile con caracteres que conocí ser arábigos. (1.9:179)

One day I was in the Alcaná of Toledo, and a boy came up to sell some folders of old papers to a silk merchant; and, as I am fond of reading, even if it be broken scraps of paper in the streets, led by my natural inclination I grabbed one of the folders the boy had for sale, and saw that it had characters which I recognized to be Arabic.

Might these “broken scraps of paper” be a reference to the anecdote about the sale of the Hebrew and Aramaic manuscripts to the fireworks maker? Might the reference to the Arabic text hint at the fact that Aramaic was an Arabic dialect of biblical times?<sup>37</sup> Intriguingly, the descriptions of some of the parchments assumed to have disappeared from the collection assembled for the *Biblia Políglota Complutense*, as documented as recently as 1971 (Andrés 225-29) bear a striking similarity to those of some of the contents of the Zúñiga family library (González Manzanares 67-68).

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<sup>37</sup> In Chapter 5 of this study yet another interesting historical precedent which may have inspired this scene from *Don Quixote I* will be considered.

Perhaps most interesting, along with some entries described as “códices griegos y hebreos” (“Greek and Hebrew codices”; 68) is one simply labeled “De Diego López de Çúñiga” (“Of Diego López de Çúñiga”; 68) which was listed in the public record<sup>38</sup> as part of the library of the Duke of Béjar in 1602, just three years before the publication of *Don Quixote I*. Could Cervantes have suspected that some of the rumored missing parchments were the items described from the library of the duke? Could he have viewed the Diego López de Zúñiga of the *Biblia Políglota Complutense* as an enemy of the progress towards the vernacular Bible? Might this explain the sarcastic attack against the Duke of Béjar that some critics have seen in the dedication?

There also could well have been a very personal element for Cervantes to single out the Diego López de Zúñiga of the Complutense Bible, as it turns out. Following a 1532 trial in which Juan de Cervantes,<sup>39</sup> the grandfather of the author of *Don Quixote*, was appealing an earlier guilty verdict (Sliwa *Documentos* 51), this same Diego López de Zúñiga of the *Biblia Políglota Complutense* was reported by the official solicitor Francisco de Ávila to have made the following statement for the official court record about what he had witnessed:

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<sup>38</sup> This record is that of the inheritance of the duke in question from his father, the prior Duke of Béjar, who died in 1601.

<sup>39</sup> This paternal grandfather of Cervantes, in many contemporary accounts, was a figure who was both “un hombre de buena reputación, incluso de influencia política” (“a man of good reputation, and even of political influence”) and also “un ladrón quien, además, abusaba de los presos” (“a thief who also abused prisoners”; Sliwa and Eisenberg 109-10).

El doctor Diego Lopez de Çuñiga dize que ha visto el proceso y que Cervantes queda por bellaco, porque los alcaldes confirmaron la sentencia que dieron, porque biben en un lugar donde no se espantan de vender las hijas, ni aun las mujeres, y antes tienen por buena tenellas fermosas.<sup>40</sup>  
(Sliwa *Documentos*, 160)

Dr. Diego López de Zúñiga says that he has seen the trial and that Cervantes is shown to be a rogue, because the mayors confirmed the sentence they gave him, because they live in a place where they do not fear selling their daughters, nor even their wives, and rather consider it good that they are considered beautiful

Might Miguel de Cervantes have been aware of these words stated by López de Zúñiga about his grandfather? It is impossible to know with certainty, but at the very least there could be no doubt that he would be well aware of López de Zúñiga—one of the more famous scholars of Alcalá de Henares, as well as the most outspoken contemporary critic of Erasmus. It seems logical that Cervantes’s Erasmist professor would have

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<sup>40</sup> This same report, which also cites the same original source, appears with a few grammatical and vocabulary variations in a second publication by Sliwa the same year. The report there reads as follows: “Cervantes quedó por bellaco, porque los alcaldes confirmaron la sentencia y declararon que había vivido en un lugar donde no se espantaban de vender las hijas, ni aun las mujeres, y antes las tenían por buenas y hermosas.” (“Cervantes was shown to be a rogue, because the mayors confirmed the sentence and declared that he had lived in a place where they shamelessly sold their daughters, and even their wives, and yet considered them virtuous and beautiful.”; *Vida* 51).

mentioned the famous feud between López de Zúñiga and the humanist scholar. Finally, in yet another surprising yet likely irrelevant coincidence, this same Diego López de Zúñiga was an in-law of Garcilaso de la Vega (Cuartero y Huerta 101)—the very poet whose compiled works were the source of the lines plagiarized in the dedication to *Don Quixote*.

Why would Cervantes risk skating so close to the thin ice of such a forbidden and dangerous topic? Is it possible that his true intentions were actually cloaked behind the charade of parodying the Arthurian tales of knights in shining armor and the similar genre they inspired in the Iberian Peninsula (as propagated in the various adventures of Amadís, Esplandián, Belianís and the several other knights of the Spanish chivalric tradition)?

If the intention of Cervantes in *Don Quixote* was not to attack the books of chivalry, then what might it have been, precisely? As Prendergast meticulously expounds in his recent study *Reading, Writing, and Errant Subjects in Inquisitorial Spain*, it could well have been an encoded subversive attack on the “specters of control” exercised by the combined royal and ecclesiastical authorities, especially in the cases of these powers working to prevent the spread of information critical of the Catholic Church and the State (2). Most specifically, Prendergast argues that an oblique denunciation of institutionalized censorship on the part of the state and the resulting self-censorship of authors such as Cervantes shows up in *Don Quixote* as an obsession with the origins of texts, which thus highlights the “influence of the book, the dangers of individual hermeneutic agency, the transformative potential of knowledge, and the productive dynamic of the tension between control and resistance” (30). Marthe Robert suggests, more specifically, that by closely aligning, and thereby contrasting “secular and sacred

books, Cervantes figured to compromise the religious texts without too much personal risk” (57).

In light of the aforementioned convincing criticism rejecting the stated goal of Cervantes of attacking the books of chivalry, in addition to the unexpected inclusion within the Dedication to *Don Quixote* of carefully selected borrowed lines which seemed to careen closely to themes prohibited by the Inquisition, the working theory of mind of Cervantes used by this investigation was adjusted to accept the notion of the author presenting his true intentions only covertly. In this new framework, the text would be considered in light of the ideas of Leo Strauss:

Persecution, then, gives rise to a peculiar technique of writing, and therewith to a peculiar type of literature, in which the truth about all crucial things is presented exclusively between the lines. [...] It has all the advantages of public communication without having its greatest disadvantage—capital punishment for the author. (25)

The socio-political climate in which Cervantes lived certainly matched the conditions Strauss describes as prime for such encoded writing. Cervantes could not have openly stated his opposition to either the Catholic Church or Spanish nobility, given that he wrote during the time of the Spanish Inquisition, a repressive religious-political organization that, among other things, concerned itself with publishing a list of prohibited texts called the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (Valdés 27). Resistance to the Inquisition called for severe punishment: “si alguno por su desventura osaba caminar contra las rigurosas órdenes del santo officio, los calabozos, los tormentos y tal vez la hoguera le

daban el castigo” (“if some unfortunate persons dared to stand up against the rigorous orders of the Holy Office, dungeons, torture, and maybe even being burned at the stake were their punishment”; Adolfo de Castro 55).

The Spanish Inquisition was initially established in 1462 to deal with problems of potential heresy or continued Judaizing among the *conversos*, many of whom had only recently converted to Christianity (Thomsett 147). Later, the emphasis of the organization expanded to include prosecution (persecution) of the *moriscos* and eventually the Protestants, the latter of whom were seen as an especially dangerous sect for being Christians while opposing the particular interpretation of Christianity of the Catholic Church (150-53). Particularly in the case of Lutheran texts, which were the first of the widely distributed Protestant works, books began to be deemed “dangerous” for their role in the dissemination of heretical ideas (Pinto Crespo 29).

Although the strictures of the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* eventually included literary works, the greatest focus of the prohibition remained by far preventing the spread of what were deemed heretical religious texts (Agulló y Cobo 222). Indeed, the intensity with which the book bans were enforced and violators punished increased markedly with the growth of Protestantism in Catholic Spain (Manning 21). In 1587 and 1588, secret Protestant groups were found operating and disseminating anti-Catholic literature in Valladolid and Seville. As Clive Griffin notes, “The result was near-hysteria among the authorities” and led to “a well-orchestrated surge of popular hatred of *luteranos*” (4). The public furor further empowered Inquisitor Fernando de Valdés, for following the exposure of these Protestant groups, both Spanish regent Philip II and Pope Sixtus V granted his office new levels of support. In consequence, a series of *autos de fé* were held



as “dramatic public spectacles” organized to demonstrate the power of the Inquisition and to instill in the masses “a dread of heresy” (5). Over the course of just three years in the cities of Valladolid and Seville, Griffin reports that “no fewer than 100 men and women were condemned to be burnt in person or in effigy for *luteranismo*” at such public spectacles (5).

A considerable part of the reason many of the suspected *luteranos* were discovered was the result of being involved in the distribution or purchase of vernacular Bibles, which were expressly prohibited by the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* and closely associated with forbidden ideologies such as Erasmism and Protestantism (Eisenstein 347). Most often, these Bibles were printed outside of Spain, then trafficked illicitly into the country via couriers such as Julián Hernández, who was responsible for smuggling them into Seville from Geneva by concealing them in barrels—an enterprise which destined him to punishment in one of the aforementioned *autos de fé*. Even without further evidence of heresy the penalties for being caught with such scripture were severe. For Hernández, the sentence was death at the stake (Kamen 115). Despite the risks, several different editions of the Old and New Testaments were printed in Spanish, some beginning from the Hebrew or the Greek, and others based directly on the Latin Vulgate (Ticknor 496-97). In a few celebrated cases, such as those of Fray Luis de León and the later beatified San Juan de la Cruz, even religious figures who had translated only small portions of scripture, often as part of a gloss or sermon, were subject to imprisonment (Barnstone 10-11).

One such banned Bible was *El Nuevo Testamento de Nuestro Señor y Salvador Iefu Chrifto* (“*The New Testament of Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ*,” hereafter

*Pineda New Testament*) offered by Juan Pérez de Pineda, formerly a professor of theology in Seville. Based largely on a translation based upon “the Greek text of Erasmus” (Wilson 127) by the exiled Francisco de Enzinas (aka Ençinas, Encinas, and Dryander) from 1543 (Menéndez y Pelayo *Heterodoxos* 12), the *Pineda New Testament* featured only minor alterations to the original version (Boehmer and Wiffen 363). Printed in 1556 in Geneva, its cover states that it was published in Venice—a typical subterfuge undertaken during the Inquisition so that such banned books could find easier entry into Spain (Menéndez y Pelayo 459). It also featured among its prefatory pages a false declaration of approval by the Office of the Holy Inquisition—yet another common maneuver used by publishers in the hopes of evading the strict Inquisitorial enforcers (Adolfo de Castro 154).

In less than two years, however, the Inquisition took notice, ordered the arrest of Pérez de Pineda, and placed the *Pineda New Testament* on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*. Despite the ban, Adolfo de Castro states that “no cabe linaje alguno de duda en que los libros de Juan Perez contribuyeron mucho á la propagacion de las doctrinas de la reforma dentro de España, y especialmente en la populosa Sevilla” (“there is no doubt whatsoever that the books of Juan Pérez de Pineda contributed much to the propagation of the doctrines of the Reformation within Spain, and especially within populous Seville”; 154). Indeed, the very biblical text for which Julián Hernández was put to death for having smuggled into Spain was the *Pineda New Testament*—and this punishment was doled out in the very same *auto de fé* in which an effigy of Pineda was also burned (Llorente 222).

Upon investigating further the nature of this particular biblical translation, what was immediately striking was the cover of the *Pineda New Testament* (see figure 4), which features a tall, slender elderly man on the right side, and a shorter, seemingly portly younger man on the left side—a general set of characteristics that also apply to Don Quixote and Sancho Panza in the Cervantine text.

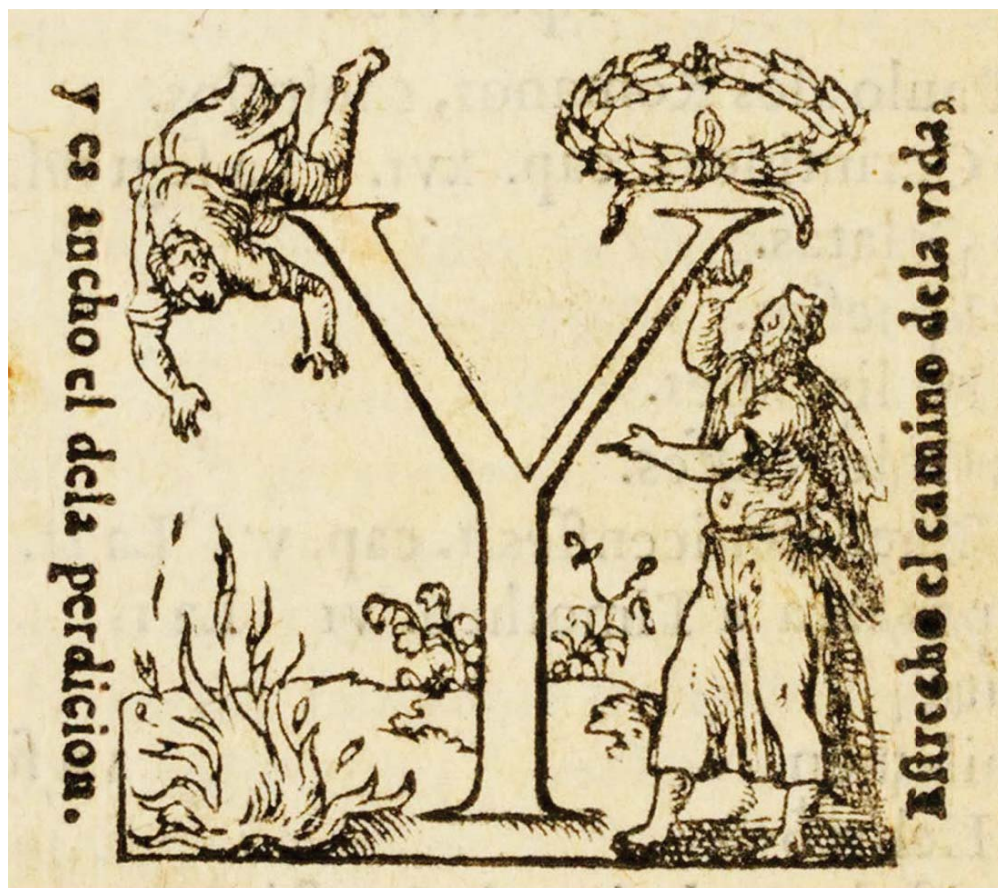


Figure 4. Emblem from the cover of the *Pineda New Testament* (1556).

A closer examination of the text on the cover reveals the phrase “estrecho el camino dela vida” (“narrow is the path of life”) running vertically from bottom to top on the right side, next to the older man, and the phrase “y es ancho el dela perdicion” (“and

wide is that of perdition”) running vertically from top to bottom on the left side near the younger man. Quite spectacularly, the “es ancho el” lines up exactly with the figure of the younger man (see figure 5), which, alone could be read “he is wide” (“es ancho él”) but which, due to the elision that occurs in spoken Spanish, sounds exactly the same as “he is Sancho” (“es Sancho él”), which functions in much the same fashion as a poetic hyperbaton.



Figure 5. Detail of the cover of the *Pineda New Testament*.

In part one, chapter nine of *Don Quixote*, just after the narrator informs the reader that the information on the protagonist that he had found in the Manchegan archives had come to an end, the narrator describes finding the aforementioned manuscript in Arabic characters in the Toledan marketplace called the Alcaná. Remarkably, the document turns out to contain the rest of the story of Don Quixote. On the cover of the manuscript, the

narrator notices an image which he recognizes to be that of Sancho Panza. Next to the caricature of the squire was a:

...rétulo que decía: *Sancho Zancas*, y debía de ser que tenía, a lo que mostraba la pintura, la barriga grande, el talle corto y las zancas largas; y por esto se le debió de poner nombre de Panza y de Zancas, que con estos dos sobrenombres le llama algunas veces la historia. (1.9:159)

...a label which read: *Sancho Zancas* (which means “legs”), and it must be that he had, from what the picture shows, a big belly, short stature, and long legs; and because of this he must have been given the name Panza (which means “belly”) and Zancas, because the story calls him by both of these names on occasion.

It is curious, however, that Sancho Panza is at no other time in the novel called *Sancho Zancas* (Mancing *Encyclopedia* 2:653). Also noteworthy is that on the cover of the *Pineda New Testament* it is difficult to discern whether the figure in question has one leg doubled back into his chest, or if he has a big belly, thus effectively making it problematic to decide whether the most appropriate surname for “Sancho” should be “Zancas” or “Panza.”

The phrase “estrecho el camino dela vida y es ancho el dela perdicion” from the frontispiece of the *Pineda New Testament* is essentially a brief paraphrase of Matthew 7:13-14. However, beyond that it also bears a remarkable similarity to a passage from *Don Quixote II*. In Chapter 6, when the protagonist defends to his niece the variety of reasons for having chosen the path of knight errantry, he also states:

[S]é que la senda de la virtud es muy estrecha, y el camino del vicio, ancho y espacioso; y sé que sus fines y paraderos son diferentes, porque el del vicio, dilatado y espacioso, acaba en la muerte, y el de la virtud, angosto y trabajoso, acaba en vida. (2.6:79-80)

[I] know that the path of virtue is very narrow, and the road of vice broad and spacious; I know that their ends and goals are different, because the broad and easy road of vice ends in death, and the narrow and toilsome one of virtue ends in life.

The similarities between this portion of *Don Quixote* and the corresponding text from S. Matheo, Chapter 7 of the *Pineda New Testament* are certainly remarkable:

Entrad por la puerta angosta: porque la puerta es ancha, y espacioso el camino que lleua ala perdicion, y muchos son los que entran por ella.

Ciertamente la puerta es angosta, estrecho el camino que lleua ala vida: y pocos son los que la hallan. (19)<sup>41</sup>

Enter by the narrow gate: because the gate is wide, and spacious the path that leads to perdition, and many are those who enter by it. Certainly the

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<sup>41</sup> This edition of the New Testament did not feature the division of the chapters into numbered verses. Such a treatment had only first been done on an edition of a Greek New Testament published in Paris in 1551—five years before—and had not yet become a standard practice (Dawes 33).

gate is narrow, tight the path that leads to life: and few are those who find it.<sup>42</sup>

Through such a comparison it becomes obvious that the citation from *Don Quixote* is, almost literally, a biblical translation in prose. The move in itself by Cervantes is quite daring, especially in light of the fact that although occasional poetic paraphrases of translated biblical text were permissible under the strictures of the Inquisition, “á los traductores de estas obras jamás se permitió el uso de la prosa sino tan solo en los comentarios ó interpretaciones” (“the translators of these works were never permitted the use of prose, except in their commentaries or interpretations”; Adolfo de Castro 55).

In Chapter 34 of *Don Quixote II*, a frightened Sancho Panza climbs a tree, breaking the branch under his weight and causing him to scream for help. Shortly thereafter, Don Quixote “vio pendiente de la encina y la cabeza abajo” (“saw him hanging from the oak tree upside down”; 2.34:320). In a similar manner, “Sancho” is also hanging head down from the letter Y in the cover image from the *Pineda New Testament*.<sup>43</sup> The letter Y, interestingly, is the symbol for the “tree of life,” with the narrow stem on the right side, representing the virtuous path of God which leads to

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<sup>42</sup> Compare this to the corresponding portion of Matthew from the *English Standard Version Bible*: “Enter by the narrow gate. For the gate is wide and the way is easy that leads to destruction, and those who enter by it are many. For the gate is narrow and the way is hard that leads to life” (Matthew 7:13-14).

<sup>43</sup> Quotations marks will be used to distinguish between the character of “Sancho” in the image of the *Pineda New Testament* frontispiece and the Sancho in the text of *Don Quixote*. The same will subsequently apply for the character of Don Quixote as well.

eternal life, and the wider stem on the left side representing the way of vice which leads to perdition (Kittel and Friedrich 44). Therefore, “Sancho” is literally hanging from a “tree.”

Also interesting in regard to the letter Y of the cover of the *Pineda New Testament* is a portion of the embedded narrative of “El curioso impertinente” (“The Impertinently Curious”) from Chapter 34 of *Don Quixote I*. In one scene featuring a discussion between Camila and Leonela, the latter lists a long set of positive characteristics which should be features of an ideal man, one for each letter of the alphabet. However, when Leonela arrives at Y, she says “la Y ya está dicha” (“The Y has already been stated”; 1.34:474). Critics have explained this cryptic line to mean that because the letter Y sounds just like the letter I in Spanish, there was no need to list a separate word.<sup>44</sup> However, although the letter H is silent, the word “honrado” is listed in addition to “onesto” under the letter O. Both of these initial vowel sounds function in the same manner as I and Y, as do words that begin with B and V,<sup>45</sup> the latter pair of which have the same sound in Spanish, as is easily demonstrated by the fact that even Cervantes himself often wrote his own name as “Cerbantes” (Vidart 29). Perhaps, then, the true reason that “la Y ya está dicha” is that it already appears in an image that may have inspired certain aspects of *Don Quixote*.

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<sup>44</sup> In his edition of *Don Quixote*, Rico notes: “Era una variante gráfica de la i” (“It was a graphical variant of the i”; 441).

<sup>45</sup> These two letters, incidentally, were also represented by the two separate words “bueno” and “verdadero” (1.34:474).



Significantly, the translation upon which the *Pineda New Testament* was based (as was previously mentioned) was that of Francisco de Enzinas, whose surname means “oak trees.” This meaning was far from a being a vague association for Enzinas, who published several works under the name “Dryander,” which is Greek for “oak tree.” Given the fact that this tree appears on the cover of an Enzinas translation, it could thus be said that “Sancho” is not only hanging from the “tree of life,” but specifically from an oak tree, just as Sancho does in the aforementioned scene of *Don Quixote*—something that further connects the cover image of the *Pineda New Testament* to the Cervantine text.<sup>46</sup>

Also notable is a striking similarity between the image of “Sancho” and a scene in the novel which occurs just a few pages after Sancho Panza is seen hanging head-down from an oak tree. Here the squire states: “Luz da el fuego y claridad las hogueras, como lo vemos en las que nos cercan, y bien podría ser que nos abrasasen” (“Fire gives light, and the bonfires, clarity, as we see now that they approach us, and it could well be that they may burn us”; 2.34:325). Certainly, in the artwork of the *Pineda New Testament*, “Sancho” appears to be at risk of falling into the bonfire below and being burned. Further, if one considers the common variant pronunciation of the Z in parts of Andalusia as an S (which is also an identifying characteristic of Judeo-Spanish (Díaz-Mas xiv)), this “abrasasen” (“they may burn”) could also easily be understood as “abrazasen” (“they

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<sup>46</sup> Luis Ceballos y Fernández de Córdoba noted that the “encina” is the most-mentioned tree in *Don Quixote*, which could possibly be viewed as an attempt by Cervantes to encode references to Enzinas throughout the novel (42).

may embrace”) —and in the image on the cover of *the Pineda New Testament* it does indeed seem as if the arms of “Sancho” were outstretched to be embraced by the flames below.

Focusing on the other figure from the cover of the *Pineda New Testament* (i.e., “Don Quixote”), one of the first notable elements is the unusual headgear pictured on the character. It is difficult to determine exactly what this head covering is, although it bears a resemblance to some sort of helmet, due to the apparent rigidity of its shape. However, in form it more closely resembles a typical barber’s basin of the era, given its limited depth and longer brim. This calls to mind the story of Mambrino’s helmet from Chapter 21 of *Don Quixote I*, in which the delusional knight errant believes a barber’s basin is the helmet of the famous knight Mambrino when the barber who owns it wears it to cover himself from the rain. The identity of the item is a point of continuous discussion throughout much of part one of Cervantes’s novel, leading Don Quixote to state: “eso que a ti te parece bacía de barbero, me parece a mí el yelmo de Mambrino, y a otro le parecerá otra cosa” (“that which to you appears to be a barber’s basin, seems to me to be the helmet of Mambrino, and to someone else it might seem yet another thing”; 1.25:346). Eventually, the debate reaches mammoth proportions at an inn in Chapter 44, with Sancho Panza trying to make peace among all present by diplomatically suggesting that it is a “baciuelmo” (“basin-helmet”; 1.44:592) to stave off of potential bloodbath between those who aver it is just a basin and those who side with Don Quixote in considering it a helmet. Perhaps the description advanced in the dialogue between Don Quixote and the Barber (i.e., the friend of the knight, not the barber from whom the “baciuelmo” has been stolen) is most revealing, at least as far as the appearance of the

item is concerned. The Barber states that, “aunque es yelmo, no es yelmo entero” (“although it is a helmet, it is not an entire helmet”; 1.45:594); to which Don Quixote replies: “No, por cierto [...] porque le falta la mitad, que es la babera” (“Certainly not [...] because half of it is missing, which is the faceguard” (1.45:594)]. This description, as well as the debate about the true identity of the item, could easily be applied to the “bacyelmo” of the frontispiece of the *Pineda New Testament*—about which arguments could also be made defending it as either a helmet or a barber’s basin—making it, in effect, a “bacyelmo” of sorts.

Another parallel between the image and the character arises in a description of the knight-errant from the very first chapter of *Don Quixote* (indeed, three paragraphs before he even names himself Don Quixote) in which the narrator says of him: “Imaginábase el pobre ya coronado por el valor de su brazo” (“The poor fellow imagined himself already crowned by the valor of his arm”; 1.1:117). In Spanish, the word “corona” is both “crown” and “wreath,” so that the fact that “Don Quixote” has his arm raised on the cover of the *Pineda New Testament*, with his finger pointing to a wreath which seems to be floating in the air above him, would uncannily correspond to the textual description from the Cervantes novel, since “in the air” can be used to refer to thoughts as well as to imagined hopes.<sup>47</sup>

A curious reference is made in Chapter 1 of *Don Quixote II*, when Don Quixote lists several famous knights of the past and rhetorically asks about one in particular:

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<sup>47</sup> For example, this can be seen with “castillos en el aire” (“castles in the air”), which roughly translates to the English “pie in the sky” (*University of Chicago Spanish-English Dictionary* 69).

“¿quién más gallardo y más cortés que Rugero, de quien decienden hoy los duques de Ferrara, según Turpín en su *Cosmografía?*” (“and who more gallant and courteous than Ruggiero, from whom descend today’s Dukes of Ferrara, according to Turpín in his *Cosmography?*”; 2.1:39-40). To begin with, there is a major case of anachronism in the assertion that Turpín could mention either the Dukes of Ferrara or Ruggiero, given that Turpín lived in the eighth-century (Vidal 472), while the Duchy of Ferrara was not established until 1471 (Freeman 250), and Ruggiero was a fictional character who made his first appearance in 1516 in Ludovico Ariosto’s *Orlando Furioso* (Mancing *Encyclopedia* 1:36).

The most pertinent fact to this investigation with regard to having mentioned the Dukes of Ferrara is that the duchy was escheated by the Vatican in 1598, meaning that it no longer existed at the time of the publication of *Don Quixote*. Because of this, it is obvious that Cervantes must have been referencing some prior Dukes. As it so happens, the penultimate Duchess of Ferrara, known alternately as Renée in her native French (her father was King Louis XII of France) and Renata by her Italian subjects, endured years of accusations of heresy by the Inquisition for the harboring of Protestants and Jews on her estate (Freeman 256; Jenkins Blaisdell 211-25). Indeed, because of the Duchess’s religious activism, Ferrara developed a reputation as a center “of reformist or crypto-Protestant thought in Italy” (Wood 166). The Duchess, as it so happens, was well known for having provided safe haven to several religious exiles considered heretics by the Catholic Church, including such major players in the Reformation as John Calvin and Juan Pérez de Pineda, the latter of whom, in addition to publishing the aforementioned *Pineda New Testament*, also served as the personal chaplain of the Duchess (M’crie 47,

96). As if this were not enough of a connection between the Dukes of Ferrara and the Bible translation in consideration, it also turns out that Duchess Renata maintained personal correspondence with principal *Pineda New Testament* translator Francisco de Enzinas (Jackson *New Schaff-Herzog* 486).

The associations of the Dukes of Ferrara to the printing of banned translations of Scripture do not end with the *Pineda New Testament*, however. Indeed, the most important Bible translated from the Jewish text—the Sephardic *Biblia de Ferrara*—was published under the auspices of, and dedicated to, Ercole II d’Este—Renata’s husband, and the Duke of Ferrara (Orfali 247). Given that Don Quixote cited “today’s Dukes of Ferrara” at a time when that duchy no longer existed, it can be assumed that he must have been referring to recent dukes—and their line ended with Duke Alfonso II of Ferrara, the son of Ercole II and Renata.

Given that so many of the clues that the investigation was turning up were connected to visual sources, an adjusted theory of mind for Cervantes was needed. It was obvious that in order to confront such a *modus operandi*, some defining of the methods Cervantes employed was necessary, and a basic visual-textual vocabulary would be indispensable. As it so happens, some of the terms best suited for this use were developed in the time of Ancient Greece. The above observed technique of describing a picture in words, for example, is what Horatio called *ut pictura poesis* (“as is the picture, so is the poem”; Sandywell 306). But what Cervantes seems to have done in *Don Quixote* involves something more: playing with multiple ways to view the same image (such as with the “baciuelmo”), tricking the reader with two possible meanings of the same word (as in the case of “corona,” as both crown and wreath), and even switching signifiers, signs, and

symbols so fast that one forgets which is which (as seen with the “encina,” which is an oak tree, then a symbolic “Y,” and then a last name). This sort of playful technique as practiced by Cervantes is, essentially, what L. J. Woodward describes as *tropelia*<sup>48</sup> (82-84). However, the term *ekphrasis* seems to be the most apropos, allowing for the possibility that both *ut pictura poesis* and *tropelia* can function either at the same time or independently of each another. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, the definition followed here is that of James Heffernan, who recommends the following highly streamlined description of the term: “ekphrasis is the verbal representation of visual representation” (3).<sup>49</sup>

Several studies have been published in recent years on the use of *ekphrasis* in Cervantine texts. After much groundwork done by Diane Chafe and Helena Percas de Ponseti—and, in fact, also by the aforementioned George Camamis, author of *Beneath*

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<sup>48</sup> Several years later, in 1980, Bruce W. Wardropper would dedicate an article-length study to *eutrapelia* (which he identifies as the historical source for the word *tropelia*) as it functions in the works of Cervantes. Wardropper argues that “el jugueteo con la ilusión y la realidad en las obras cervantinas” (“the playing with illusion and reality in Cervantine works”; “La eutrapelia” 168) which defines the two terms “está arraigado en una doctrina moral” (“is rooted in a moral doctrine”; “La eutrapelia” 168) which holds that laughter is a gift from God. Wardropper further posits that “para el cristiano que es Cervantes, este mundo no es más que una representación de la realidad eterna” (“for the Christian that Cervantes is, this world is no more than a representation of the eternal reality”; “La eutrapelia” 168), and that the joy in such play therefore exemplifies what awaits him upon passing into “un mundo mejor” (“a better world”; “La eutrapelia” 168).

<sup>49</sup> Heffernan argues that the definitions of *ekphrasis* used by some scholars are so inclusive as to be useless (2). Indeed, in many studies it is often difficult to semantically distinguish between the terms *ekphrasis* and *mimesis*.

*the Cloak of Cervantes: The Satanic Prose of Don Quixote de La Mancha*—

investigations in the area of visuality in works by Cervantes have largely been led by Frederick A. De Armas, who has edited two volumes focused on literary depictions of images in Golden Age Spain, published book-length studies on *ekphrasis* in Cervantine texts, and written several landmark articles on the possible veiled use by Cervantes of images from classic pieces of artwork for inspiration in the creation of scenes in his works of fiction.

Already in the time of Cervantes, the concept of using visual imagery to communicate a hidden message under conditions of religious persecution had quite a precedent—specifically the use of “symbols of conflict” among early Christians during the era of Roman repression (Vinzent 21). Of course, during the lifetime of Cervantes, the city of Rome was part of the Spanish Empire, and symbolically “Spain represented the New Rome” (Romm 96). More significantly, in the history of the rise and fall of the Roman Empire, contemporary humanistic scholars saw “lessons not so much about ancient Rome as about their own lives” (Wardropper “The Poetry” 296). This could also be seen in literary works ranging from the poetry of Garcilaso de la Vega (298) to that of Francisco de Quevedo, whose verses about the Roman ruins are “clearly pregnant with meaning and relevance for Golden Age Spain, as much as for long-fallen Imperial Rome” (Cañadas 211). Interestingly, in the case of Quevedo, the analogy is not intended in the least as a nationalistic glorification of his own country, but on the contrary as “an incisive, though often grotesque, vision of the essential corruption and decline of Golden Age Spain” (211).

Cervantes also seems to have made use of the Rome-Spain analogy in order to criticize contemporary events. Aaron Kahn makes the claim that “Cervantes’s *La destrucción de Numancia* serves as a covert criticism of Philip II’s government and his foreign policies” (70). Regarding the same work, Barbara Simerka writes that certain elements of the play serve to “highlight the negative similarities between Counter-Reformation Spain and Imperial Rome” (*Discourses* 105), and that “Rome’s appetite for new lands is decried as an inappropriate arrogance” by Cervantes in “constructing a critique of empire” applicable to his own nation (98). Might not have Cervantes also wished to avail himself of this parallel in order to criticize the religious persecution of the Inquisition? After all, Imperial Rome oppressed the early Christians in much the same way that the Spanish Inquisition suppressed the Protestant Christian movement—an analogy drawn by Luther himself, and further elaborated by later Protestants (Kolb 24; Peters 125).



CHAPTER 5. SOMETHING FISHY IN *DON QUIXOTE*: TRAWLING *EKPHRASTIC*  
WATERS NETS ANTI-INQUISITORIAL SUBVERSION

The concept of visual imagery being used to communicate a hidden message under conditions of religious persecution, especially in the context of the Rome-Spain analogy, struck this detective as quite familiar. The combination of concepts brought to mind the use of what is arguably the best-known of the symbols used by the early Christians of Rome—one used to secretly identify one another and thereby evade persecution by imperial authorities—a simple outline of a fish (Schaff 280). In modern times, the fish symbol has been revitalized among Christians, who refer to it as the “Jesus fish,” and often apply an emblem of the image to the backs of their cars. Philip Schaff, in his detailed study of the development of the early Christian church, explains the possible origin of the fish (*Ichthys* in Greek) being used as the symbol of Jesus, saying that the “corresponding Greek ICHTHYS is a pregnant anagram, containing the initials of the words: ‘Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour’” (279).<sup>50</sup> Today, the fish is still often represented with the original Greek “ΙΧΘΥΣ” in the center.

The above findings triggered a memory of a lecture by Howard Mancing at Purdue University that included highlights of some esoteric readings of *Don Quixote*. At

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<sup>50</sup> *Ichthys* (also called the “Jesus fish”) is an Anglicized version of the Greek word ΙΧΘΥΣ, and has a variety of spellings in other languages, including *ichthus*, *ichthys*, *ictus*, *ictus*, *ixtus*, and *ixtys*.

one point, Mancing said, “some madman even noticed that the Greek writing inside of the ‘Jesus fish’ looks a bit like IXOTE.”<sup>51</sup> Mancing quickly dismissed the value of the observation, and grouped it with several other examples of baseless interpretations of Cervantes’s novel. Although at the time this seemed trivial, it took on a greater importance in light of the clues found during my investigation of the *Pineda New Testament*. An intense and exhaustive search to find this “madman” who first noticed the visual similarity between IXΘΥΣ and IXOTE ensued, ending (seemingly without success) at Mancing himself. After hearing a summary of the prior research, Mancing replied, “I am sorry to have wasted your time. The ‘madman’ was me, and I still believe there is no connection.”

Part of the difficulty that Mancing had with directly connecting the image to the name “Quixote” turned on the fact that the image only seemed to represent the “IXOTE” portion of the letters. However, as it turns out, the shape of the fish itself is identical in form to the letter Q used in Spain during the fifteenth-century—precisely the period of the appearance of the original manuscript of *Amadis de Gaula*, the tale of the fictional knight who Don Quixote aspires to imitate (Muñoz y Rivero 47; Moore x). Further, there were notable contemporaries of Cervantes (such as Andrés Flórez in 1557 and Mateo Alemán in 1609) who explicitly suggest in published guides to orthography that the unpronounced, orthographically required letter U after all instances of Q be eliminated as unnecessary (González Salgado 36-37). Indeed, Mateo Alemán—author of the important picaresque novel *Guzmán de Alfarache*—in his *Ortografía castellana* goes so far in his suggestions for orthographical reform as to declare that “aquella u ñ ponemos entre la q i

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<sup>51</sup> This and the subsequent quote from Mancing are paraphrases.

la e, ò la i, es falsa, i reprovada” (“that u that we put between the q and the e, or the i, is false, and condemned”; 67).

Even more interesting is that the usage of the *Ichthys* symbol with the word contained within the fish is only a recent development. In early Christian art, it was common for the word and fish to both appear side-by-side (Lübke 352; Farrar 12). However, there are no known examples of IXΘΥΣ appearing within the fish prior to the twentieth-century. When placing the outline of the fish beside the IXΘΥΣ, the result is strikingly similar to “QIXOTE” (see figure 6).

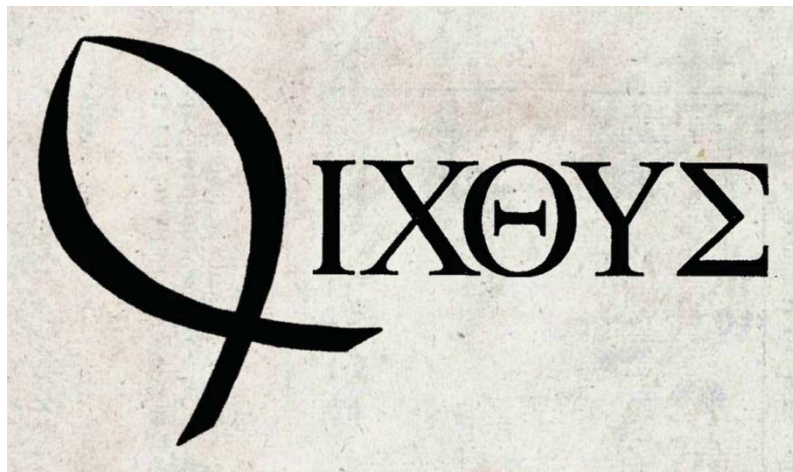


Figure 6. Fish Symbol alongside IXΘΥΣ.

What makes this image of the *Ichthys* even more compelling is a segment of part two of *Don Quixote* in which the title character learns that the story of his life has been published. Don Quixote brings up the example of the (fictitious) painter Orbaneja, saying: “Tal vez pintaba un gallo, de tal suerte y tan mal parecido, que era menester que con letras góticas escribiese junto a él: ‘Éste es gallo.’ Y así debe de ser de mi historia,

que tendrá necesidad de comento para entenderla.” (“Perhaps he would paint a rooster, in such a fashion and so unlike one, that he would need to write next to it in Gothic letters: ‘This is rooster.’ And so it must be with my story, which will require a commentary in order to understand it”; 2.3:57). Fundamentally, what Don Quixote describes in this scene is analogous what we see with the *Ichthys*: a fish drawn so rudimentarily that it must be labeled “FISH,” with the only difference, at first glance, being that the fish has been replaced by a rooster in the parallel drawn by Don Quixote in order to ridicule his inept biographer. Even more remarkably, when he states: “Y así debe de ser de mi historia” (“And so it must be with my story”; 2.3:57), he draws a direct connection between the composition of the painting and the construction of the novel, thus giving the reader a possible clue to the secret source of his name.

A historical paleography study by Henry Thomas examined the meaning of the expression “letras góticas” in Renaissance Spain and concluded that “Cervantes used the term *letras góticas* to suggest to his readers a plain inscription in what were in his day already recognized as the clearest possible characters—roman capitals” (415). In defense of this, Thomas cites the 1548 work *Ortografía Práctica* by Juan de Iciar, and declares that “Iciar, the first and foremost of Spanish writing masters, knew roman capitals as gothic letters” (415). As it turns out, more recent studies make this citation by Thomas even more significant by specifically connected the ideas of Iciar to Cervantes. Alfredo Alvar Ezquerro states of the works of this early linguistic scholar of the Spanish language that “el impacto en la memoria de Cervantes que tuvo Iciar fue tremendo” (“the impact in the memory of Cervantes that Iciar has was tremendous”; 387), while Krzysztof Sliwa flatly states that Cervantes “tenía que poseer las obras de Juan de Iciar” (“had to possess

the works of Juan de Iciar”; *Vida* 387). Given the likely possibility that Cervantes indeed was aware of the usage that Iciar assigned to the term “letras góticas,” it is clear that this supports the notion that the Orbaneja anecdote could refer to the *Ichthys*, given that “IXΘΥΣ” certainly more closely resembles the Roman letters of “IXOTE” than it does the same letters listed in fonts typical of the Spanish Renaissance. As Helena Percas de Ponseti assesses the contents of the label described by Don Quixote, such a style of crisply written script would seem to be “clearly stating what the subject matter is about” (“Cervantes” 137).

On the other hand, the definition of the term provided by Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco in his *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* in 1611—which is therefore perfectly coetaneous with Cervantes himself—states that “letras Goticas son las maçorrales, y de hombres de poco ingenio.” (“Gothic letters are the coarse ones, and of men of little intelligence”; 522). However, Covarrubias Orozco also adds that “letra Gotica” (“Gothic letter”) was “la que ufaron los godos” (“that which was used by the Goths”; 314), which is in agreement with the statement made by Ambrosio de Morales in 1586 that “Letra Gotica llamamos comunmente en Castilla la que tenemos por cierto vfaron los Godos” (“Gothic letters are what we in Castille commonly call those that we hold certain were used by the Goths”; 3). And while Morales informs that this type of letter “tiene mucha dificultad al escreuirfe” (“is very difficult to write”; 3r), Percas de Ponseti informs that “the Visigothic script found in medieval manuscripts [is] difficult to decipher even for expert linguists” (“Cervantes” 137)—and with such hardship in both production and reception, it seems that the Visigoth alphabet is much more a *propos* as the means of writing for erudite scholars. Taking into consideration the variety and

dramatic degree of difference between the definitions for these letters—“the clearest possible,” “of men of little intelligence,” and “difficult to decipher even for expert linguists”—this study is in absolute agreement with Percas de Ponseti with regard to her statement that “the apparent clarity of the label is deceptive” (“Cervantes” 137).

In an attempt to make sense of the reasons for such a mixture of simultaneously possible and contradictory meanings, Percas de Ponseti quite fascinatingly suggests that this part of Cervantes’s novel appears to be cloaking or encoding some hermetic level of meaning via image and wordplay:

What are we to conclude from the Orbaneja anecdote? The analogy between Cide Hamete's unsophisticated and coarse depiction of reality and Orbaneja's unsophisticated and coarse brushstrokes, and the amphibology of the supposedly clarifying label suggest, by implication, that the text of *Don Quixote* to which the anecdote refers contains graphic and linguistic distortions aimed at extending meanings and revealing hidden messages. (“Cervantes” 137)

While Percas de Ponseti does not connect the Orbaneja anecdote to the *Ichthys*, it does seem to imply that the critic would at least agree that such an interpretation of the scene makes for an intriguing and possible explanation of the multiple meanings and ekphrastic implications. So what precisely did Cervantes mean by “letras góticas” in this scene? Despite Thomas’s argument that Cervantes “did not mean Visigothic letters: he was no palaeographer [*sic*]” (416), it could also be that Cervantes meant *all* things simultaneously—the “obvious” capital letters as understood by his contemporaries, the

letters “of men of little intelligence,” and the true “letras góticas” of the Visigoths—much as Percas de Ponseti implied.

In the latter case of the three, most Visigothic letters were purposely based upon and/or were virtually identical to the characters of the Greek alphabet—indeed it was more an adapted version of the Greek system made to better suit the phonology of the Visigothic language than a new alphabet in and of itself (Geanakoplos 49). Furthermore, and of special interest here, the Visigothic letter corresponding to the Greek  $\Omega$  was the same shape as both the *Ichthys* symbol and the fifteenth-century Spanish manuscript Q (Robinson 41); meaning that the entire *Ichthys*—symbol and letters—could truly, and not only figuratively, be read as a string of “letras góticas” (see figure 7).



Figure 7. "Qixote" in Visigothic letters most similar to Roman letters.

Beyond the story of the untalented visual artist named Orbaneja, there are also other possible textual references to, or suggestions of, such a link between foreign alphabets and the Spanish language in the context of the novel. First, in the prefatory poems that lead off *Don Quixote I*, the sonnet by el Cabellero del Febo to Don Quixote

calls the protagonist “godo Quijote” (“Gothic Quixote”; 1.prelim.:110). Later, near the end of *Don Quixote I*, the narrator reports having run out of all of the information available to him on the protagonist of the novel, when he states that good fortune has provided him with:

...un antiguo médico que tenía en su poder una caja de plomo, que, según él dijo, se había hallado en los cimientos derribados de una antigua ermita que se renovaba. En la cual caja se habían hallado unos pergaminos escritos con letras góticas, pero en versos castellanos, que contenían muchas de sus hazañas y daban noticia de la hermosura de Dulcinea del Toboso. (1.52:660)

...an old physician who had in his possession a leaden box, which, according to what he said, had been found in the foundations of an ancient hermitage which was being renovated. In which box had been found some parchments written in Gothic letters, but in Castilian verse, which contained many of his deeds and gave notice of the beauty of Dulcinea of Toboso.

Of course, this could be yet another possible hint at the use of the *Ichthys* for Don Quixote’s name, as in these parchments his name is specifically described as being written in Gothic (Greek) letters but intended to be read in Spanish.

A similar clue is given by the narrator just after the previously mentioned description of the scene in the Alcaná of Toledo, when the narrator finds the vendor in the marketplace selling parchments in Arabic characters. After the discovery of the



parchments, the narrator searches for a “morisco aljamiado”<sup>52</sup> to tell him what the documents say. Upon hearing the *morisco* read the name Dulcinea, the narrator hires him to translate all of the text as faithfully and quickly as possible. There has been some debate among Cervantistas and scholars of Muslim history alike as to what could have been the precise nature of these parchments, as described by Louis Imperiale: “En el caso del manuscrito toledano no sabemos si se trata de una verdadera traducción o de pura transcripción de un texto aljamiado, ya que en tal caso, el morisco debería sólo transcribir de un alfabeto a otro” (“In the case of the Toledan manuscript we do not know if it is a true translation or a pure transcription of an *aljamiado* text, in which case the *morisco* would only have to transcribe from one alphabet to the other”; 634). While there is still some debate with regards to the matter, several of the top Cervantes scholars concur that such *aljamiado* writings were Spanish verse written in Arabic characters (Ruth Fine 61). Indeed, as Carroll B. Johnson concludes, “the manuscript the Second Author discovers in the Alcaná de Toledo is in fact written in Aljamiado, a dialect of Spanish spoken by the Morisco community and written in Arabic script” (“The Virtual” 174). If this is indeed the case, then Cervantes could well be signaling to the reader yet again that the name of his protagonist (whose name is also the focus of the title of the novel) is to be imagined as a series of letters of a foreign alphabet read in Castilian, rather than as a purely Spanish name.

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<sup>52</sup> Mancing defines “moriscos” as “Muslims converted to Christianity or the children of such converts” (*Encyclopedia* 2.495). Menocal states that “Aljamiado was Castilian, with its admixture of Arabic expressions and words” (57).

Returning to the Orbaneja anecdote, it has already been considered that it could easily be interpreted as an analogy made to signal that the name Quixote is based upon the *Ichthys*, simply replacing the fish with the rooster. However, another interesting coincidence exists in the specific choice of the rooster. Although the word “gallo” does indeed mean “rooster,” and its etymology can be traced to *gallus* in Latin, there is also another common usage of the word. The second definition (of the 23 listed) of *gallo* listed by the *Diccionario de la lengua española* describes it as such:

Pez marino del orden de los Acantopterigios, de unos 20 cm de largo, cabeza pequeña, boca prominente, cuerpo comprimido, verdoso por encima y plateado por el vientre, aletas pequeñas, la dorsal en forma de cresta de un gallo, y cola redonda. (1:1111)

Marine fish of the order of the Actinopterygii, of some 20 cm. in length, small head, prominent mouth, compressed body, greenish on top and silvery along the abdomen, small fins, the dorsal in the form of the crest of a rooster, and round tail.

As it turns out, the *gallo* is a typical dish in all of Spain, and is most often served “a la plancha” (“grilled”), as it is commonly featured in several modern recipe books and nutritional guides. According to gastronomist Miguel Jordá Juan, the *gallo* “es uno de los pescados blancos más abundantes” (“one of the most abundant white fish”) of the Spanish coasts (506). Indeed, the *gallo*, which is known in English as the “John Dory,” goes by the scientific name of *Zeus faber*, is quite commonly found along the Northern and Eastern coasts of the Iberian Peninsula (Cisternas 61). However, of particular interest

to this study, in Greece the *Zeus faber* has a specifically Christian nomenclature—it is known as the *christópsaro* (“Christ’s fish”; Chao, Monlau y Sala, and Galdo y López 243). In one explanation of the name, it is rumored by popular legend to have been called “Christ’s fish” because of a direct association with a New Testament (Matthew 17:27) account in which Jesus singles out the fish when he tells Peter to look for a coin in the mouth of a fish. While the biblical story does not specifically name fish, popular legend has it that the spots where Peter grabbed the fish with his thumb and forefinger in order to check for the coin left their mark, providing the evidence which specifically identifies the *Zeus faber*. According to this widely known legend, the conspicuous circular markings seen on each side of the body of the *Zeus faber* (see figure 8) represent “the print of the Apostle’s fingers” (Buckland 76).<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Because both Jesus and Peter were involved in the account, some areas outside of Greece have named the *Zeus faber* after Peter. As Francis Buckland explains, “in many towns of the Mediterranean it goes by the name of St. Peter’s fish” (Buckland 76).

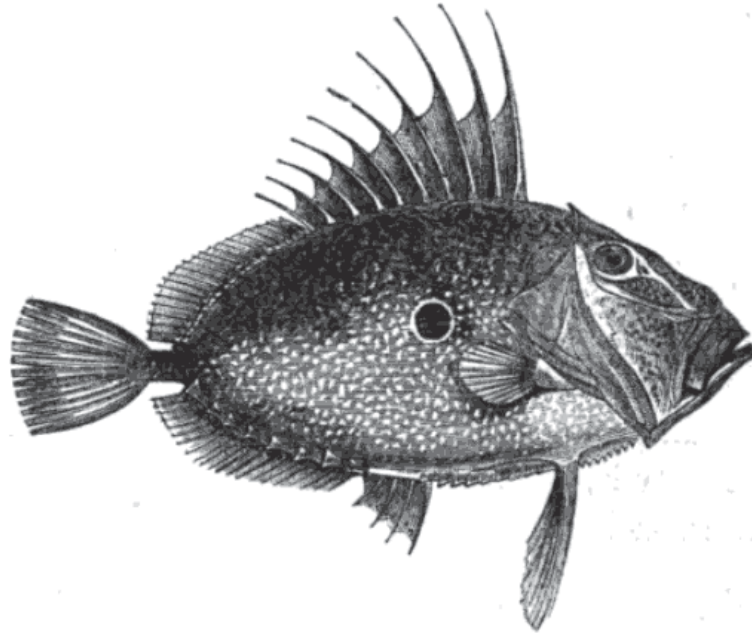


Figure 8. *Zeus faber*, known as *gallo* (“rooster”) in Spanish, and *christópsaro* (“Christ’s fish”) in Greek (Buckland 76).

The *Zeus faber* was also commonly known by the name *gallo* at the time of Cervantes, and appears in contemporary texts including *Decada primera de la historia de la insigne, y coronada ciudad y reyno de Valencia*. In this text, Gaspar Escolano describes the sea creatures of the area, including the “gallos marinos” (“marine roosters”) of which he states that “destos creen algunos doctos que fueffe el pefce que San Pedro, por orden de nuestro Dios y Señor, facò del mar” (“some educated men believe that these were the [type of] fish that Saint Peter, by order our God and Lord, pulled out of the sea”; 732). Escolano further states that because the fish appeared just as had been foretold by Christ, “San Pedro deue fu honrra y conuerfiõ a los gallos terrestres y marinos” (“Saint Peter owes his honor and conversion to the terrestrial and marine gallos”; 1197). Could it be that by “*gallo*” Cervantes meant to allude surreptitiously to this commonly known

fish—which was also anecdotally connected to Christ via biblical accounts and popular belief? Looked at in this manner, the name “Quixote” could indeed be almost exactly like the painting of Orbaneja—a rudimentary drawing of a marine *gallo*— a.k.a., “Christ’s fish”—with “fish” written next to it in Gothic/Greek letters.

Interestingly, Gothic letters were also the primary symbols used in the first widely-distributed tomes on cryptography written by Trithemius at the turn of the sixteenth-century (David Kahn 133). In an unusual twist, the Trithemius tome which first introduced his method of encoding messages within other texts was placed on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* in 1609, where it remained until the nineteenth-century (Culianu 174). Regardless, this work highly influenced the encoding of secret messages used by the military of Philip II, all of whose communications with Don Juan de Austrias were composed using encryption keys (David Kahn 115-24). This very same Don Juan de Austrias was also the commanding officer above Cervantes in Lepanto and in North Africa, and at least knew the future author well enough to provide him a letter of recommendation (Garcés 28).

It is highly likely that Cervantes would have been aware of these codes through his involvement in the aforementioned expeditions, and it is almost certain that he would have had to use them for his mission to Orán during his “participación en el trabajo de esos servicios secretos españoles” (“participation in the work of those Spanish secret services”; Sola and de la Peña 161). While his tenure as an intelligence agent amounted to a total of one “royal mission to Orán” (McCrorry 100) in its entirety, there does exist royal documentation that Philip II commissioned Cervantes for “employment as a spy, and so for a brief period he joined that large but faceless network of undercover agents

and informants who infiltrated the courts of both the Spanish and Turkish empires” (McCrary 100).

In such an environment of intrigue and dangerous information, all communication of intelligence had to be very carefully handled. Because of this, “el asunto general de la criptografía se volvió extremadamente popular durante los siglos XVI y XVII” (“the general matter of cryptography became extremely popular during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries”; Narváez 38). Indeed, one early attempt to catalog all books dedicated to the encoded of secret messages in 1622 listed just under 200 titles (Strasser 193-217). As Kristie Macrakis describes the era: “Cryptology and secret writing flourished. Cipher secretaries and manuals on cryptography proliferated” (26). And the level of encryption discussed in these volumes was neither elementary nor just an occasionally used tool—indeed:

A partir del último cuarto del siglo XV las técnicas de cifrado alcanzaron una complejidad extrema. Políticamente, la criptología se convirtió en un instrumento de comunicación a tal grado vital para los Estados europeos, que la mayoría de las cortes instauraron secretarías donde criptógrafos y criptoanalistas laboraban tiempo completo sobre cada despacho interceptado (Narváez 38).

Beginning in the last quarter of the fifteenth-century encryption techniques achieved extreme complexity. Politically, cryptology became an instrument of communication so vital to the European states that the

majority of the Courts established ministries where cryptographers and cryptanalysts worked full-time on every intercepted message.

Narváez explains that the sending of encoded communications was far from being the exclusive domain of the nobility, the military, or intelligence agencies—it was also utilized by religious orders and private citizens (42). In this summation Lina Bolzoni agrees, stating that “ciphers cross all social boundaries” (93)—and, quite interestingly, even explains that Golden Age Italian cryptography expert Giambattista Della Porta claimed in his *De furtivis literarum notis, vulgo de ziferis* of 1563 that such encrypted communications could even flow from “knights on one side” to “tavern patrons” on the other (94)—a situation which rather easily calls to mind many a scene in the inns described in *Don Quixote*.

While there is no specific evidence to indicate that Cervantes was familiar with the works of this early developer of coded language systems, it is known that “Della Porta’s books *Natural Magic* and *De furtivis* were widely read on the [European] Continent and in England” (Macrakis 27). In fact, in *An Introduction to Cryptography*, Richard A. Mollin states that Della Porta is widely considered to be “the most outstanding cryptographer of the Renaissance” (9). Despite this, and in the face of the fact that Della Porta even traveled to Spain and presented a copy of his tome on cryptography to Philip II (Macrakis 23), the cryptographer was still formally investigated by the Inquisition on two separate occasions (23-24). Indeed, it seems probable that it is largely because Della Porta began to encrypt even his communications and notes about cryptography—to the point of double-securing them with invisible ink—that he was successfully able to avoid further trouble with the Holy Office beyond the first two

summons (24). However, in terms of Cervantes's possible use of the *Ichthys* in inventing the name of the protagonist of *Don Quixote*, what is perhaps most fascinating about Della Porta's suggested cryptographical techniques is that he encouraged combining visual images with texts composed of foreign character sets to further complicate decryption attempts—encouraging what he called a “visual pun” (Bolzoni 96). Della Porta also makes the claim that “the use of writing and painting together [...] can act as a cipher” (Bolzoni 94). Indeed, in 1602 in his later work *Ars reminiscendi* he went so far as to specifically recommend the use of animal figures in place of letters in these visual puns to make them virtually unbreakable (20-43).

Narváez warns that it must never be assumed that all historical codes have been broken, rather “debemos mantener la hipótesis de que el descubrimiento de cifras inéditas continuará indefinidamente” (we must maintain the hypothesis that the discovery of previously unknown ciphers will continue indefinitely”; 60). Indeed, as Ronald Kessler tells it in *The Secrets of the FBI*, the same holds true in the modern day. Kessler states that even though nowadays in the hands of the FBI's cryptanalysis experts, “nine out of ten messages are decoded the day they are received” (257), the solution to the remaining 10% can be highly elusive. In point of fact, as Kessler quotes FBI Cryptanalysis and Racketeering Records Unit Chief Dan Olson, “the rule of solving a cipher is it's usually very quick or never” (257). Kessler goes on to explain that some of the most difficult codes to decrypt are not the modern, computer-generated ones that one might expect, but rather the historical ciphers dating back centuries (257). David Kahn, author of *The Codebreakers* agrees, and adds of breaking these sorts of codes that “the F.B.I. does this work in its Cryptanalytical and Translation Section, whose existence it seeks, for some



reason, to conceal” (819), and further explains that some of these challenging older coding techniques even mix character sets and vowel phonetics from ancient languages combined with other non-alphabetical symbols (820).

Taking Narváez’s assertion that many undiscovered hidden codes from the Spanish Golden Age likely still exist in historical documents into account, it is logical to apply the same reasoning to the text of *Don Quixote*. Such a thought process follows very appropriate steps, given the facts that the novel is coetaneous with the situation Narváez describes and that Cervantes is known to have been a covert intelligence agent. Heeding Narváez’s warning, we must assume that undiscovered codes still exist within its pages. In such a case, with regard to historical documents, Narváez states that “sería irrelevante que la cifra fuera decriptada por un criptoanalista profesional y no por un historiador” (“it would be irrelevant whether the cipher were decrypted by a professional cryptanalyst and not an historian”; 62). Given the apparent multi-alphabet code-switching and *tropolía* this investigation has encountered thus far, it seems probable that the same could be said with regard to whether a linguistic intelligence analyst from the FBI or a literary scholar would be best qualified to uncover such a code in the text of *Don Quixote*. Perhaps the most ideal procedure would be to have both working in tandem, each examining the words of Cervantes using the skills of their own craft, searching for hidden clues in the hope of detecting any such yet-undiscovered encrypted messages.

As far as concerns the matter of Cervantes’s (brief) turn as a covert agent in the employ of the Spanish crown, it is fitting to state that the area of spy-turned-author and vice-versa is hardly a lonely terrain—in fact, according to former intelligence operative John Goulden, “despite the desired secrecy of espionage and good intelligence work, the

spy trade has long attracted men of letters, both journalists and more serious writers” (130). Goulden states of these writer-spies that “many kept quiet about their activities; others did not, and built literary careers upon their clandestine experiences” (130). According to Sliwa, despite the fact Cervantes only took part in one covert intelligence mission, “esta embajada secreta a Orán produjo *El gallardo español*” (“this secret assignment in Orán produced *El gallardo español*; *Vida* 369), one of the plays published in the author’s 1613 collection *Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses, nunca representadas*. Mancing agrees that *El gallardo español* contains “autobiographical elements” and that the “play may well be related to [Cervantes’s] emissary to Oran in 1581” (*Encyclopedia* 1:320). Because it is not possible to discern in the play what is inspired by fact and what is purely fiction, it cannot be stated that Cervantes wrote overtly about his intelligence work. Similarly, “the most famous ‘quiet spy’ was Daniel Defoe, author of *Robinson Crusoe* and many other works, who worked extensively on covert missions for the British Crown, yet wrote not a word about his activities” (Goulden 130).

A question remains—If Cervantes was indeed an ex-spy familiar with cryptography and secret communications, how would he dare risk being discovered by the Inquisition—especially considering its ties to the Spanish throne, which was itself familiar with encryption techniques? Perhaps Cervantes did not consider either institution up to the task of breaking his code. Richard A. Mollin, in a discussion of the state of intelligence services of the era, states that the Spanish, “despite their cryptographic skills were sadly lacking in cryptanalytic abilities” (7). Indeed, with regard to one particularly embarrassing intelligence failure involving Spain’s own secret codes being read by

enemy factions, Mollin writes of Philip II that “he was stunned, having thought they were unbreakable” (7).

Returning to the matter of the *gallo*, the many unusual connections between the the description of the “rooster” in the Orbaneja passage and history of the *Ichthys* are certainly suggestive—especially considering the uncanny similarity the *Vesica Piscis* next to the “IXΘΥΣ” bears to the letters “QIXOTE” and the fact that Don Quixote states of the anecdote that “así debe de ser de mi historia” (“so it must be with my story”; 2.3:57). Could all of the correspondences between this passage and the *Ichthys* be purely coincidence? If one were to heed the words of yet another spy-turned-novelist—Ian Fleming, who was a former British naval intelligence officer (Pearson 251-273) and noted author of the James Bond series of spy novels—serious caution would need to be taken when faced with such a high number of parallels—as the villain Goldfinger warns the protagonist Bond: “Once is happenstance. Twice is coincidence. The third time it’s enemy action” (166). The threshold for dismissing similarities as coincidence as described by former intelligence agent Fleming, at least, has been far surpassed in the *Ichthys/gallo* comparisons.

The fact that Visigothic script was commonly used in spy codes during the early modern era has already been discussed, but this particular alphabet also has some historical relevance to the focus of this study. Of particular note, the reason for the great similarity of the Visigothic alphabet to that of the Greeks is that it was specifically invented in order to remedy the absence of a written form of the language of the Goths. The inventor was Ulfilas, a fourth-century bishop of mixed Greek and Gothic descent, whose principal motivation for developing this alphabet was to translate the Bible into

the Visigothic vernacular (Metzger 38-39). Ulfilas is widely credited with having led the mass conversion of the Goths to Christianity, and was even called the “Moses of his time” by Roman Emperor Constantius II (Wolfram 76). Of course, it was an army of these same converted Visigoths who later entered the Iberian Peninsula and defeated the Romans, thus giving rise to the first Christian kingdoms of Spain—for which the Visigoths were popularly credited for the spiritual salvation of Spain. This Visigothic heritage continued to be valued in the time of Cervantes, and the Spanish nobility made great efforts to claim direct descent from the Visigoths, since being part of their Germanic bloodline implied both “limpieza de sangre” (“purity of blood”) and suggested that the contemporary nobles were part of the “unidad religiosa” (“religious unity”) that the eventual Catholicism of the Visigoths brought to Spain (Nieto Soria 5344). Indeed, having supposed proof of Visigothic ancestry in early modern Spain was considered “the ultimate badge of religious legitimacy” (Mancing *Cervantes*’ DQ 59).

Quite beguilingly, although Cervantes rarely repeats himself in such a way, the anecdote about Orbaneja and his painting of the rooster recurs in its entirety in Chapter 71 of *Don Quixote II*. Perhaps such a repetition is an attempt to ensure that readers did not miss the special clue to the source of the protagonist’s name—a way to give them a second shot at visualizing the *gallo* with the Gothic letters beside it. This second time, however, just before the anecdote Sancho expresses his belief that one day in the near future every local bar, inn, hotel or barbershop will be decorated with paintings of the adventures he has shared with Don Quixote—but he hopes that the images will be better than the work of the painter who decorated the inn in which they are lodged. Following the anecdote, Don Quixote repeats the idea that the person who published his story must

be just like Orbaneja—thus drawing direct comparisons between the *gallo* and *Don Quixote* with both the image (via Sancho’s predictions of the future paintings of him and of Don Quixote) and the text (via Don Quixote’s parallels of Orbaneja’s work to the book published about Don Quixote’s and Sancho’s adventures). Indeed, following the story of the *gallo*, Don Quixote calls the author of his book “el pintor o escritor, que todo es uno” (“the painter or writer, because all is one”; 2.71:618). Although the second half of the phrase could also be interpreted as “because it’s one and the same,” the literal translation happens to perfectly describe the *Ichthys*, and in the same order—with the “painting” of the *gallo* followed by the “writing” of the ΙΧΘΥΣ, which all together forms the one name, “Quixote.”

In addition to the commentary on the paintings and the new insistence on the unity of painter and writer, the wording of the Orbaneja anecdote itself changes slightly, and one extra piece of information about the reason for the need of the bad artist to label his work as a *gallo* is added on: “porque no pensasen que era zorra” (“So nobody would think it was a she-fox”; 2.71:618). Clearly, the first image that comes to mind when a fox is mentioned is the woodland animal, member of the *Canidae* family—as typically represented by the species *Vulpes vulpes*, which is represented by foxes typical of both Europe and North America such as the red fox or the silver fox (Cypher 511). This initial reaction, of course, works with the demonstration of the ineptitude of the artist—after all it must be a poor rendition of a rooster indeed for it to be confused with a fox. However, once again Cervantes has chosen a word with multiple meanings—quite specifically, yet another word for a recognizable land animal that has a significant and corresponding marine namesake.

The species *Alopecia vulpes* is known in English alternately as the “thresher shark” or the “fox shark” (Jordan and Gilbert 27). The *Alopecia vulpes* is a shark of warm water which abounds in the Mediterranean and “was known to the ancients”—indeed, its designation as “fox-like” derives from its original Greek nomenclature (27). In Esteban Terreros y Pando’s 1788 dictionary of scientific words in Spanish, he lists the “zorra marina” (“marine she-fox”; 852), stating that it was documented by “Autores antiguos” (“ancient authors”; 852) and also indicates that it was previously known as the *Vulpecula marina* (281). Indeed, the modern standardized system of binomial nomenclature using Latin names in which the fish is called the *Alopecia vulpes* did not begin until Carl Linnaeus developed it in 1753 (Blunt 251). It was under the previous Latin name of *Vulpecula marina* that Ulisse Aldrovandi included it in his catalog of fishes *De piscibus libri V, et de cetis liber unus* in 1613 (see figure 9; 396), and before that in 1513 Antonio de Nebrija described it to associate it with the shark commonly known as the *zorra* or *vulpes marina* (171r).



Figure 9. *Alopecia vulpes*, once known as *Vulpecula marina* (Aldrovandi 396).

It is certainly interesting that Cervantes has chosen two different traditional animals with fish also named after them, but to what end? While the *gallo* itself has specific connections to biblical stories, and is directly called “Christ’s fish” in its Greek form *christópsaro*, the *Alopecia vulpes* has no direct connection to Christian tradition. Perhaps, then, with this reference Cervantes was simply dropping an additional hint for observant readers to whom Cervantes wished to communicate, conjecturing that they may have been more likely to notice the ichthyologic connections of the *gallo* if both animals had marine namesakes.

On the other hand, while the *Alopecia vulpes* has no Scriptural referent, the same cannot be said of the *zorra* (“she-fox”) itself. As it turns out, this is precisely what Jesus calls Herod upon learning from his followers that Herod was planning to murder him (Luke 13:32). As it appears in *El testamento Nuevo de Nuestro Señor Iefu Chrifto* of 1596, based on the first full Bible translation in Spanish by Casiodoro de Reina (Boehmer and Wiffen 154), just after being advised of the secretive planned assassination attempt by Herod, Jesus replies: “Id, y dezid à aquella zorra: He aqui, echo fuera demonios, y acabo fanidades hoy y mañana, y trafmañana foy confumado.” (“Go, and tell that she-fox: Look here, I cast out demons, perform healing today and tomorrow, and the day after tomorrow I will have finished my work.”; Valera 214). So is Herod *the* she-fox? According to Juan de los Ángeles in 1607, “por efto llamò Chrifto a Herodes zorra” (“because of this Christ called Herod she-fox”; 802)—because one should call “zorras pequeñas a todos aquellos, que no por fuerça, ni con violencia acometen a la Iglesia, o a el anima fanta: fino debaxo de cautela, aftucia, y maña.” (“little she-foxes all those who attack the Church, or the Holy Spirit, not by force, nor with violence: but cloaked in

caution, cunning, and trickery.”; 802). So Herod was an example of a *zorra*, and a particularly good one—but not the *zorra* par excellence—rather he was just a “*zorra pequeña*” (“little she-fox”).

Precisely because of the sort of subterfuge of the *zorra* described by Juan de los Ángeles, along with the claim that the she-fox fights Christ and the Church by walking a deceitful path, Dionisio Jubero warns in his 1610 *Post Pentecosten* that the “*zorras*” can manifest themselves as “*profetas falsos*” (“false prophets”)—in the case of Jubero’s treatise, these false prophets appear “fo color del bien de la republica chriftiana, fe entran con engaños de dotrinas nuevas, y pestiferas, aportillandose el feto, ò el vallado de la Iglefia fanta.” (“under the pretense of the good of the Christian republic, they enter with deceptions of new, pestiferous doctrines, breaking down the barriers, or the defensive walls of the Holy Church.”; 611)—i.e., the false prophets to the Catholic priest Jubero are obviously the Protestants. Cristóbal de Fonseca similarly places the *zorra* in the position of the hidden enemy of true Christendom: “El demonio no se atreue a enueftir a los foldados de Chrifto cara a cara: pero con cauilaciones y cautelas los muele y los canfa. La zorra, el lobo, el demonio, el herege, nunca caminan por camino real.” (“The devil does not dare to attack the soldiers of Christ face to face: rather, with reflection and caution he wears them down and exhausts them. The she-fox, the wolf, the devil, the heretic, never walk the true path”; 611). Even outside of the religious context, in a treatise about the animals of the air and land, Gerónimo Cortés Valenciano warns that with regard to the *zorra*, “fe debe guardar el hombre como del diablo” (“man must protect himself as if from the devil”; 154). But ultimately, Fonseca informs that since ancient times the custom has been to call “el demonio zorra” (“the devil ‘zorra’”; 40).



As a result of all of all of the above, it is obvious that the *zorra* represents demons, false prophets, or the enemies of the Church in general, among which Herod would surely figure for membership—but the ultimate she-fox is none other than Satan. This is contrasted by the *gallo*, who in turn represents the IXΘΥΣ and therefore, Christ himself. If Orbaneja’s drawing of this *gallo* (Christ) truly offered no distinctions from a drawing of a *zorra* (the devil), it is obvious why it would have been in such dire need of being labelled—whether in Roman capital letters or Visigothic script.

Just after this second iteration of the story of the *gallo* labeled with Gothic letters, and in addition to drawing parallels between his own story and that of Orbaneja, Don Quixote further compares the author of the book about himself to a (fictional) former poet of the Court. Don Quijote says that this versifier, named Mauleón: “respondía de repente a cuanto le preguntaban; y preguntándole uno que qué quería decir *Deum de Deo*, respondió: 'Dé donde diere.’” (“would immediately respond to whatever question he was asked; and when someone asked him what *Deum de Deo* meant, he answered: ‘Give wherever you may give.’”; 2.71: 618). As Edith Grossman explains: “The joke is based on the repetition of the initial *d* in both Latin and Spanish (*Dé donde diere*: “Give wherever you choose”) and on the duplication of rhythm in the two phrases, which actually have no other connection” (957).<sup>54</sup> While this summation is certainly true, the joke becomes more interesting considered in the light of the possible *Ichthys*-Quixote connection—because Mauleón is essentially interpreting Latin phrases on the spot, based solely on what they sounded like in Spanish—an act not terribly dissimilar to looking at

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<sup>54</sup> A closer examination of this phrase and its connections to Erasmus, biblical translation, and the Visigoths will be presented later in this study.

the fish symbol accompanied by the Greek letters of the *Ichthys* and reading them as a Spanish name.

If the famous Christian acrostic of the *Ichthys* indeed inspired the name of the protagonist of *Don Quixote*, how could Cervantes count on his readers to follow him in such a game? First of all, Cervantes played these games not for the general reader, but for a specific audience: the “los que saben” (“those who know”; 1.prelim.:15) of his dedication to the Duque de Béjar. Cervantes (along with his intended audience), would more than likely have been familiar with Erasmus’s *Enchiridion*—especially in light of his previously mentioned studies with the Erasmist López de Hoyos (Reichenberger 81). Indeed, according to Carroll Johnson, of all of the works of Erasmus, the one that truly “has meaning for Cervantes and *Don Quixote*, is a little book called *Enchiridion militis christiani*, the *Manual of the Militant Christian* (Don Quixote 5). Quite pointedly, in *Enchiridion* Erasmus encourages his readers to search for the message encoded beneath the literal meaning of a text: “Furthermore, you should observe in all your reading those things consisting of both a surface meaning and a hidden one—comparable to body and spirit—so that, indifferent to the merely literal sense, you may examine most keenly the hidden” (105).

An important question remains: Could Cervantes have been aware of such a symbol as the *Ichthys*? As it so happens, one of the most celebrated uses of the symbol was in the catacombs of Rome (Rasimus 332), which were built by the early Christians during their persecution by the Roman authorities (Parker 26). Cervantes spent several years in Italy, including a period in Rome in the service of Cardinal Acquaviva. Nevertheless, his period in Italy extended from 1569-1575 (De Armas *Cervantes* 87), and

therefore ended three years prior to the rediscovery of the catacombs in 1578, after supposedly remaining forgotten and “buried in darkness” for over four centuries (Northcote 4-5).

On the other hand, it is now known that the Vatican had been well aware of the existence of the catacombs for several centuries, and had even often taken marble slabs from them for the purpose of flooring churches. Given the fact Cervantes was in the service of an influential cardinal, it would have been quite possible for the author to have at least heard of and even possibly seen parts of the catacombs. Indeed, the 1578 unearthing, it turns out, was simply a calculated act of propaganda by the Catholic Church—which essentially schemed to make public at that time the information it had long held regarding the existence of the underground sites of early Christianity in order “to counter Protestantism and to maintain a hold on the allegiance of Catholics not yet infected by this heresy” (Carroll 175) by using the images and symbols “found in the catacombs as evidence that images had been used in the early Church and therefore that the Protestant attack on image cults was wrong” (Carroll 176). The staged rediscovery of the catacombs also served to give primacy to the Roman Church by establishing “a direct physical link between the early Christian experience and the Roman Church that could not be matched by any of the Protestant denominations” (Carroll 176).

Because of the propagandistic value of the find, the Vatican made sure that news of the early Christian icons and relics below the city spread far and wide (Mormando 268), and “publicized the catacombs through scholarly production” (Harris 38) by publishing several multi-volume works in large printing runs and shipping the texts all over Europe. Such publicity would have made it virtually impossible for Cervantes—as

an educated and “avid reader” (Severin 149)—to have been unaware of the catacombs and their large collection of icons and religious images—including the *Ichthys* which was undoubtedly “the most popular emblem of Christianity” (Leichel 355) during the early years of the Church, widely appearing “in literary works,” “in Roman catacomb frescoes,” and even “engraved on tombstones” (Spier 5).

Another possible point of encounter of Cervantes with the *Ichthys* is the aforementioned appearance of the acrostic in the lyrics to the “The Song of Sybil.” This song is a part of the Mozarabic rite (Donovan 167), which was banned for several centuries after being deemed heretical by the Catholic Church in Rome (Donovan 21). However, in the late fifteenth-century the national desire to claim a closer connection with the early Christians of Spain (in addition to the discovery of several neglected portions of Visigothic period manuscripts) contributed to a drive by the aforementioned Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros to restore and preserve as much of the original rite as possible, eventually leading to its republication and the reinitiation of its performance beginning in 1511 in Toledo and continuing to this day (Bosch 60-65). The preservation of the Mozarabic rite was considered one of the crowning achievements of Cisneros, whose reputation and accomplishments were undoubtedly known to Cervantes. Indeed, Cisneros was easily the most famous past citizen of Cervantes’s hometown of Alcalá de Henares during the author’s lifetime—which explains why renowned Cervantes biographer Jean Canavaggio goes so far as to refer to the city as “Cisneros’ town” (*Cervantes* 22).

Especially interesting to this investigation about the restoration of the Mozarabic rite, at least inasmuch as concerns the involvement of Cisneros, involves the Cardinal’s

discovery of the aforementioned neglected Visigothic documents. As it so happens, the manner in which the Cardinal came upon the manuscripts bears a great resemblance to the previously discussed scene from *Don Quixote I*, Chapter 9. In this passage, Cervantes is strolling one day in the Toledan marketplace known as the Alcaná after having exhausted all notice of the knight errant in the archives of La Mancha, when he stumbles upon some folders full of papers written in Arabic characters. These documents, astonishingly, turn out to be precisely the continuation of the story of Don Quixote he had believed was lost. Cervantes then hires the aforesaid “morisco aljamiado” to translate all of the text into Spanish for the purposes of his book on Don Quixote (1.9:179).

According to the 1604 biography of Cisneros by Eugenio de Robles titled *Compendio de la Vida y hazañas del Cardenal don fray Francisco Ximenez de Cisneros: y del Oficio y Miffa Muzarabe*, the Cardinal made a similarly surprising find. According to Robles, “nuestro Illuftrifsimo Cardenal don fray Francisco Ximenez Cisneros, viendo que en fu tiempo y edad fe yua a perder del todo el vfo y memoria” (“our very Illustrious Cardinal Francisco Jimenez Cisneros, seeing that in his time and age all use and memory would be lost”; 235) of the Mozarabic rite, after “mas de quatrocientos años” (“more than four hundred years”; 235) in which it had not been generally permitted or observed (except for in “feys o fiete parrochias antiguas” (“six or seven ancient parishes”; 234)), makes the decision to gather all of the documents, translate them into Spanish, and publish them with the end goal of conserving and continuing the Mozarabic rite in Toledo. However, as Cardinal Cisneros begins to mobilize the effort to put his plan into effect he finds it very difficult, because:

[E]n las yglesias en que se auia conservado tanta infinidad de años, por auer ya pocos clerigos que le supiesesen, y tambien por falta de libros, por estar los pocos que auia, escritos de mano, en letra Gotica: y aun de estos es tradiciõ antigua, que hizo recoger y poner en su librería algunos q se hallaron defenquadrados y comẽçados a deshojar, en algunas tiendas del alcana de Toledo, firviendo las hojas de emboluer las mercadurías q allí se vendían, como papel viejo y de poca confideracion. (Robles 235-36)

[I]n the churches in which it had been conserved for such an infinity of years, because there were now so few clergymen that knew it, and also due to a lack of books, and because the few that existed were written by hand, in Gothic letters: and even of these it is legendary that that he ordered to have gathered and put in his library a few which were found unbound and starting to lose pages in a few shops in the Alcaná of Toledo, the sheets serving as wrapping for the merchandise that were sold there, as old paper of little value.

Obviously, there are several points of resemblance between the two anecdotes, from the fact that missing documents were found in the same location—the Alcaná of Toledo—to the fact that both men (who were also both *alcaláinos*) were actively seeking the respective documents and facing the likelihood of never being able to find them. Further, there is also the fact that both sets of documents were in a foreign character set requiring translation, those of Cisneros in Gothic letters, and those of Cervantes in Arabic. Taking

into consideration that Robles's book was published one year before *Don Quixote*<sup>55</sup> and that it was about the hero of Cervantes's hometown, it seems probable that Cervantes would have at least been aware of the biography, and likely would have at least heard of the legend of how the Cardinal found the ancient Visigothic manuscripts of the Mozarabic rites. In addition to these similarities, however there are also a pair of additional connections between the two Alcaná anecdotes.

The first of these two connections comes in the lines that introduce Cervantes's encounter with the merchant selling the documents written in Arabic papers. He leads in the find stating that "yo soy aficionado a leer, aunque sean los papeles rotos de las calles" ("I am fond of reading, even it be broken scraps of paper in the streets"; 1.9:179). This produces an interesting parallel to the "papel viejo y de poca confideracion" ("old paper of little value") mentioned in Robles's telling of Cisneros's discovery. While the *Don Quixote* line does not specifically refer to the documents found, as is the case with the

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<sup>55</sup> While there has been some debate with regard to the precise date of the composition of *Don Quixote I*, there is some evidence which is "circumstantial, but reasonable" to support the notion that a large portion of the novel was completed in the 1590's (Mancing *Cervantes' Don Quixote* 42). This may, at first consideration, seem to negate the likelihood that the anecdote from Cisneros's life could have inspired the scene in the Alcaná from *Don Quixote*—and indeed, even raise the possibility that the influence worked in the other direction. However, the fact that the scene from the cardinal's life was to have taken place several decades before the birth of Cervantes makes it even more probable that the story of the discovery of the Visigothic manuscripts in the Toledan marketplace circulated locally as part of the oral tradition or in some other format prior to the 1604 publication of Robles's biography of Cisneros.

Visigothic manuscript, the inclusion of such a detail in the same context lends to the likeness between the two episodes.

Yet another interesting detail in the Alacaná anecdote from *Don Quixote* could be considered to be a hint at the Cisneros story. After his find, Cervantes states that he searches for the “morisco aljamiado” to act as a translator, and states that “no fue muy dificultoso hallar intérprete semejante, pues, aunque le buscara de otra mejor y más antigua lengua, le hallara” (“it was not very difficult to find such an interpreter, as even if I had sought one of a better and more ancient language I would have found one”; 1.9:179). Rico explains this by stating that “El autor se refiere al hebreo, considerada la mejor y la más antigua por ser la del Antiguo Testamento” (“The author is referring to Hebrew, considered the best and oldest language because it is that of the Old Testament”; *Quijote* 118). Indeed, Charles Ver Amiel’s study on the presence of cryptojudaism in sixteenth-century Spain seems to support the possibility of Rico’s statement (503-12). Further, Ruth Fine agrees that “En Toledo de fines del Siglo XVI es aún fácil encontrar cristianos nuevos de moro o de judío que sepan descifrar los caracteres prohibidos” (“In Toledo at the end of the sixteenth-century is it still easy to find new Christians of Moorish or Jewish descent that know how to decipher the forbidden letters”; 64). While Hebrew is certainly a reasonable assumption as the “otra mejor y más antigua lengua” based on the living languages of the marketplace, this could also have applied to the Visigothic language, as Toledo was the “ancient Imperial Visigothic capital” (Graf 35) of Spain, and according to Robles in his biography of Cisneros, certainly still had a few “clerigos que le supiesfen” (“clergymen who knew it”; 236) during the lifetime of the Cardinal. By not specifically stating the language he means, the ambiguity here created



by Cervantes leaves the reader to guess—perhaps correctly, perhaps not—what he means. This could well be yet another example of the *tropelía* in which Cervantes seemed to delight in engaging. As John T. Cull has stated about *Don Quixote* as a whole, “it is the novel's intentional ambiguity that leads the reader to explore beyond the literal meaning and question the authorial intention” (50).

Of course, in order for the reader of *Don Quixote* to follow the clues which could lead to the interpretation of the *Ichthys* embedded within the Orbaneja anecdote would require a great deal of imagination—or would it? Simply working backwards from the notion given by Don Quixote that “así debe de ser de mi historia” (“so it must be with my story”) in regards to the anecdote, one could start by writing his name (which is also the title of the novel) in the Gothic letters most visually similar to the Roman letters used in Spanish text (as we saw in Figure 4). The result is extraordinarily similar to the fish symbol alongside the IXΘΥΣ, and does indeed result in the image of an animal with the name of an animal written beside it in Gothic letters, much like the painting realized by Orbaneja in the analogy given by Don Quixote.

In what manner might such a visualization work within the mind of a reader? It is useful to consider Cervantes's possible first reaction to the *Ichthys*. As a Spaniard well read in the books of chivalry and other literature of his nation, the similarity of the fish symbol to the manuscript Q could not possibly have escaped him. But how might he have read the Greek letters of the acrostic? As Keith Oatley explains, “What we read and what we see is assimilated by means of what we can understand” (60-61). This, of course, raises the question of whether Cervantes could read or understand Greek.

Several scholars have noted the frequency with which Cervantes mentions issues of language and translation. Leo Spitzer makes special mention of the “polyglot habits” of some of the characters in *Don Quixote* (188). Ruth Fine discusses the prevalence of the topics of language and translation, and connects these to the idea of heterodoxy through their relationship to the issue of Biblical translation during the time of Cervantes (57). Ottmar Hegyi notes the “remarkable awareness of the problem language barriers can cause,” and points out that this fact could indicate that Cervantes may not have been fully multilingual (232). Indeed, if there is one message with regards to language that rings clear throughout the works of Cervantes, it is that each person best uses his or her own native language. As John G. Weiger points out, “On a number of occasions Cervantes will remind us that the Greeks did not speak Latin because they were Greeks and not Romans and that the latter did not write their masterworks in Greek for the corresponding reason” (*Substance* 167). De Armas leaves no doubt as to his stance about the possibility of Cervantes knowing Greek when he insists that Cervantes “did not know the language” (*Cervantes* 100).

So how might Cervantes have perceived the *Ichthys*? Oatley explains that “what we see and what we read are taken in insofar as they achieve significance for us, by becoming parts of our schematic models, our implicit theories of what we know about the world” (61). In other words, we absorb the information in a manner that is meaningful to us by somehow aligning or connecting it with some previously stored knowledge or experience. Yet how do we respond if the new percept does not directly align with prior experiential information? Oatley explains that “we take in the material by creatively transforming it to make it comprehensible to us personally” (61).

Applying Oatley's view that the individual perceiving understands the thing being perceived based on models already known to him to the case of the *Ichthys*, Cervantes may have viewed the fish symbol itself as so unlike one ("tan mal parecido"; 2.3:57) that he did not have an immediate referent that would have signaled the idea of "fish" to him. Rather, the shape looked exactly like the manuscript letter Q, and he therefore could have taken it as such. The subsequent shapes (i.e., the Greek letters), although not in his own alphabet, were nonetheless either similar to or identical to letters of his native alphabet, and therefore Cervantes could have "creatively transformed" the dissimilar letters into the ones most visually like those of his own experience.<sup>56</sup> As it turns out, in addition to the fact that early modern Spanish letters were similar to Roman characters, there is also the strong possibility that Cervantes had at least a working knowledge of Latin (De Armas *Cervantes* 87, 204, 212). Either way, it is obviously true of the *Ichthys* that for the uninitiated "tendrá necesidad de comento para entenderla" ("it will require a commentary in order to understand it").

Research in visual perception supports the tenets of Gestalt psychology with regard to the idea of "*global precedence*": that the whole is processed before the

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<sup>56</sup> This once again recalls the previously discussed scene in the Alcaná de Toledo when the narrator comes across the manuscripts which contain the rest of the story of Don Quixote. Just after mentioning he has found the documents, the narrator adds that they are written in Arabic letters, "y puesto que aunque los conocía no los sabía leer" ("and although I recognized them I did not know how to read them"; 1:9.179)—if the same is indeed true of the Greek/Visigothic letters for Cervantes, the process described here of reading them as Roman characters would be one way in which the reader could make sense of them.

individual parts (Wagemans, Wichmann, and Op de Beeck 21). This accords with the idea that Cervantes could have viewed the *Ichthys* as one unit prior to attaching meaning to the separate letters and fish symbol. J. C. Johnston and J. L. McClelland found in their research on letter recognition that perception of text functions with a “*word superiority effect*,” in which letters are better recognized in the context of meaningful words or sounds, while the reader can (similarly) ignore a distractor letter which is either replaced or manipulated when contained within a recognizable word (1192–94). As Johan Wagemans, Felix Wichmann, and Hans Op de Beeck similarly report, “global attributes of a stimulus may be perceived first and [...] these global attributes may determine our percepts so strongly as to suppress the processing of the individual features” (24). This also seems to accord with the notion that Cervantes could have viewed the *Ichthys* symbol and the IXΘΥΣ and associated the pair with the previously known word “QUIXOTE,” thus causing him to ignore the missing, unpronounced (and to at least a few of his contemporaries, useless) “U” and hence view the “ΘΥΣ” as “OTE.”

Alan Garnham writes that research findings in language comprehension give further context to how one might recall such a word from a kind of inner dictionary. As Garnham reports, “the identification of what words are present in a particular utterance or written sentence depends on the use of a mental store of knowledge about the words in the language one knows—the *mental lexicon*” (242).

But then what is this “QUIXOTE” word Cervantes may have previously known? As Mancing explains, “the Spanish word *quijote* (from the Catalan *cuixot*) is used for the piece of armor that covers a knight’s thigh (in English, *cuisse*), and some readers have seen in its use a connotation of sexuality, perhaps prudery or an unconscious desire to

sublimate sexual desire” (*Cervantes’* DQ 138). This meaning, of course, connects easily to the concept of a knight errant, as armor is a very identifiable part of his garb. There are some critics, however, who find the explanation of the piece of armor as a possible source of his name hollow, among them Kurt Reichenberger, who flatly states that “this makes no sense at all” (21). Of course, the comic possibilities of the word *quijote* as a piece of thigh armor and as the symbol of Christ could exist simultaneously as a double entendre which would be understood by the “privileged readers” who recognized the word as a Spanish-language reading of Greek symbols and letters. Indeed, even for such readers, the frequency with which the name “Quixote” appears in the text could begin to subsume the original meaning perceived by the reader and thus be replaced by the association with the fictional character, as recent research into semantic associations with words has shown (Rayner and Frazier 779).

There are additional hints at the possible *Ichthys*/Quixote identity in the first chapters of part one of the novel, although they are subtler than the Orbaneja/author comparisons from part two. In Chapter 1 of *Don Quixote I*, just after the knight has named himself, his horse, and his lady-love, the narrator cryptically states that every one of these names is “músico” (“musical”), “peregrino” (which could be either “unusual,” “devout,” or “like a pilgrim”), and “significativo” (“meaningful”; 1.1:119). Certainly, the *Ichthys*/Quixote link could be considered both meaningful and devout. As it turns out, it also has a strong musical connection.

The first letters of the lines of verse of “The Song of Sybil”—the best-known musical composition of the liturgy commonly called the “Mozarabic rite” (Donovan 167)—formed the acrostic IXΘΥΣ (Gómez 160). This liturgy had been a matter of

national Christian pride in early modern Spain. According to popular belief, this liturgy had been brought to Spain by Saint James, the apostle, after which it was supposedly adopted by Visigoths into their religious services and then later conserved by the Mozarabic Christians during four centuries of Arab rule (García Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano 258).<sup>57</sup> Eventually, however, the Mozarabic liturgy was banned by an official papal command issued at the Council of Burgos in the late eleventh-century, primarily due to certain elements of the Visigothic brand of Christianity to which the Catholic Church was opposed (Donovan 21).

At the end of Chapter 2 of *Don Quixote I*, Don Quixote is awaiting dinner in a roadside inn. After being told that all they have is a low-grade codfish, or “truchuela” (which functions as “troutlet” in Spanish), the would-be knight errant states: “Como haya muchas truchuelas [...] podrán servir de una trucha” (“As there may be many troutlets [...] they could serve as one trout”; 1.2:127). This is highly reminiscent of a line by the early Christian theologian Tertullian: “we are little fishes, called after our great fish Jesus Christ” (Wiles and Santer 273). Tertullian, incidentally, was also the first to write of the source of the fish symbol as the acrostic IXΘΥΣ (Jackson, *Concise Dictionary* 396). Ironically, despite also being responsible for the interpretation of the Trinity as it is still used by the Roman Catholic Church, Tertullian was excommunicated by Pope Zephyrinus in the year 202 for holding beliefs deemed at odds with those of the papacy—

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<sup>57</sup> Also known as Santiago, his potential presence in Spain was a subject of great debate in the Catholic Church (García Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano 261)—especially in the era of Cervantes. The famed pilgrimage of Santiago is named after him—allowing one more specific meaning of “peregrino” (“pilgrim”) to be applicable.

perhaps one of the earliest examples of religious persecution by the Catholic Church (Thompson 374). In part, because of this—and also because of Tertullian’s declaration that it was “no part of religion to compel religion” (47)—Tertullian was co-opted by the Reformation movement as theological ammunition against the Inquisition and the Catholic Church; hence, he began to be seen by many as “more of a ‘Protestant’ than a ‘Catholic’ author,” which in turn landed several editions of his work on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (Backus 152, 172).

Between the visual references to a symbol of resistance to religious oppression such as the *Ichthys*, the possible ekphrastic references to a banned vernacular Bible, and the citation of a banned text on the very first page of *Don Quixote*, the investigation began to focus its aim on other possible references to imagery from banned texts. This reinforced emphasis naturally required a consideration of the rich *emblemata* tradition, in which a short proverb was accompanied by an image that somehow depicted, augmented, or amplified the theme in the text. Although many of the *emblemata* texts were perfectly permissible under the guidelines of the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, there were several which either due to content being considered heretical or their authors having been involved in the writing of other banned works landed on the pages of the list of proscribed texts. One such case is what may well be the very first book of *emblemata* of all time, which featured the text of Andrea Alciato (Drabble 319), a “revered master of legal studies.” Despite his prestige in the area of law, however, Alciato’s prior texts on chivalrous matters had been prohibited by the Italian Inquisition (Donati 154) for having gone so far as to publicly oppose the institution on the matter of witch burning—indeed,

he had even “managed to achieve a Europe-wide reputation as a witchcraft sceptic” (Ankarloo, Clark, and Monter 124).

Alciato’s first emblem book was released in Augsburg in 1531 without permission of its author, based on a manuscript of proverbs gathered by Alciato which had not been intended for publication. A German publisher, Heinrich Steyner, somehow acquired a copy of the text, and commissioned an artist, Hans Schäufelein, to create the pictures to accompany the proverbs, all of which were written in Latin (Green *Andrea Alciati* 118). In point of fact, it has even been argued that it is possible that Alciato had never intended to have images alongside his proverbs (Visser 92). However this may be, it is known that when the unauthorized publication came to the attention of Alciato, he “wished to destroy” all copies of the book, but had no legitimate recourse to act outside of Italy and Spain (Visser 1187), despite his legal training. Powerless to stop the first printing and subsequent ones of the same edition, he ended up compiling his own authorized version, with new artwork to accompany it, which he published in 1534 (Visser 4). The first book and its subsequent printings were never given either the approval of the Inquisitorial censors or the permit of import from the king to enter Spain.<sup>58</sup> However, following the release of the first authorized edition, the demand was great enough to warrant a 1549 translation into Spanish (Campa 27).

Examining the earlier, unauthorized edition, one particular emblem (Figure 10) caught the investigator’s attention—it had the title at the top, in the center, with the first two words in all capital letters:

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<sup>58</sup> This could be yet another of the possible “trabajos ajenos” (“foreign works”; 1.dedication: 94) from the dedication to the Duque de Béjar discussed earlier.



DVLCIA QVANDO-  
que amara fieri. (Alciato 114)



Figure 10: Alciato Emblem 112, unauthorized Augsburg edition of 1531.

The title of the emblem, which means “sweet things sometimes turn bitter” in Latin (Becker-Cantarino “*Emblemata*” 75), at first glance looks almost like a variant of early modern Spanish, with every word having a Spanish cognate (often a false one). The first word, “Dulcia,” which means “sweet things,” seems quite like a feminine name—and strikingly comparable to the name “Dulcinea”—the name Don Quixote invents for his imagined lady-love. Placed as the first word of the title above the image in this particular Alciato emblem, with this association in mind, it almost appears as if it were

suggesting that the name of the female pictured therein were “Dulcia.”<sup>59</sup> Further, the word “amara”—which in this particular usage means “bitter” in Latin—acts as a false cognate of the word “amara” in Spanish, which is the first and third-person imperfect subjunctive form of *amar* (“to love”). Further, even the word “fieri” has a false cognate in Spanish—the word “fiero,” which means “fierce” or “raging.” Read this way, as if the words were all true Latin cognates of Spanish terms, strung together they suggest a phrase akin to “Dulcia when I would love her fiercely” when read as if they were Spanish. At the very least, this association seemed to warrant a closer consideration of the text of *Don Quixote*.

The word “Dulcia,” which, as previously pointed out, resembles a shortened form of “Dulcinea,” calls to mind a segment of one of the final scenes in *Don Quixote II*, when Don Quixote, the Priest, and Sansón Carrasco discuss the possibility of taking up a career as shepherds. They clearly communicate that they do not wish to do this not in the literal sense, but rather the literary sense—by imitating the pastoral tradition so popular in sixteenth-century Spain (and in which even Cervantes participated with his *La Galatea*). When the subject of names arises, Don Quixote suggests that all of them adopt new names as shepherds, starting with his own new identity: “Respondió don Quijote que él se había de llamar *el pastor Quijotiz*, y el bachiller, *el pastor Carrascón*, y el cura, *el pastor Curambro*, y Sancho Panza, el [*sic*] *pastor Pancino*.” (“Don Quixote answered that he should be called *Shepherd Quixotiz*, and the bachelor, *Shepherd Carrascón*, and the priest, *Shepherd Curambro*, and Sancho Panza, the *Shepherd Pancino*.”; 2.73:629).

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<sup>59</sup> From this point on, the name “Dulcinea” in quotations will be used to refer to the female figure in Alciato Emblem 112.

Each of these names begins with their names within the fiction of the novel—except Don Quixote, who is already “in character” as the knight errant, and thus begins with his adopted name—then adds on an extra flourish on the ending. When the issue of the naming of their lady-loves arises, Sansón Carrasco states:

Si mi dama, o, por mejor decir, mi pastora, por ventura se llamare Ana, la celebraré debajo del nombre de Anarda; y si Francisca, la llamaré yo Francenia; y si Lucía, Lucinda, que todo se sale allá; y Sancho Panza, si es que ha de entrar en esta cofadría, podrá celebrar a su mujer Teresa Panza con nombre de Teresaina. (2.73:630)

If my lady, or, in better words, my shepherdess, by chance were called Ana, I would celebrate her under the name Anarda; and if she were Francisca, I would call her Francenia; and if Lucia, Lucinda, and it would all go that way; and Sancho Panza, if he were to find himself in this brotherhood, could celebrate his wife Teresa Panza with the name Teresaina.

In effect, it seems as if here Cervantes may be providing the reader with a system for encrypting real feminine names into fictional literary appellations—which could then, in theory, be applied in reverse as a decryption aid of sorts to reveal the original name. However, Don Quixote flatly exempts himself from such an operation, stating that such a ploy is not necessary for his own lady-love: “yo estoy libre de buscar nombre de pastora fingida, pues está ahí la sin par Dulcinea del Toboso” (“I am free from having to search for a name of a pretend Shepherdess, as there is the peerless Dulcinea of Toboso”);

2.73:629). Such an answer seems to imply that a similar encoding process has already been applied to the future Shepherd Quixotiz's lady-love. Quite fascinatingly, by applying precisely the inverse of the method indicated by Sansón Carrasco to the name "Dulcinea," one could ostensibly arrive at "Dulcia."

In all actuality, the female figure in the emblem (the proposed "Dulcinea") is intended to represent Venus, the Roman goddess of love. As it turns out, the Dulcinea/Venus connection in *Don Quixote*—via *ekphrasis*, no less—has already been notably established by Frederick A. De Armas in his study of the visual relationship between a scene in Chapter 10 of *Don Quixote II* and the painting *Primavera* by Botticelli ("Eloquence" 8-16). The De Armas study would certainly support the idea of the possible connection between the Alciato emblem and the Goddess of Love, but as the major difference between the authorized and unauthorized Alciato books was that they had different illustrations, a correspondence between the unique peculiarities of the earlier image created by Hans Schäufelein and the text of *Don Quixote* still needed to be established.

In Chapter 30 of *Don Quixote II*, as the Duke and Don Quixote discuss the beauty of Dulcinea and the Duchess, Sancho joins in, adding that: "-No se puede negar, sino afirmar, que es muy hermosa mi señora Dulcinea del Toboso, pero donde menos se piensa se levanta la liebre." ("It can't be denied, only affirmed, that my Lady Dulcinea del Toboso is very beautiful, but where one least expects it, the hare is raised"; 2.30:284). Francisco Rico affirms that the portion about the hare is a proverb which means that one can always expect the unexpected (*Don Quijote* 1:959). Remarkably, in the image of the emblem, only half of the body of "Dulcinea" can be seen, as the right side of the frame

blocks the view of the other side in which a hare is raised to the level of “Dulcinea’s” head—where one would least expect it, in quite a literal sense. However, despite Rico’s erudite explanation, according to the *Diccionario de la lengua española* the second part of the proverb to which Rico refers is typically “salta la liebre” (“the hare jumps”), rather than “se levanta la liebre” (“the hare is raised”). Indeed, this same dictionary entry lists the meaning of “levantar *alguien* la liebre” (“*somebody* raising the hare”) as “Dar a conocer un asunto que estaba oculto” (“To make known a matter which was hidden”; 2:1377). Perhaps, then, here Cervantes is communicating both the literal and figurative meanings of the proverb simultaneously, with even the symbolic sense carrying a double-meaning—a hair-raising possibility indeed.

In Chapter 73 of *Don Quixote II*, the hare/Dulcinea connection is further reinforced when Don Quixote overhears some children shouting as they are chasing a hare, and reacts exclaiming:

-¡*Malum signum!* ¡*Malum signum!* Liebre huye, galgos la siguen:

¡Dulcinea no parece!

-Estraño es vuesa merced -dijo Sancho-; Presupongamos que esta liebre es Dulcinea del Toboso... (2.73:626-27)

-Bad sign! Bad sign! Hare flees, greyhounds chase her: Dulcinea does not appear!

-Your Grace is strange –said Sancho-; Suppose that this hare is Dulcinea del Toboso...

This direct metaphor—“esta liebre es Dulcinea del Toboso” (“this hare is Dulcinea del Toboso”)—seems to correspond exactly to the image in the emblem, where half of the body of “Dulcinea” is, at least considering it only two-dimensionally, the frame that contains the hare. Perhaps even more significantly, this scene occurs in precisely the same chapter in which the aforementioned key to encrypting the feminine names is given, thereby providing the reader with both the coded image and its password in the same section of the text. Significantly, the hare of the emblem is exclusively to be found in the unauthorized edition of the Alciato text devoid of royal and Inquisitorial permits—not one of the three different graphical images associated with this emblem in the years following its first unauthorized publication and leading up through the printing of the *princeps* edition of *Don Quixote* include either a hare or a rabbit anywhere in the picture.

At this point, the working theory of mind for Cervantes in the investigation had to be examined with respect to just how the “Dulcinea” of the emblem functioned in a similar way to the Dulcinea character from *Don Quixote* in terms of her relationship to the other characters of the novel. As it turned out, there were a few scenes in the text of Cervantes’s novel which bore some potentially significant correspondences to the image of the Alciato emblem.

In one important scene in Chapter 9 of *Don Quixote II*, as Don Quixote and Sancho wait outside of Toboso the night before Sancho is to seek out Dulcinea for his master, the knight errant tells his squire that “en todos los días de mi vida no he visto a la sin par Dulcinea, ni jamás atravesé los umbrales de su palacio, y que sólo estoy enamorado de oídas y de la gran fama que tiene” (“in all the days of my life I have not

seen the peerless Dulcinea, nor have I ever crossed the threshold of her palace, and I am only in love by ear and of the great fame she has"; 2.9:100). Looking at the figure of Cupid in the Alciato emblem, one can see that he is blindfolded, and therefore cannot see "Dulcinea," while his ear is clearly exposed, allowing him to only be "in love by ear" with her. Further, as "Dulcinea" is half-hidden by the frame which includes the hare, it could be interpreted as if she were partly in "her palace," while Cupid has not "crossed the threshold." None of the authorized editions of the Alciato emblem have such a frame which could function as the "threshold" of a "palace." Further, in two of the authorized editions of the artwork, Cupid wears no blindfold at all. In the third, although he does wear a band across his eyes, his ear is also covered, so that this connection of the Alciato emblem to these parts of the text of *Don Quixote* also only functions for the unauthorized image created by Schäufelein.

In yet another scene, this time in Chapter 67 of *Don Quixote II*, Don Quixote is thinking of Dulcinea when the narrator announces that "como moscas a la miel, le acudían y picaban pensamientos" ("like flies to honey, thoughts were coming to him and stinging him"; 2.67:586). As can be seen in the emblem, insects (presumably bees, although the image is not clear in this regard) are flying toward Cupid and stinging him—which is why "sweetness sometimes turns sour." Worthy of note here as well is the concept that the mere thoughts that Don Quixote has of Dulcinea have the power to sting him, because the mention of honey, when considered in connection to the classical symbolism of the beehive as the keeper of memory (Carruthers 36), leads the reader to the implied image of the hive—which is never mentioned directly in the text, but clearly pictured in the emblem.

Yet another curious clue in the text which leads to a Quixote/Cupid connection can be found in Chapter 23 of *Don Quixote I*, when Sancho comments on the insults that Don Quixote has directed at him: “me parece que sus saetas me zumban por los oídos” (“it seems to me that your arrows are buzzing by my ears”; 1.23:318). Interesting is the possibly doubly referential nature of the line to Cupid and the beehive—first, in the reference to “saetas” (“arrows”), which, among the many weapons or armor that Don Quixote wields in the course of *Don Quixote*, are never mentioned or included in any other description of the would-be knight errant—and second, via the use of the word “zumar,” which is a word of onomatopoeic origin which refers to the buzzing of insects (Corominas 177-92). Remarkably, in each of the authorized Alciato emblems which were published prior to the release of *Don Quixote*, Cupid appears with a bow, but without an arrow, and therefore even this connection only works in relation with the unauthorized Schüfelein image.

Once again, the investigation needed to re-hone the working theory of mind for Cervantes. This Cupid/Quixote connection was the second possible link found for the protagonist, after the Christ/Quixote relationship discussed earlier—a pair of distinct associations which at first glance seemed to muddy the waters. However, this “trinity,” as it were, is not so discontinuous after all. Indeed, a long history of Cupid/Christ relationships in literature and theology has existed dating back to the Romans (Boyle 306). In the Middle Ages, the parallel ideas of Cupid as the god of love and of the Christ-child who represented eternal love and forgiveness had become so interconnected in art and literature as to become virtually interchangeable (Hyde 30-32; Holloway 47). However, by the time of the early modern Period, the distinction between pagan and



Christian gods and ideals—especially between Cupid and Christ—were being more clearly delineated (Campbell 35), and an imprecision with regard to the lines between the two could be seen as blasphemy, possibly leading to punishment by the Inquisition. As Frances N. Teague describes the quandary of this type of a situation (although from the perspective of the Golden Age in Britain), in a context in which the majority of the audience is Christian, “any scene that represents supernatural creatures outside the Christian framework is potentially heretical, while any scene representing supernatural creatures in the Christian framework is potentially blasphemous” (111).

Even as late as the mid-1700’s, in a travel account and memoir of his travels through Spain, Giacomo Casanova tells of a sculptor friend incarcerated by the Inquisition for three years for creating a sculpture which Inquisitors claimed heretically combined elements of both Jesus and Cupid—despite the claims of the artist that it was purely a likeness of Cupid (Casanova 84). Similarly, of particular concern to the Inquisition during the Counter-Reformation in regard to the clarity of the distinction between Cupid and Christ was the fact that one of the major Protestant criticisms of Catholicism was that the separation of pagan and Christian beliefs were blurred by much of the Catholic religious iconography—and most specifically censured was the case of the divisions (or lack thereof) between Jesus and the Classical god of love (Kingsley-Smith 26-35).

Armed with this possible relationship between Don Quixote and Cupid, the investigation took a new look at the De Armas study on the *Primavera* (see figure 11) by



Figure 11. *Primavera*, by Botticelli (1482). Public domain image, source: <http://www.googleartproject.com/collection/uffizi-gallery/artwork/la-primavera-spring-botticelli-filipepi/331460/>.

Italian Renaissance painter Sandro Botticelli. As it turns out, despite brilliantly accounting for almost every character in the famous “Enchantment of Dulcinea” adventure and connecting them to one of the images in the renowned painting, De Armas leaves a major player from the story completely unaccounted for in the fresco, and similarly, one character from the *Primavera* unaccounted for in the text—they are Don Quixote and Cupid, respectively. In fact, not once in the article is the name of Cupid even mentioned—despite his obviously central presence in the painting.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Another important early work by George Camamis on *ekphrasis* in Cervantes also draws links between the works of the author and *Primavera*—in that case, the text is from

Although De Armas himself comments that “Don Quixote cannot see the beauty and enchantment of the picture” (De Armas “Cervantes “52), he does not connect the fact that Cupid is blindfolded to Don Quixote’s inability to see the reality described to him. In spite of not relating the protagonist to Cupid, nor explaining the presence of the Roman god, De Armas does physically place Don Quixote in the center of the scene (where Cupid happens to be located), treating the image as if the left side were the reality as it presented itself to the knight, and the right as what Sancho “painted” with his (ekphrastic) description.

Given the results of the earlier research, the investigation continued with the examination of prohibited books, especially those with visual elements and religious content—and with a special watch being kept for imagery containing Cupid. In the course of this search, one name from the lists of the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* that was contemporary with that of Cervantes stood out among others—that of Daniël Heinsius. Heinsius, born in 1580 in Ghent, was forced to flee northward during his youth to escape Spanish rule and the encroaching oppression of the Inquisition (Meter 11). His family converted from Catholicism to Protestantism shortly thereafter, and for the rest of his life he was outspokenly opposed to the Inquisition (Becker-Cantarino *Heinsius* 115). Heinsius was only 25 years old at the time of the publication of *Don Quixote I*, but he had already established himself in the field of Hellenic studies, and published five volumes by 1604. He has been credited for being one of the major forces in the acceptance of

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*La Galatea*. Interestingly, in that study Camamis specifically points out that Cupid’s presence is unaccounted for specifically in the text—except for the detail of Cupid-Christ connections (“Concept” 192-201).

vernacular languages among the erudite, not only in literature, but also in the areas of philosophy, law, and theology—all fields in which he published scholarly tomes (Porter and Teich 80). Heinsius was widely known throughout Europe, and virtually everything he wrote ended up on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*. In fact, on the list of 1790, almost two centuries after he had begun publishing, there remained such a concern in the Holy Office over his writings that only the very few permitted Heinsius texts were listed—all others were strictly prohibited. Moreover, even in the case of those few allowed books, they were only tolerated in specific Inquisition-approved annotated or expurgated editions (Rubín 124).

In 1601, just as the reputation of Heinsius was beginning to spread throughout Europe, he published a book of emblems titled *Quaeris quid sit amor, quid amare, cupidinis et quid castra sequi?* (“*What is love, what is it to love, and what is it to follow desire's camp, you ask?*”), which featured accompanying poems of his own composition. The titles and subtitles of the emblems were in Latin, while the poems themselves were in Dutch. One emblem in particular, titled “Ni spirat immota,” (see figure 12; 5) instantaneously commanded this investigator’s attention:

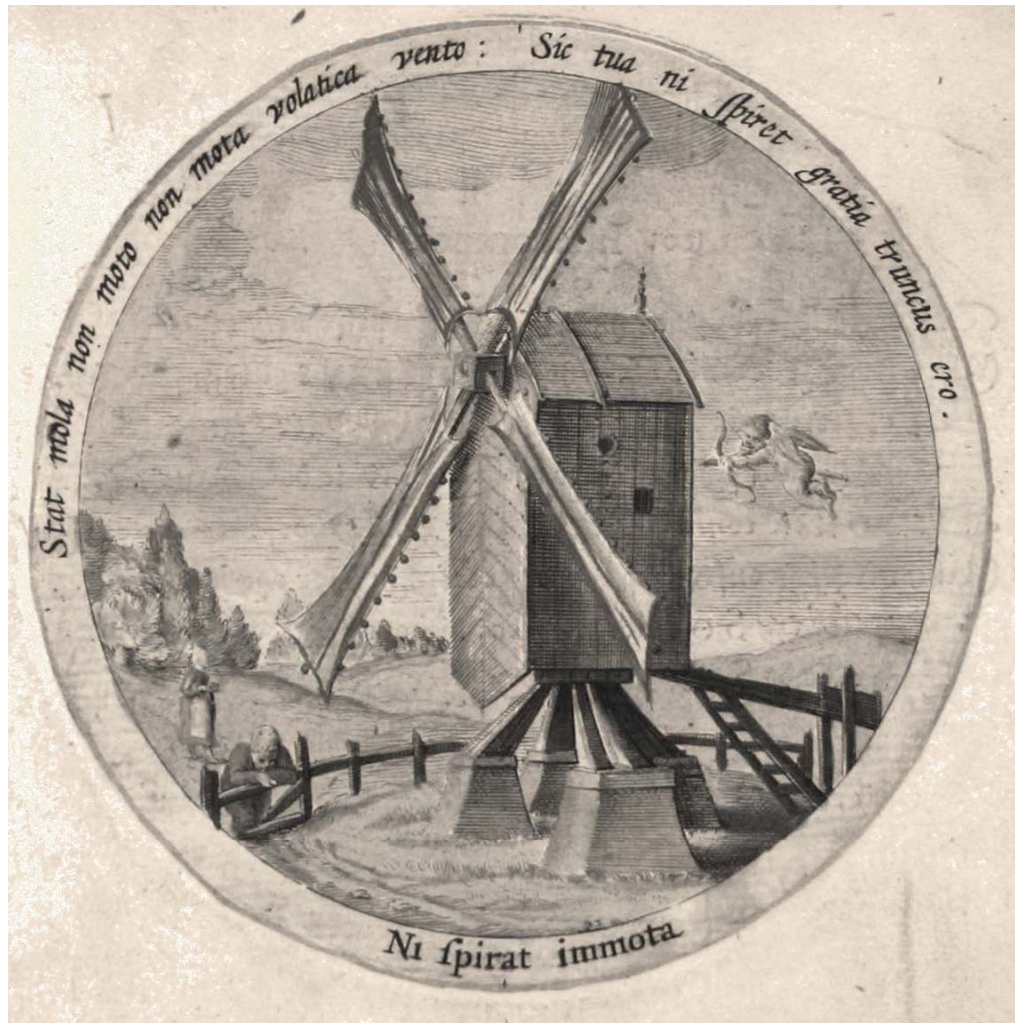


Figure 12. “Ni spirit immota,” from *Quaeris quid sit Amor* (Heinsius 1601).

The immediate reaction when viewing the image is that Cupid is attacking the windmill. This, of course, calls to mind what is certainly the most iconic scene in all of *Don Quixote*—the misadventure in *Don Quixote I*, Chapter 8 when the mad would-be knight attacks the windmill believing it is a giant. The intention of the artwork, obviously, was to depict Cupid shooting his arrow at the girl visible on the left side of the image—so that she might become enamored of the lovelorn boy leaning on the fence. However, the angle of the bow and arrow, along with the placement of Cupid with

respect to the windmill and the girl, are clearly less than perfect—which is what evokes the initial impression. Keeping in mind the Quixote/Cupid connection already discussed, another interesting issue arises: the possible reaction of Don Quixote to the windmill itself, as it is quite unlike any common in Golden Age Spain.

A typical windmill in La Mancha from the era when *Don Quixote I* was released usually had a cylindrical, almost silo-like base. The windmill in the emblem, however, is characteristic of those found in Northern Europe during the same era. For a middle-aged Manchegan at the turn of the seventeenth-century, this construction could likely have seemed to have four legs with four large feet—it would, at the very least, have been quite out of the ordinary. On the other hand, to a country gentleman of La Mancha in Cervantes's time, so deeply absorbed in reading books of chivalry that he sees castles for inns and princesses for prostitutes, Heinsius's windmill would almost necessarily have to elicit the question: Is it a monster or a windmill?

Here the investigation had to re-examine the working theory of mind for the man behind *Don Quixote*. It seemed at the very least possible that Cervantes had found inspiration for the most famous adventure of *Don Quixote* in a prohibited book by a foreign Protestant—and one who fought for the valorization and use of the vernacular language, no less.<sup>61</sup> This seemed consistent with, and a logical possible extension to, the earlier discoveries about the names and the ekphrastic references with uncanny similarities to images from proscribed texts. However, the last scene, in the context of the

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<sup>61</sup> Among his many texts banned by the Inquisition, Heinsius even published an annotated version of the New Testament, although this was not printed until 1639, long after the release of *Don Quixote II* and the death of Cervantes in 1616.

working theory of mind, does bring up some questions with regards to Cervantes's possible motives. To point: in the windmill scene, Cervantes is depicting the adventure with his protagonist named after a symbol—of Christ—used by the faithful to escape religious persecution. But far from being a reverent representation of Jesus, Don Quixote is a heretical Cupid/Christ deludedly attacking a piece of machinery that he believes is a monster. Even less piously, the title of the emblem is “Ni spirat immota” (“Without wind there is no movement”), and, as pointed out by Francisco Lizcano y Alaminos, a windmill without wind could easily stop in the shape of the cross (332). What to make of this? Is Don Quixote—or Christ—attacking the church? Could this be a condemnation of the Inquisition, depicting Christ as critical of the church that formed in his honor? Or, perhaps more scandalously, could Cervantes be mocking the crucifixion by pitting Christ against the cross yet again, in a grotesque and tragic manner?

Returning now to the topic of hidden codes and Cervantes's inclusion of their corresponding decryption keys, it appears that yet another such solution is offered to the reader. The textual code discussed earlier, described by Don Quixote for the encrypting of feminine names for pastoral purposes led the investigation to examine yet another similarly curious segment of the novel. In Chapter 67 of *Don Quixote II*, triggered by a question from Sancho Panza about the meaning of the word “albogues,” Don Quijote goes off on an impromptu etymology lesson about Spanish words derived from the Moorish language:

[E]ste nombre *albogues* es morisco, como lo son todos aquellos que en nuestra lengua castellana comienzan en *al*, conviene a saber: *almohaza*,

*almorzar, alhombra, alguacil, alhucema, almacén, alcancía, y otros semejantes, que deben ser pocos más. (2.67:589)*

[T]his word *albogues* is Moorish, as are all of those which in our Castilian language begin with *al*, for example: *almohaza, almorzar, alhombra, alguacil, alhucema, almacén, alcancía*, and other similar words, which must only be a few more.

This “morisco”, or Moorish language, differs from the aforementioned reference by the narrator of the “morisco aljamiado,” in that the pure *morisco* is essentially one and the same as Arabic, while the “aljamiado” refers to the use of the Arabic alphabet in writing Castilian words. As pointed out by Joan Ciruti, despite the fact that Don Quixote correctly identifies twelve of thirteen words as being of Arabic origin, the method he espouses for identifying them is flawed—specifically that any Spanish word that begins with “al” is necessarily derived from Arabic (70-72). Regardless, as it gives the reader a “code” with the context of *Don Quixote* for identifying Spanish words as Arabic, it could be useful for recognizing character or locations names that Cervantes wants the careful reader to associate with the language or culture of the Arab world. Indeed, several critics have argued that Cervantes likely knew Arabic as a result of his several years of confinement as a hostage-for-ransom in Algiers. At least a few of these authorities believe that he intentionally disguised this knowledge through the first narrator of *Don Quixote* who seeks a translator for the Arabic manuscript he finds in the Toledan marketplace (Fernández de Navarrete 368). As a result, it seems quite likely that the “code” we are given is one that Cervantes knows is false as pertains to the Arabic



language—and quite possibly it is one that is only true for the particular text the reader is facing.

A pair of key names in *Don Quixote* begin with “al”—most specifically the “real” names of Don Quixote and Dulcinea, which are “Alonso” and “Aldonza,” respectively. Following the guide given to the reader by Don Quixote himself, it is deducible that the two characters are of Arab descent. This seems to concord with the connection of Don Quixote to Christ, as the latter was certainly from the Arab lands. This also seems to suggest a possible parallel between Dulcinea and the Virgin Mary. So was Dulcinea more like Venus or the Virgin Mary? Perhaps the difference that separates the two figures is not as great as it initially seems. Indeed, inasmuch as visual representations of Venus and the Virgin Mary, there is at least one documented case of Catholics of the early modern Period mistakenly venerating a painting representing Venus and Cupid in the belief the figures were the Virgin Mary and the infant Christ (Kingsley-Smith 24-25). Of course, the Inquisition insisted on clearly defined distinctions for the two figures in the arts.

Outside of the heresy implicit in visually linking the images of Venus and the Virgin Mary, the links between the two figures was hardly unknown to Cervantes. Indeed, in *Os Lusíadas* by Portuguese author Luís de Camões—a work which Cervantes is believed to have read (Mancing *Encyclopedia* 1: 98), the two iconic figures are presented as virtually equal contenders for the focus of the protagonist. As Guido Gozzano describes a key scene from the work: “Tutto l'Olimpo pagano e cristiano presiede alla gesta. La Vergine Maria da una parte—una Vergine troppo paganeggiante—e Venere dall'altra—una Venere che sa di sacrestia e di Santa Inquisizione—si contendono a volta a volta l'eroe navigatore.” (“All of pagan and Christian Olympus

preside over the feast. The Virgin Mary on one side—an overly paganized Virgin—and Venus on the other—a Venus who reeks of sacristy and Holy Inquisition—contend turn by turn for the navigator hero”; 131). Although there is no way to prove whether Cervantes actually did read the work, he does praise the author in Chapter 58 of *Don Quixote II* during a discussion of pastoral poetry, calling him the “excelentísimo Camoes” (“very excellent Camoes”; 2.58: 512).

Likely the most convincing argument that Cervantes may have been familiar with the parallels between the Virgin Mary and Venus are his own words, when he writes of the historical continuity of a traditional festival, despite a change in the honoree. The narrator of *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda* states of the Fiesta de la Monda of Talavera:

...que trae su origen de muchos años antes que Cristo naciese, reducida por los cristianos a tan buen punto y término que, si entonces se celebraba en honra de la diosa Venus por la gentilidad, ahora se celebra en honra y alabanza de la Virgen de las vírgines [*sic*]. (485-86)

...which traces its origin to many years before Christ was born, reduced by the Christians to such a fitting point and limit that, if at that time it was celebrated by the pagans in honor of the goddess Venus, now it is celebrated in honor and praise of the Virgin of the virgins.

Here Cervantes pointedly shows an example of how the Virgin Mary has replaced Venus. While this example is specific to the festival in discussion, it does raise the larger issue of the replacement of one religious figure with another. The final words defending the

celebration in the context of Cervantes's contemporary Spain also speaks volumes. When he states that “ahora se celebra en honra y alabanza de la Virgen de las vírgines” (“now it is celebrated in honor and praise of the Virgin of the virgins”), he is on one level simply defending the continuation of the pagan festival via its new honoree. However, on another level he is also bringing up yet another way in which the two figures can be compared—the fact that they are both virgins. As Marina Warner explains, Venus was also considered a “virgin,” despite her lovers (49).

This connection of Venus/Virgin Mary on the heels of the connections described between Dulcinea and Venus would seem to agree with a parallel that has been drawn several times between Dulcinea and the Virgin Mary in the criticism of *Don Quixote*. In this tradition, Ronald Paulson has closely examined many of the ways in which Dulcinea functions as a sort of proxy Virgin Mary throughout the novel (92-107). However, a considerable number of these critics, including Paulson, have noted that Dulcinea is often a (comic) distortion of a Madonna figure (98), and David Quint even notes that she serves as more of “a kind of anti-Mary” (90).

This “anti-Mary” label is largely due to the fact that despite Don Quixote's undying devotion to Dulcinea and her purity, serious aspersions are cast on her character by other figures in *Don Quixote*—usually as a means of ridiculing the knight errant himself. In a sense, she is viewed as “maculate” by some, while “immaculate” by Don Quixote throughout the text. This serves as an interesting parallel to the debate that was raging in the Catholic Church during the same period in regard to the Immaculate Conception and the Virgin Mary. Although without a doubt the defamation of Dulcinea in *Don Quixote* by her detractors would necessarily have to be seen as a grotesque

representation of how the believers in the Madonna's own immaculate nature may have seen the stance of the Dominicans, who held that the Virgin Mary could have been born with original sin—yet have immaculately conceived and given birth to Jesus (*Lea Middle Ages* 610). Of course, there did also exist in the general population beliefs regarding “the Virgin Mary as an immoral, unfaithful woman, and her Son, Jesus, as illegitimate” (Costa Fontes 26), but to express such an idea overtly risked torture or death at the hands of the Inquisition.

Returning to *Don Quixote*, following so many instances within the text of names being “significativo,” it seems appropriate to take a closer look at its full title: *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha*.<sup>62</sup> The first things that attract attention are the initials of the first two words of the title: I and H. Having just traced the source of the *Ichthys* symbol, it is clear that these two letters bring to mind the monogram of Christ. Beginning in the late Middle Ages, this monogram began to be most commonly written as “I.H.S.,” which represents the first two letters of “Jesus,” followed by the first letter of “Christ” (from the Greek spelling of the name), a usage common still today (Herbermann 376). However, the original form of the monogram, as can be found in early Christian archeological remains, is simply “I.H.” (Jackson *New Schaff-Herzog* 168). Also significant, this monogram was often used alongside the *Ichthys* in the sacred places of the early Christian period (Lowrie 242).<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> For an in-depth study on the various ways in which “ingenioso” was used and understood in the time of Cervantes, see Martín Jiménez (171-88).

<sup>63</sup> Another symbol for Christ from the early Christian era still popular today is ΑΩ (Bennett 88). This was also common in the Visigothic period (Jorge 115). As mentioned

At first deliberation, this possibility of a double-reference to Christ seems quite pious, supporting the notion that Cervantes was a devout Catholic, an opinion held by several respected Cervantes scholars (Monroy 23). However, the “hidalgo” in the title of *Don Quixote* is itself problematic. As the title of the lowest rank of nobility at the time, “hidalgo” was not used to denote a noble of “substance,” but rather to designate a descendent of such an important personage. As Charles Presberg explains, *hidalgo* derives “from *hijo d’algo*, ‘son of someone [i.e., someone important]’” (113). As James Parr notes, in the text of *Don Quixote* the reader “can also perceive a play on the word *hidalgo*” which derives “from *hijo de algo*, literally ‘son of something’” (“Title” 238).<sup>64</sup> Perhaps, then, this honorific of “hidalgo” in the title of *Don Quixote* may be “significativo” as well. On the one hand, the idea of Don Quixote/Christ being labeled the “son of someone important” should not seem problematic in and of itself, since, according to Christian belief, he is the son of God. On the other hand, the notion of Christ not being of equal importance to God *does* violate the concept of the Trinity, in which all three beings—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—are considered equal (Bickerseth 144). Rejection of the Trinity was considered one of the “unpardonable heresies” by the Catholic Church, and was a sacrilege severely punished by the Inquisition (Lea *Spain* 201). Interestingly, however, rejection of the Trinity was a blasphemy particularly

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previously, the Visigothic  $\Omega$  looked identical to the letter Q in the manuscripts of fifteenth-century Spain, meaning that to a well-read Spaniard of the time, this symbol of Christ would look like AQ—perhaps only coincidentally the initials of Alonso Quijano.

<sup>64</sup> Also interesting is that the title of *Don Quixote* refers to Don Quixote as an “hidalgo,” while in the novel itself Don Quixote always calls himself a “caballero”—it is Alonso Quijano whose title is actually “hidalgo.”

associated with the Iberian Peninsula. In fact, in Italy during the sixteenth-century “people spoke ironically of the *peccadiglio di Spagna* (‘little sin of Spain’), when referring to those who rejected the dogma of the Holy Trinity” (Pérez 52). According to Marian Hillar, the phrase “peccadiglio di Spagna” was coined by Ludovico Ariosto (189), whose *Orlando furioso* was, in the words of David Quint, “the literary work that most deeply influenced Cervantes in *Don Quijote*” (6).<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Such a claim as to the primal importance of *Orlando furioso* in *Don Quixote* is contentious, at best. While Thomas R. Hart in his classic study *Cervantes and Ariosto: Renewing Fiction* states that it is “likely that Cervantes learned more from Ariosto, whose work he admired, than from the Spanish romances of chivalry, most of which he despised” (4) and Marina S. Brownlee claims in 1985 that Cervantes “is implicitly, yet unmistakably, establishing the *Furioso* as a programmatic subtext for the *Quijote*” (“Cervantes” 226), José Montero Reguera cautions that such a claim “parece quizás exagerado” (“seems perhaps exaggerated”; *El Quijote* 119). By 2000, in fact, Brownlee too seems to put *Amadís de Gaula* on an equal footing when she states that it, “along with Ariosto’s *Orlando furioso* [...] had tremendous appeal for Cervantes in the forging of the *Quijote*” (“Romance” 162). On the other hand, while Mancing agrees that *Orlando furioso* “was of major importance for Cervantes in the writing of *Don Quixote*,” he also adds that it was “not far behind *Amadís de Gaula*” (*Cervantes’s DQ* 90). Indeed, in agreement with this last point of view and relating it to the majority opinion—although obviously to the point of exaggeration—Branka Kalenić Ramšak states that “todos relacionan el *Quijote* con el más importante y más famoso de los libros de caballerías españoles: con el *Amadís de Gaula*, al que entienden como modelo supremo que sirvió a Cervantes en su parodia” (“all connect the *Quixote* to the most important and most famous of the Spanish books of chivalry: to *Amadís de Gaula*, which is understood to be the supreme model which served Cervantes in his parody”; 220-21).

During Cervantes's lifetime, the most infamous critic of the Trinity was the Spaniard Miguel Servetus, who called the dogma "a three-headed monster" (Hillar 300). Servetus was persecuted by Catholics and Protestants alike, and eventually met his death by being burned at the stake at the hands of reformer John Calvin (290). Given that Servetus was only a very young man when Ariosto died, however, Ariosto's epithet for Spain must obviously have had its roots in a different source. As it turns out, that origin was the very point of Christian pride of the nation—the Visigoths. As mentioned previously, the Visigoths were credited with bringing Christianity to Spain. Yet, their specific version of Christianity was Arianism, which—in the words of Isidore of Seville (who was closely tied to the councils in Toledo that repudiated Arianism and initiated the adherence of subsequent Visigoth kings to Roman Catholicism)—rejected the Trinity and held that "the Son was inferior in majesty to the Father and subsequent to Him in eternity" (quoted in Wolf 84). Isidore even singles out the inventor of the Visigothic alphabet, stating to his credit that the "bishop Ulfilas fashioned Gothic letters and rendered the scriptures of the New and Old Testaments into this language," but adding to Ulfilas's discredit that his Arianism was an "evil blasphemy" and a "rank perfidy" (as quoted in Wolf 84).

The writings of Isidore were widely available during the time of Cervantes, with one edition of his complete works actually published by the Imprenta Real of Madrid in 1599. However, there also existed another source of information on the heresy of the Visigoths in the text of the 1571 work *Los XL libros del compendio historial de las crónicas y vniversal historia de todos los reynos de España* ("The Forty Books of the Historical Compendium of All of the Histories of the Kingdoms of Spain") of Esteban de

Garibay y Zamalloa, eventually appointed official court chronicler for Philip II in 1592 (Kagan 115). In the eighth book of the *Compendio* Garibay y Zamalloa states that “el obispo Ulphila con falsos argumentos engañó a los Godos, gente en quien en este tiempo auia pocas letras, y los induzió a la heregía Arriana” (“the bishop Ulphilas with false arguments tricked the Goths, a people who in that time had few letters, and he induced them to take up the Arian heresy”; 208). He continues: “d’ esta manera estuuieron los Godos en la heregía Arriana en dozientos y siete años” (“in this way the Goths remained with the Arian heresy for two hundred and seven years”; 208). If the works or ideas of Isidore and Garibay and Zamalloa did not reach the eyes or ears of Cervantes, another text which this investigation asserts may have interested the author of *Don Quixote* could well have. It so happens that one of the most famous early Spanish-language translations of the New Testament featured a prologue by Cipriano de Valera in which Valera calls the “los Godos” (“the Goths”; xi) “gente barbara y infiel” (“barbaric and unbelieving people”; xi).

As it turns out, Cervantes could also have become familiar with the Arian heresy via another thinker with whom we have already seen he was quite conversant—Erasmus. In fact, one great controversy regarding Arianism broke out with regard to Erasmus’s recommended new translation of the Nicene Creed (Coogan 64). Erasmus attempted to produce a more accurate reflection of the original Greek into the Latin used by the Catholic Church. However, the Roman version of the creed was more than just subtly mistranslated—it was simply not the same text as the original. Indeed, the version approved and used by the Vatican had additions not present in the original Greek, of which one striking “example is the phrase *Deum de Deo* in the Latin Creed, not found in



the Greek” (Nichols 254). Erasmus pointed out this area of dissonance between the original and the Roman versions of the Nicene Crede, and met with great resistance from the Vatican, who viewed the subtraction of the phrase as heresy—despite the fact that Erasmus’s translation much more faithfully reflected the source texts. Further, Erasmus was attacked by Catholic theologians for his decision to remove the word “sapienti” (“wise”) from the phrase “soli sapienti Deo” (“only wise God”) because it was argued that by removing the word, Erasmus was yet again promoting the views of Arianism in that he was effectively “subordinating the Son to the Father”—despite the fact that he was simply being meticulous in making the most accurate translation of the original Greek texts possible (Coogan 64). Perhaps then in drawing comparisons between his own story and that of Mauléon, Don Quixote is not only indicating that his name is indeed a foreign one which is intended to be read in Spanish—as we have seen is the possibility with the *Ichthys*—but also, conceivably, that he is a particularly Arian version of that same being when read in his most authentic translation.

Further considering the title, scrutinizing specifically the final “de la Mancha,” some possible ulterior meanings arise. The cabalistic esotericist Aubier investigates the possible meaning of the name of Don Quixote’s declared home, and begins her analysis of its name by asserting that the 1608 edition of *Don Quixote* was the definitive edition approved by Cervantes himself. Aubier states that on the cover of that edition, the name appeared as “Mãcha,” as the tilde above the “ã” represented the “n” which needed to be inserted immediately after, thus reading “Mancha” to contemporary Spaniards. However, Aubier argues that “Mãcha puede pronunciarse Mancha, pero también Machia, en cuyo caso evoca la palabra hebrea *Maschiah*, que designa al Mesías o al Mesianismo” (“Mãcha

can be pronounced Mancha, but also Machia, in which case it evokes the Hebrew word *Maschiah*, which designates the Messiah or Messianism”; 232).

Of course, the most literal meaning, in the context of the *Don Quixote*, is that it indicates that the protagonist of the novel is from the region of Spain called La Mancha. The name of this region “is derived from the Arabic *mantxa* for ‘dry land,’ an accurate description of much of the region” (Mancing *Encyclopedia* 2:459). In addition to referring to this particular political-geographical area, this phrase could also mean “of the stain” (Parr, *Touchstone* 56). This is significant (especially given that Cervantes has deliberately drawn attention to the names in *Don Quixote*) in that the Spanish word “mancha” derives from the Latin “*macula*” (Covarrubias Orozco 535). The word “*macula*,” of course, is most often heard in connection with the Catholic notion of the Immaculate Conception—which denotes the beginning of a human life completely without sin, and is only applicable to two figures in that faith, Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary. This relationship of *macula* to “mancha” would hardly have been lost on his contemporaries, as can be inferred via the historical account of a 1617 procession to celebrate the Immaculate Conception, in which a Don Quixote figure was paraded through the streets to celebrate the purity of the Virgin Mary. A sign that accompanied the knight-errant read:

Soy Don Quijote el manchego  
que, aunque nacido en La Mancha,  
hoy defiende a la Sin Mancha. (Russell 318)

I am Don Quixote the Manchegan  
 Who, although born in La Mancha,  
 Today defend the Stainless One.

Another fact that makes the contraposition of “La Mancha” and the *Ichthys* even more daring is that “the form of the *Vesica Piscis*” was traditionally “used only for the enclosing of the most sacred objects, more particularly in connection with the Immaculate Conception” (Jenner 34).<sup>66</sup> In effect, by stringing together the names of the title with the aforementioned possible relationships in mind, the result could be read as “Jesus, Son of Someone Important, Sir Christ the Maculate.”

All of this raises the issue of the possible intention of Cervantes with regard to such a title, as the implication seems decidedly anti-Christian. Although to deny the Virgin Mary the Immaculate Conception of her own birth is typical in the Protestant forms of Christianity (Wright and Neill 129), the notion was highly unpopular in the Catholic Church during the time of Cervantes, although it would not be made canonical until the mid-nineteenth-century (Haskins 33). One notable exception was the Dominican Order, which believed that the Madonna could have been born a normal birth, and then later given birth by Immaculate Conception to Jesus—who was born free of original sin, regardless of the nature of his mother’s own conception. As it turns out, the Dominicans were the religious order that was largely in charge of the Inquisition (Lea, *Middle Ages* 610). Therefore, it is possible that Cervantes was simply attacking the Inquisition with

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<sup>66</sup> *Vesica Piscis* is another term that describes the fish shape referred to here as the *Ichthys* (Farrar 113).

such a title, as the resulting grotesque image of a “maculate” Christ could have been a way of implying that the Inquisition was perverting the very ideals of Christianity.

Given these possibilities (i.e., the heretical implication of a maculate Christ who is of less importance than his Father, in addition to the ekphrastic references to a banned Protestant Bible), the motives for the risky references begin to seem less clear. Certainly, an anti-Inquisition theme is common to all of these possibilities, possibilities that connect back to books banned by the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*. But what of the religion of Cervantes? Was he Jewish? Catholic? Protestant? An atheist? Was he mocking all religion? Among Cervantes scholars, it has been said by some that he was indeed an atheist, while others have insisted that he was exceptionally devout. Still, “both of the extreme views are probably just that: extreme” (Mancing *Encyclopedia* 2:606). Indeed, in an article that examines Cervantes’s possible intentionality in communicating a particular religious message in his works, Michael McGaha states: “I think it is beyond question that Cervantes held heterodox views, and that in *Don Quixote* he created an amazingly ingenious way of planting seeds of doubt in the minds of thoughtful readers without arousing the suspicions of censors” (186).

Also possible, as mentioned earlier, is that Cervantes hoped to communicate with a select audience in coded ways that only “los que saben” (“those who know”) would understand. As E.C. Graf has suggested, even what many scholars have deemed errors (or simply “funny” situations) could be veiled missives to others who shared similar forbidden viewpoints. Apparently sensing the presence of an *Ichthys*-like symbol in the text of *Don Quixote* (while not directly linking this symbol to either the text or the name of the protagonist), Graf writes: “what many scholars disregard as comical details or

outright mistakes in *Don Quijote* may be Neoplatonic versions of the Christian fish drawn in the streets of pagan Rome” (86).<sup>67</sup> While it is impossible to irrefutably arrive at such a conclusion, it seems less problematic to accept possible heterodoxy in the belief system of Cervantes. To begin with, there exists the possibility that Cervantes came from a *converso* bloodline. Further, it is plausible that Cervantes’s several years of travel—including time he spent in Italy, where he passed through Ferrara (Sliwa *Vida* 287); in Algiers, as mentioned previously, where he spent years in captivity surrounded by the Arabic language and Islam; and his youthful years in Seville, shortly after the discovery of hundreds of *Pineda New Testament Bibles* (244)—contributed to his ability to see through the differences in Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, and Judaism, and realize they all have strong common roots.

Along with this, Cervantes was probably well aware of the simple fact that Jesus was a Jew from an Arab land—both elements which would have denied Christ a “limpieza de sangre” (“purity of blood”) according to the precepts of Spanish society during the life of Cervantes (Cascardi 4). Indeed, the lack of such a purity of blood was considered precisely a “mancha” (i.e., “stain”). While this investigation has previously

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<sup>67</sup> Another interesting—and apparently unintentional—appearance of the *Ichthys* in Cervantes criticism, although one never discussed in the course of the text itself, is visible on the cover of Parr’s *Don Quixote: An Anatomy of a Subversive Discourse*. The symbol appears in the elaborate cover art by Hal Barnell immediately below the title letters SUB of “Subversive.” A perfect example of an unmotivated (i.e., spurious) and truly esoteric reading of this cover could suggest that the linking of the image with SUB connects to the submarine nature of the fish, while the word “subversive” indicates the motive for the use of the religious icon in an academic work.

discussed a few of the meanings of the word “mancha,” there is one further meaning that was particularly important in Golden Age Spain. As “mancha” is defined by Covarrubias Orozco in his 1611 dictionary, the word: “finifica todo aquello que efraga y defdora lo que de fuyo era bueno, como mancha en un linage” (“signifies all that which damages and tarnishes that which was good in someone or something, like a stain in a lineage”; 535). Therefore it is quite likely that Cervantes’s titular “maculate” Christ was a daring and artful manner through which he could criticize the concept of “limpieza de sangre,” thereby deriding the campaign of ethnic and religious cleansing being waged by the Inquisition.

Cervantes’s references to proscribed texts, via both ekphrastic means and also through textual paraphrases, indicate that he probably did read some prohibited works, and that he further may have surreptitiously alluded to them in his works. In fact, already on the second page of the *Princeps* edition of *Don Quixote I*, a citation attributed to the books of chivalry of Feliciano de Silva invites closer examination. Upon discussing the future Don Quixote’s predilection for texts about knight errants, the narration states that of all such books:

...ningunos le parecían tan bien como los que compuso el famoso Feliciano de Silva, porque la claridad de su prosa y aquellas intrincadas razones suyas le parecían de perlas, y más cuando llegaba a leer aquellos requiebros y cartas de desafíos, donde en muchas partes hallaba escrito: *La razón de la sinrazón que a mi razón se hace, de tal manera mi razón enflaquece, que con razón me quejo de la vuestra fermosura.* (1:1.114)

...none seemed as fine to him as those composed by the famous Feliciano de Silva, because the clarity of his prose and his intricate reasoning seemed to like pearls, even more so when he read the declarations and letters of love, where in many places he would find written: *The reason for the unreason which is done to my reason, weakens my reason in such a way, that with reason I complain of your beauty.*

As María Stoopen points out (in agreement with prior such statements by Menéndez Pelayo, Rodríguez Marín and W.S. Hendrix), this quote in truth most closely matches one not from the sixteenth-century author's books of chivalry, but rather from Silva's *Segunda Celestina* (164).<sup>68</sup> The lines occur during an apostrophe by Felides, the lovesick protagonist of the novel in dialogue form:

¡Oh amor que no hay razon en que tu sinrazon no tenga mayor razon en sus contrarios! Y pues tú me niegas con tus sinrazones, lo que en razon de

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<sup>68</sup>Javier Martín Lalanda states that the quote from *Don Quixote I* may actually refer to the following citation from Feliciano de Silva's *Florisel de Niquea*, one of the author's books of chivalry (xxxvi): "¡Ó, amor, y para qué me quexo yo de tus sinrazones, pues más fuerça en ti la sinrazón tiene que la razón! Por do no es justo queixarse de ti el que conoce, en ti, que no saliendo de tu natural usas de tu oficio" ("Oh, love, and why do I complain of your unreason, since in you unreason has more strength than reason! Because of this it is not just for he to complain about you who knows that you, not departing from your nature, make use of your character"; 10). This investigation, however, concurs with the collective opinions of Menéndez Pelayo, Rodríguez Marín, W.S. Hendrix, and Stoopen that the quote from *Don Quixote I* more closely resembles that of Silva's *Segunda Celestina*.

tus leyes prometes, con la razon que yo tengo para amar á mi señora Polandria (8).

Oh love, you have no reason in which your unreason may not have greater reason in your opponents! And so you deny me with your unreason that which you promise by reason of your laws, and it is with reason that I love my lady Polandria.

The coinciding words and expressions between the quote from *Segunda Celestina* and the lines that the narrator of *Don Quixote I* attributes to Silva's chivalric works are remarkably similar. So why might Cervantes, an author and avid reader himself, choose to misattribute the Feliciano de Silva quote to the incorrect text? Or rather, why might he deliberately *not* cite the correct source? One answer could be that while Silva's *Segunda Celestina* had been a "true best seller" (Hinrichs xi), by the time of the publication of *Don Quixote I* in 1605 the continuation of the *Celestina* tale had spent almost five decades as a banned text since its appearance in the *Index Prohibitorum* of 1559 (38). The principal reason for the proscription of *Segunda Celestina*, according to Carlos Alvar, was that Silva's novel "es violentemente anticlerical" ("is violently anticlerical"; 59), while undoubtedly ranking as the author's very best work (59). In effect, then, what Cervantes accomplished with this clever maneuver was to bring to the front of his novel and the eyes of his readers some of the very same words that the Inquisition, through its list of prohibited texts, had attempted to make disappear forever.

How could Cervantes have pulled this off without being noticed? Perhaps, in part, because the words were not a direct citation, but rather an approximate paraphrase in



similar style, it would have been possible to point to the same example as that suggested by Martín Lalanda as the intended true source of the lines in *Don Quixote I*—in either case, the satirical representation of Silva’s convoluted style functions perfectly as a comic parody. Beyond this, Silva was known among readers as the writer of literary continuations of the original *Amadís de Gaula*—i.e., sequels—*par excellence*. Indeed, Silva wrote several successful sequels on the chivalric tale, and “succeeded so completely that no rival ever produced more than a single continuation of *Amadís*” (Hinrichs 58). As Daniel Eisenberg puts it, Silva was “the only author of romances of chivalry to achieve renown from his fiction” (*Romances* 78). It is quite possible that Cervantes takes advantage of this fact, and intentionally misdirects the reader, engaging him or her yet another time in the technique that Woodward calls *tropelía*.

In the prologue to *Don Quixote I*, Cervantes (or least the fictional narrative voice that pretends to be the author<sup>69</sup>) tells of suffering from writer’s block in the composition of the very same prologue. The author then recounts an anecdote about the visit of an old friend, who listens to Cervantes’s tale of woe. Cervantes states he is having a slew of problems—issues for which he claims to be considering shelving the entire project.

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<sup>69</sup> In much the same way that the source of the voice of the aforementioned “segundo autor” has been questioned by some Cervantes scholars, the identity of the prologuist has also been a subject of some debate in recent years. While Mancing states that “the *yo*, then, who frets about this last pre-publication hurdle, the prologue, is Cervantes” (“Cervantes” 123), John G. Weiger contends that “Cervantes should not be identified with any of the authorial voices within the text that begins with the Prologue” (“The Prologuist” 138). For the purpose of this study, the prologuist will be called “Cervantes,” in keeping with the usage of the vast majority of Cervantes scholars (Mancing *Chivalric* 192-93).

Among these complications are matters such as finding someone to write the opening sonnets, writing margin notes and annotations, working in erudite quotes from worthy philosophers, and claiming a lengthy bibliography. The friend replies that these are all trivial matters which are easily remedied. He suggests that Cervantes write the introductory poems himself, and says that for cultured margin notes he could simply quote a few Latin expressions he happens to know by memory, crediting them to famous philosophers as he sees fit (1:prol.96-100). One such saying suggested by Cervantes's friend is "*Non bene pro toto libertas venditur auro*" ("*Liberty cannot be bought for gold*"; 1:prol.98), after which he states: "Y luego, en el margen, citar a Horacio, o a quien lo dijo" ("And then, in the margin, cite Horace, or whoever said it"; 1:prol.98). Here, the friend is misattributing a phrase to Horace that in truth is part of *Aesop's Fables* (Rico *Don Quixote* 1:15). The incorrect accreditation of the Latin phrase is never rectified, thereby effectively negating or at least attenuating the possibly corrective effect of the "or whoever said it" casually added at the end. This apparent encouragement to misrepresent or lie is compounded by the fact that the friend also at one point suggests to include the words of "el obispo de Mondoñedo" ("the Bishop of Mondoñedo"; 1:prol.100), as "cuya anotación os dará gran crédito" ("the citing of whom will be of great credit to you"; 1:prol.100). This same bishop, also known as Fray Antonio de Guevara, was famous for "resorting to historical falsifications" (Chiong Rivero 5) and for writings which were "full of contradictions and discrepancies" (Chiong Rivero 5). With regard to the bibliographical list of works cited, the friend states that:

El remedio que esto tiene es muy fácil, porque no habéis de hacer otra cosa que buscar un libro que los acote todos, desde la A hasta la Z, como

vos decís. Pues ese mismo abecedario pondréis vos en vuestro libro; que puesto que a la clara se vea la mentira, por la poca necesidad que vos teníades de aprovecharos dellos, no importa nada; y quizá alguno habrá tan simple que crea que de todos os habéis aprovechado en la simple y sencilla historia vuestra. [...] Y más, que no habrá quien se ponga a averiguar si los seguistes o no los seguistes, no yéndole nada en ello (1:prol.100-101).

The solution for this is very easy, because you need do no more than find a book that cites them all, from A to Z, as you say. Then you'll put that same alphabet in your book; because even though the lie is obvious, due to the little need you have of them, it doesn't matter at all; and maybe there will be someone so simple-minded as to believe that you have utilized all of them in your simple and basic history. [...] And what's more, no one will try to verify if you followed them or did not follow them, not having anything to gain from it.

Clearly, the friend here recommends that Cervantes simply invent the list of sources for his work. The friend has no scruples with regard to the fact that “a la clara se vea la mentira” (“the lie is obvious”; 1:prol.100), even emphasizing that “no importa nada” (“it doesn't matter at all”; 1:prol.100). Finally, the friend seems to gloat that even though it may be evident that the citations are untrue, “quizá alguno habrá tan simple que crea” (“maybe there will be someone so simple-minded as to believe”; 1:prol.100), and that in either case, “no habrá quien se ponga a averiguar si los seguistes o no los

seguistes” (“no one will try to verify if you followed them or did not follow them”; 1:prol.101). The response of Cervantes to the counsel of his friend is acceptance.

Cervantes states: “Con silencio grande estuve escuchando lo que mi amigo me decía, y de tal manera se imprimieron en mí sus razones que, sin ponerlas en disputa, las aprobé por buenas” (“I listened in deep silence to what my friend was telling me, and his words made such an impression on me, that without disputing them, I acknowledged them as good”; 1:prol.101). Further, Cervantes revels in “la buena ventura mía en hallar en tiempo tan necesitado tal consejero” (“my good fortune in finding such an adviser in such a time of great need”; 1:prol.101). The last claim of the friend that no one would check Cervantes’s references seems to ring true in the case of the lines from *Segunda Celestina*, whose false attribution went unnoticed (at least in the world of academic criticism) for almost three centuries. Further, the same reasoning can be applied not solely to wrongly cited items in the text, but also to completely uncredited portions whose source is never revealed—as could quite justifiably be said of the words of the dedication which were plagiarized from Herrera and Medina.

It seems highly likely that the quote attributed to Silva’s books of chivalry indeed came primarily from the banned *Segunda Celestina*. This begs a question: If such books were forbidden—and their ownership punishable by death in many cases—could Cervantes have had access to these banned materials? It turns out that while possession of books banned by the Inquisition was decidedly risky, such proscribed texts circulated nonetheless.

Carlo Ginzburg’s classic study of the Inquisition-era apprehension, trial, and eventual execution of a heretic named Menocchio, titled *Il formaggio e I vermi: Il cosmo*

*di un mugnaio del '500* (“*The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*”), examines the source of the heterodox ideas expressed by the miller. Ginzburg’s research traces several of the views of the owner of a local mill named Domenico Scandello (also known as “Menocchio”) to books cited by the miller during the course of the trial. As it turns out, Menocchio, while being a working man of relatively low income, was able to read and understand these texts at a reasonable level,<sup>70</sup> and had contacts with people of all classes, from the poorest of his village to the local nobility. Despite his modest means, Menocchio was known to have in his possession “dei libri proibiti, in particolare la *Bibbia* in volgare” (“some prohibited books, in particular the vulgar language Bible”; 25) and even some texts of a very controversial nature, including a vulgar language edition of the Koran (48).

Menocchio was just one member of a large interwoven network of individuals who regularly loaned and borrowed books among each other, many of these banned by the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (48). This sharing of texts seemed to cross social and educational strata, a fact which contributed to “l'impressionante convergenza tra le posizioni di un ignoto mugnaio friulano e quelle dei gruppi intellettuali piú raffinati e consapevoli del suo tempo” (“the astonishing convergence between the perspectives of an unknown miller of Friuli and those of the most refined and knowledgeable intellectual groups of his time”; 11). Such a distribution of books and knowledge was also made

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<sup>70</sup> Ginzburg states of the understanding that Menocchio demonstrated of the complex philosophical, political and religious ideas to be found in the books he read that he had “un'immagine rudimentale e semplificata; molto chiara, però” (“a rudimental and simplified comprehension; but very clear”; 34).

possible by the existence of free elementary schools open to all classes and both genders of all ages for the express purpose of teaching reading and writing (49).

While Menocchio, being from the village of Montereale in Northeastern Italy, was not a fellow countryman of Cervantes, he was indeed a contemporary of the author of *Don Quixote* (indeed, Domenico Sandella's life ended, on direct orders from the Holy Office of the Inquisition in Rome, when he was executed on July 6, 1601; Ginzburg 132). Could the author of *Don Quixote* have been familiar with Menocchio's case? As it turns out, a situation in which Cervantes could have known about the case of the miller from Monreale executed by the Inquisition for the books he possessed and the ideas they planted in his mind would certainly be possible. As we have already seen, Cervantes traveled widely in Italy, and greatly valued his time there—making his familiarity with Italian intellectual and political discourse highly probable. At the very least, it seems likely the author would have been familiar with the widespread exchange of texts. What is most salient here, however, is that the availability and distribution of even prohibited books in Italy at this time would most likely be quite similar to the corresponding situation in Spain, as the machinery of the book prohibitions and their corresponding Inquisitorial control in both peninsulas was also rather comparable. Ultimately, both Italy and Spain looked to the Vatican for their religious authority, and each enforced the dogma of the Catholic Church via the Inquisition, issuing mutual lists of banned books in the form of the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (Borromeo 818).

While it is true, as discussed before, that it is impossible to know such a matter incontrovertibly, it seems reasonable to assume as a part of a theory of mind of Cervantes, that being such a well-read man with an obvious love for all kinds of texts (as

was discussed earlier, he even admits to reading “papeles rotos” (“torn papers”; 1.9:179) that he finds in the street), he would not be in favor of the kind of book ban imposed through the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*. By this same count, it seems highly likely that he was more than moderately familiar with the philosophical school of skepticism. Indeed, its conceptual presence in *Don Quixote* may well be, in the words of Maureen Ihrie, “calculated and extensive” (80).

One of the central ideas of skepticism is that one should always question all authority or outside dogma—a pose that obviously puts the proposed “knowledge” of any organized church under at least initial suspicion, although, as Popkin suggests, most skepticism during the period was not anti-religious (15-19). However, the lack of abundant literary evidence of skepticism towards religion may not accurately reflect the true beliefs of individuals during the time of the Inquisition. The *autos de fé* and other forms of punishment likely silenced more than a few skeptics in regards to their views of Catholicism, making textual evidence of such views scarce to begin with.

Taking into consideration the propensity that Inquisition officials have been shown to have had for burning or otherwise destroying books that ran counter to the Catholic Church, even the few documents which were produced had a low possibility of surviving for future generations—leaving all hopes for communicating opinions counter to the Inquisition to writing between the lines in cloaked manners. As Barbara Simerka points out, “a primary obstacle to the identification of unbelief is the extreme persecution suffered by those who openly subverted official dogma, which resulted in the need to express unbelief in an evasive manner” (“Early Modern Skepticism” 50).

So what can we conclude from all of the information reviewed and considered in this study? Certainly, we can claim no further knowledge of Cervantes's true intentions. It does seem at least possible, however, that *one* of the meanings of the name "Quixote"—if not the primary meaning—could have derived precisely from the *Ichthys* discussed above. Such a possibility would seem to follow the Cervantine tradition of double-meanings and wordplay that somehow seems to be missing from an exclusive association between the name "Quixote" and a piece of thigh armor. Such a possibility would also fit in well with the frequent references to different languages, alphabets, and translations throughout the course of the novel—especially the repeated references to reading Spanish words in foreign letters—including at least four times directly suggesting the name "Quixote" be read in Gothic letters. Finally, all of this this just might help to explain the long tradition of reading parallels to Jesus Christ in the character of Don Quixote.

While not due to the possible use of the *Ichthys* in the naming of the protagonist of the Cervantes novel, several commentators from philosopher Søren Kierkegaard to novelist Fyodor Dostoevsky to philosopher-novelist Miguel de Unamuno have noted certain similarities between the figures of Don Quixote and Jesus Christ (Ziolkowski 10). Even in the context of political revolution, the parallels between the protagonist of Cervantes's novel and Jesus have been noted. Simón Bolívar, in sensing that his dream of breaking Latin America free of its colonial chains was a "utopian dream" stated: "Los tres más grandes locos de la humanidad hemos sido Jesucristo, Don Quijote y yo" ("The three greatest fools of humanity have been Jesus Christ, Don Quixote, and me"; Villegas Hoffmeister 230). In the more recent past, Venezuelan leader Hugo Chávez called forth



the image of the “Liberator of South America” along with the same two figures, the three of whom Chávez considered “his ideological allies Quixote, Bolívar, and Christ.”

According to Reyes, Chávez’s view was that all four fighters for a better world would march together in a mutual quest for “justice and an egalitarian society free of the economic subordination of the U.S.” (30).

Perhaps it was José Ortega y Gasset, however, who came closest to capturing this transcendent Christ-like spirit of Don Quixote. Following a discussion of the Fray Luis de León work titled *Los nombres de Cristo* (“*The Names of Christ*”), Ortega y Gasset declares that:

Podrían escribirse unos *Nombres de Don Quijote*. Porque en cierto modo es Don *Quijote* la parodia triste de un *cristo* más divino y sereno: él es un *cristo gótico*, macerado de angustias modernas, un *cristo* ridículo de nuestro barrio, creado por una imaginación dolorida que perdió su inocencia y su voluntad y anda buscando otras nuevas. (37)

One could write the *Names of Don Quixote*. Because in a certain way Don Quixote is the sad parody of a more divine and serene Christ: he is a Gothic Christ, macerated by modern anxieties, a ridiculous Christ of our neighborhood, created by a tormented imagination that lost its innocence and its willpower and goes seeking new ones.

In addition to the interesting notion of Don Quixote as a “*cristo gótico*” (“Gothic Christ”)—which is a notion remarkably close to the findings of this investigation—Ortega y Gasset above further suggests the composition of a book on the various names

by which one may refer to Don Quixote. Taking into account what has been found in this study, however, it might be more appropriate to simply amend Fray Luis de León's original tome to include "Quixote" as one of the names of Christ.

## CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSIONS

This study began by questioning the notion that *Don Quixote* was intended to be no more than just a "funny book." The line of reasoning that much of the early Cervantine scholarship had followed was that because the novel had initially been received in a comic manner, it must follow that the early audience, being contemporaneous with Cervantes (or at least more so), was somehow more "in tune" with the true intentions of the author. However, despite this widely held view within *Don Quixote* studies that the early readership of the novel overwhelmingly viewed the book as a strictly comedic work, the findings of this investigation show that there were consistent and continuous reactions to the novel which saw more than just the surface humor in Cervantes's creation from the moment of its publication.

The creation and relative success of one document—a forgery named the *Buscapié*, by historian Adolfo de Castro—in and of itself demonstrates the strength of the sense among readers of *Don Quixote* of the existence of a deeper level of meaning that was not apparent on the literal surface of the novel. As has been discussed in this study, Castro himself did not entirely invent the *Buscapié*—the rumors of its existence are documented as early as 70 years prior to his "discovery" of the supposed Cervantine document which lays bare the "true" symbolic meaning of *Don Quixote*. Further, that document and its own references to even earlier suspicions that such a text had been

penned by Cervantes indicate such reports date to at least the mid-1700s. While the *Buscapié* published by Castro is clearly a falsification, the possible existence of a real essay of explanation cannot be absolutely ruled out—but virtually all Cervantes scholars agree that such a likelihood is practically nil. What is most important with regard to the legendary nature of this text is the fact that it proves the persistence of the suspicion that *Don Quixote* hides a level of significance between its lines going back at least 250 years.

While the *Buscapié* is a strong testament to the feeling among early readers that Cervantes's novel contains hidden meaning, it is certainly not the only such evidence. Indeed, censor Gutierre de Cetina cites the presence of “much filosofía moral” (“much moral philosophy”; 1.prefatory: 18) in the approval to the *princeps* edition of *Don Quixote*. In 1627, Adriano Banchieri (under the pen name of Camillo Scaliggeri della Fratta) makes an overtly political critique using the adventure of the capture Mambrino's helmet as an example. In 1634, Giulio Cesare Capaccio states that *Don Quixote* is worthy of praise from God not solely for driving readers away from the books of chivalry, but for its power to send them to the pages of the Bible. Manuel Faria e Sousa's 1639 editions of Luís de Camões's *Os Lusíadas* contains a discussion about the deeper meaning of *Don Quixote*, and asserts that adventures and anecdotes in Cervantes's novel do not appear by chance, and that many are inspired by satirical or exemplary intentions—specifically citing the adventure of Sancho's governorship from *Don Quixote II* as a critique of the corruption and ineptitude involved in Spanish political appointments. Faria e Sousa further states that Cervantes's technique of hiding political criticism between the lines of his texts—and more pointedly, occasionally even meaning precisely the opposite of what appears to be said on the literal surface—is simply the way that all “great men write, and

think, and reprimand”—which indicates an open knowledge of such types of encoded messages. In 1671, Charles de Saint-Évremond writes that he admires Cervantes’s technique of disguising important truths by couching them within the statements of “the greatest madman of the Earth.” In 1720, Daniel Defoe writes that *Don Quixote* is an encoded attack on the Duke of Medina Sedonia which is only comprehensible “to one that knows the Meaning of it.” John Bowle, the editor of the first scholarly edition of Cervantes’s novel (1781), suggests that the protagonist may well have been based on Ignacio de Loyola, the founder of the Jesuit order. In 1789, the posthumously published *Las cartas marruecas* by José Cadalso includes the statement in Letter 59 by the character Gazel about *Don Quixote* that he can’t shake “the suspicion that the literal meaning is one, and that the true one is another very different one” (2082). Indeed, Gazel goes so far as to claim that Cervantes’s novel, more than any other, requires a special dictionary to be able to accurately deciphered—thereby directly stating that *Don Quixote* is a text written in code.

Beginning in the middle of the nineteenth-century, the voices of critics claiming that *Don Quixote* contains a hidden socio-political message multiply, culminating in the appearance of the earliest works of Nicolás Díaz de Benjumea in 1859. Díaz de Benjumea, who Juan Bautista A Valle-Arce called “the foremost apostle of the esoteric school of Cervantes studies,” dedicated a long, prolific career to hypothesizing and publishing his theories of a complex encoded symbolic meaning hidden between the lines of *Don Quixote*. In broad strokes, Díaz de Benjumea sees in the Cervantes novel a cloaked attack on the Inquisition disguised as the ravings of an old madman. The vast majority of Díaz de Benjumea’s contemporary Cervantes scholars, however, reject the

notion of any interpretation of *Don Quixote* which does not presume the essential truth of Cervantes's outward claimed intention of ridiculing and ridding the world of the books of chivalry, and therefore openly and sometimes viciously attack Díaz de Benjumea's theories. Díaz de Benjumea was not without supporters within the ranks of academic Cervantes scholars—including Ramón León Mainez and Antonio Opisso, who both defend the pioneering esotericist from some of the harshest attacks in the form of article and publish statements. Further, one of the initial critics who was well-known for his opposition to the ideas of Díaz de Benjumea, Manuel de la Revilla, slowly came around to the esotericist's view of *Don Quixote* as a symbolic novel.

Despite the mild, but significant, support that managed to rally to Díaz de Benjumea's views, the long-term reputation of the esotericist remained fixed in the extremely negative initial response. Paradoxically, some of Díaz de Benjumea's ideas which elicited the most vicious rejoinders during his lifetime eventually became serious topics of consideration almost a century after their initial publication—but almost invariably without crediting the esotericist for having been the first to forward them. Among these is the notion that the “prison” in which Cervantes claims *Don Quixote* was conceived is purely symbolic, and not a real correctional facility. While this caused an uproar at the time that Díaz de Benjumea made the suggestion, at the time Américo Castro “pioneered” the concept, the idea was received positively. In another example, Díaz de Benjumea was the first to suggest that Dulcinea represents the feminine soul of Don Quixote, while his own figure represents the masculine characteristics. The notion was immediately and soundly dismissed by contemporary Cervantes criticism. Almost a century later, however, a variety of Jungian analysts of Cervantes's novel make the same

claim—without any mention of Díaz de Benjumea’s having first suggested the possibility. Another early area of study by Díaz de Benjumea was with regard to the unique descriptions of and the roles assigned to women in *Don Quixote*. While this aspect of his examinations was largely ignored by the criticism of Díaz de Benjumea’s generation, it has been recently recognized for its pioneering nature in the field. Finally, Díaz de Benjumea has even been credited for having had a significant influence on one of the greatest Spanish writers of the nineteenth-century—Benito Pérez Galdós—in terms of his interpretation of Cervantes’s novel.

To intuit or sense a hidden layer of meaning which is not overtly expressed in the text of a work, however, is a risky endeavor. The dangers inherent in assuming that a suspicion regarding the possible intention of any given author is the truth of the matter without further evidence are substantial—and despite the aforementioned positive elements of Díaz de Benjumea’s theories, the first and foremost of the Cervantine esotericists was not able to avoid them. Indeed, on the occasions when Díaz de Benjumea erred, he failed fantastically—resorting to far-fetched anagrams and leaps of faith regarding the imagined thoughts of Cervantes with regard to individuals that the esotericist perceived as the Golden Age Spanish author’s adversaries. Regrettably, these spectacular blunders are still the concepts for which Díaz de Benjumea is best remembered. Yet, ironically, these dubious and often ridiculous intellectual misfires on the part of Díaz de Benjumea seem to have inspired a far greater number of subsequent studies than any of his more serious scholarly contributions.

As documented in this study, there have been an impressive number of such esoteric readings of *Don Quixote* beginning in the latter half of the nineteenth-century

and continuing to this day—quite literally occupying tens of thousands of pages. While a few have made bold and interesting suggestions which have been proven worthy of research (Díaz de Benjumea, Fors, Pallol, Camamis), considerably more never managed to rise above wild conjecture, failing to differentiate between the perspectives and realities of the esotericists themselves and the possible beliefs and historical context of Cervantes (Buhagiar, Hortigón, Morey Mora, Fuentes, Carr).

In the case of all of these authors, there seems to be a tangible aversion to the notion of reading and considering previous criticism from other Cervantes scholars—an oversight (often pointedly intentional) which has caused several esotericists to fall into the pitfalls of anachronism and historical inaccuracies which may otherwise have been avoided. Further, in many of these cases the critics seemed to be so enchanted by their own esoteric theories as to be seduced into believing that the most ludicrous anagrams and word combinations provide real evidence to support their ideas—to wit, the suggested explanation by Pallol of the name of the Cervantine protagonist as the transition from “¡Qué hijote!” to “¡Quijote!” following the author’s completion of the novel.

It has also been shown that even highly respected scholars such as Menéndez y Pelayo have been capable of extravagantly absurd esoteric defenses, as when this legendary member of the Real Academia Española derived the letters “alonsolanberto” from the apparently randomly chosen words of the partial phrase “El sabio Alisolan, historiador no” from the *Quixote* by the pseudonymous Avellaneda—tossing out several letters of the oddly truncated string of words without explanation, then rearranging them in this order to defend his own thesis of the poet Alonso Lamberto as the true writer of



the apocryphal continuation of *Don Quixote I*. Beyond a lack of sufficient historical and critical research and the use of questionable sources and forms of supporting evidence, all of these critics also seem to fall victim to inadequate or faulty forms of logic in testing their own hypotheses—especially by reducing explanatory possibilities to mutually exclusive binaries when the answer could very well lie on a continuum of possibilities, or perhaps even both presented alternatives could simultaneously be true or false.

One very significant contribution made by the esotericists, however, has been to refocus thought onto the possible intentions of the author in the composition of the literary work. Such a focus exercises the cognitive faculty known as theory of mind, which is, simply put, the ability to imagine the possible thoughts of another being within one's own mind. This study has made use of theory of mind to posit possible intentions in the mind of Cervantes during the writing of *Don Quixote*. These possibilities were then subjected to further examination, taking into account the social, political and historical context of the author—not for the purpose of ultimately claiming authoritative knowledge of the thoughts of the Golden Age novelist, but to the end of asking new questions, thus allowing for the examination of the work from new angles in the hope of finding new directions for future research that might help gain a richer understanding of Cervantes's novel.

In proposing a theory of mind of Cervantes—especially with the goal of determining whether there is a second layer of intentionality—it is important to avoid the error of the esotericists and consider the socio-political reality of the time. The Spanish Inquisition would not have allowed for Cervantes to freely express any heterodox, agnostic or atheistic thoughts or beliefs (or, in point of fact, any religious views other

than those in harmony with Catholicism), so it must be considered that any such points of view may have only been communicable via some system of "writing between the lines." Such a concept would have been clearly known to Cervantes, whether by means of his familiarity with the works of Erasmus or through his tenure in the military. Indeed, such means of communication were also quite likely a staple element of his work within the employ of the Spanish intelligence services in North Africa.

Using the aforementioned frame of reference to propose Theories of Mind for Cervantes, it becomes possible to question motives behind authorial decisions, such as the plagiarism of several lines used in the dedication of the novel. Ultimately, this further research into the reasons behind Cervantes's choices leads to additional possibilities, thereby unveiling what seems to be a regular and systematic *tropelia*, in which many adventures of Don Quixote, dialogues between characters, and even the ostensibly surface-level narration mask a potential second layer of meaning through textual sleights-of-hand, *double-entendres*, and intertextual references to a wide gamut of prohibited books—whether by allusion, misrepresentation, ekphrastic signals or selective appropriation.

Logically, as the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* was issued by the Holy Inquisition, the ultimate reasons for the banning of the books which appear on the list are always the same—that the texts contain ideas or suggestions which are at root heretical as judged by the standards of the Catholic Church, or that the information presented is in some way potentially harmful to the Church. Therefore, all of the banned books to which Cervantes may be referring naturally touch up on sensitive religious matters, including the New Testament in Spanish translation edited by Pineda. Such a book was offensive to

the Church for the reason that biblical texts in the vulgar tongues removed the authority of the Papacy from the path connecting believers to the religious Word, thereby reducing the need for the faithful to recur to the priesthood for the interpretation of Scripture.

While the outwardly stated fear of the Church (and the Spanish monarchy) was that lay readers may inaccurately interpret the texts and thereby inadvertently commit heresy, the potential loss of attendees to services and their respective tithes also threatened perceived catastrophic economic fallout for the Vatican (Thomsett 70), in addition to leaving Spain vulnerable to conspiracies hatched by possible unions between *moriscos* and Protestants or Turks—even though it is obvious in retrospect that such fears on the part of the Spanish Church and State were unfounded (Green *Inquisition* 321).

No matter what the intentions behind the book prohibitions and the severe punishments for their violation, the net effect—at least in the case of the bans on vernacular bibles—was that Christians were being sent to their deaths for possessing Scripture. Such a situation, as argued in this study, was clearly reminiscent of the Roman persecutions of the early Christians. This similarity led to this investigation’s examination of the communication methods of the crypto-Christians of the Roman era. One of the means of communication often utilized to convey their banned religion to other believers was through the “symbols of conflict,” the most famous of which was the *Ichthys* (“IXΘΥΣ”), which derived from an anagram that denotes Jesus and whose individual letters spell “fish” in Greek. In light of this, a comment made by Howard Mancing during a class lecture regarding spurious readings of *Don Quixote* took on new significance—Mancing had noted the visual similarity between the Greek letters “IXΘΥΣ” and the last five letters of the protagonist of *Don Quixote*’s last name—“IXOTE.” When this is taken

into consideration along with the fact that the fish shape itself (the *Vesica Piscis*) matches the form of the Spanish late Medieval/early early modern manuscript letter Q, in addition to the fact that the fish form and the letters “IXΘYΣ” most often accompanied one another, the result is that sequence of the shapes would resemble—to Spanish eyes contemporary to Cervantes, at least—“QIXOTE,” which would be pronounced identically to “QUIXOTE.”

At this point in the investigation, the similarity called for further investigation into the early Christian symbols, signs for references to such symbols in the text of *Don Quixote*, and the possibility that Cervantes could have been familiar with such symbols. As for whether Cervantes could have known of the *Ichthys*, it would seem highly unlikely he would not—due in part to his employment with Cardinal Acquaviva not long before the orchestrated rediscovery of the catacombs and their iconic contents (of which the *Ichthys* was the most famous symbol), the subsequent propagandistic publicity (including several scholarly books of multiple volumes) sponsored by the Catholic Church to spread the word of the same underground sites of the early Christians, and also via the appearance of the “IXΘYΣ” in the “Song of Sybil” from the Mozarabic rite, which was one of the points of pride of Spain and had been resurrected to the credit of legendary *alcaláino* Cardinal Cisneros—an individual with whose work the author of *Don Quixote* was most certainly familiar.

With regard to passages within the novel which could possibly point to the *Ichthys*, the most sophisticated and intricate of these were the two separate sections in which Don Quixote compares his own story to that of the fictional painter Orbaneja. To begin with, the parallel between the *Ichthys* and the Orbaneja passage of having a bad

likeness of an animal besides the name of the animal written in foreign characters was immediately of interest. Next, when it became apparent that the Visigothic letters indicated by Cervantes were practically identical to the Greek letters themselves, the connections became even greater—especially when considering that the source of the *Ichthys* acrostic in the “Song of Sybil” was written entirely in Visigothic. While the animal described in the Orbanjea anecdotes is a *gallo*, or rooster, rather than a fish, it turns out that there is also a fish commonly known throughout Spain by the name of *gallo*—meaning that even in this passage of *Don Quixote* the knight could be speaking precisely of a fish with a label next to it in what essentially amount to Greek letters. If all of this were not enough, it turns out that in the Mediterranean the *gallo* is the fish which is traditionally connected to Jesus as the fish he singles out to Peter, and is even called the *christópsaro*, or “Christ’s fish,” in Greece. The number of coincidences, if they are indeed only that, which connect the *Ichthys* to the *gallo* of the Orbaneja anecdotes are indeed conspicuous. When considered in conjunction with the fact that in the second telling of the Orbaneja analogy it is stated that the label in Visigothic letters is necessary to prevent the *gallo* from being mistaken for the *zorra* (which was a symbol for Satan and all that is satanic)—as if that were to mistake polar opposites—the logical deduction furthers reinforces the conclusion that what the *gallo* is ultimately intended to represent is Jesus Christ.

The Quixote/Christ parallels also led the investigation towards the examination of connections with pre-Christian mythology. Cervantes demonstrates awareness of the parallels between the ancient Venus cult and the veneration of the Virgin Mary in the commentary about the Fiesta de la Monda of Talavera in his *Los trabajos de Persiles y*

*Sigismunda* by noting that the same festival that was established to celebrate the goddess of mythology is now conducted in honor of the mother of Christ. Even *Don Quixote II*, however, has a passage that shows Cervantes's awareness of the replacement of Roman gods by figures of the Christian faith. Don Quixote recounts to Sancho Panza a story of a visit by Carlos V to Rome: "Quiso ver el emperador aquel famoso templo de la Rotunda, que en la antigüedad se llamó el templo de todos los dioses, y ahora, con mejor vocación, se llama de todos los santos" ("The emperor wanted to see that famous Temple of the Rotunda, which in antiquity was called the Temple of All Gods, and now, employed in better service, it is called of All Saints"; 2:8.92).

Also, during the course of the investigation into banned books in general, with a special focus on prohibited bibles, several interesting parallels between scenes from *Don Quixote* and images connected to these texts were examined in detail. The results seem to indicate the existence of other examples of *ekphrasis* in Cervantes's novel which refer to the art which decorates these entries on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*. This would appear to agree with what Cervantes has also done with the *Ichthys* itself, which is to read and describe a symbol (the fish) as a form which looks like the letter "Q," and also perform an *ekphrasis* of the shapes of the Greek letters "ΙΧΘΥΣ" by describing them as the letters "IXOTE." Fascinatingly, the examination of banned Scripture suggested a possible source for the name Sancho, on the frontispiece of the very same Spanish translation of the New Testament by Pineda, which proved especially pregnant with imagery which gives the impression of being ekphrastically encoded into various scenes of *Don Quixote*.

The combination of the use of *ekphrasis* to describe imagery from banned texts and the suggested links between Don Quixote and Dulcinea and the mythological deities Cupid and Venus, respectively, indirectly implied even further connections drawn between Christ and Cupid, and also between Venus and the Virgin Mary (several critics have previously noted parallels between Don Quixote's lady love and the mother of Christ). These associations led the investigation to examine other occurrences of the mythological figures in works which figured among the banned texts, leading to a rather interesting figure from a book of emblemata by the Dutch scholar Daniël Heinsius, a prohibited author noted for his anti-Inquisition, pro-Protestant views. The emblem "Ni spirat immota" from *Quaeris quid sit amor, quid amare, cupidinis et quid castra sequi?* featuring a windmill in the center, a young couple on the left and the figure of Cupid on the right was decidedly about the god of love launching his arrows at a young person—yet, because of problems of perspective in the design of the image, Cupid appears to be attacking the windmill itself. Further, the windmill is Dutch, and is therefore dramatically different in appearance from the traditional Spanish windmills such as those found in Campo de Criptana—indeed, it is imaginable that such a building would appear to have four large legs to an unsuspected native Spaniard. Given this prospect, in addition to the potential Quixote/Christ/Cupid connections discussed in this study, "Ni spirat immota" seems to at least possibly be a source of inspiration for the iconic windmill adventure of Chapter 8 of *Don Quixote I*.

While this study could never claim to know the intentions of Cervantes when inventing the name of the protagonist of his novel, the results of this investigation show a large number of correlations between the *gallo* described in the Orbaneja anecdote in

which Don Quixote states that “así debe de ser de mi historia” (“so it must be with my story”; 2.3:57) and the *Ichthys* icon of Christ. Such an explanation could quell the concern of scholars such as Kurt Reichenberger regarding the unsatisfactory explanations of the knight’s name, explain the “graphic and linguistic distortions aimed at extending meanings and revealing hidden messages” (“Cervantes” 137) that Helena Percas de Ponseti sensed but did not uncover, and justify the suspicions of the multitude of philosophers, authors and critics—including Søren Kierkegaard, Fyodor Dostoevsky, and Miguel de Unamuno—who have sensed a Christ-like quality in Don Quixote. At the very least, it would appear that the *Ichthys* represents a very strong entry into the list of possibilities for the source of inspiration for the name “Quixote”—one that does not preclude the name *also* signifying a piece of thigh armor used by knights of old.

While the results of this investigation are suggestive, they by no means represent an exhaustive examination of all of the possibilities implicit in viewing *Don Quixote* as a book rife with *tropelia*, often used to the end of disguising layers of meaning—making the novel precisely the type of work that Leo Strauss described, one “in which the truth about all crucial things is presented exclusively between the lines” (25). It would seem that all names and adventures in *Don Quixote* would merit a closer investigation with an eye towards possible references or insinuations towards the contents of books listed on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*—whether in the form of *ekphrasis* of the images featured in the books, citations falsely attributed to other sources, or the contents of the narration and dialogue which make up the novel.

Perhaps, ultimately, an approach similar to the one suggested by Narváez for the examination of historical documents—to never assume that all encoded communication



has already been uncovered, and that the decryption of remaining encrypted messages be handled by professional intelligence analysts as well as by specialized academics—would be *apropos* in the case of Golden Age literature as well. It would certainly be interesting to see the results were an agency such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation—which David Kahn acknowledges as one of the most capable in the world in the area of cryptanalysis (819)—were to assign one of its linguistic intelligence analysts—described in a report redacted for public release as possessing “high standards of language proficiency and cultural knowledge” as well as specialized training “to decipher coded messages” (Glenn A. Fine 6)—to the task of decoding and analyzing the text of *Don Quixote*.

In looking for possible encoded messages, it is important not to overly limit the scope of possible content. This investigation, for example, has primarily focused on content or topics associated with forms of Christianity considered heretical to the Catholic Church in the Inquisition era. But are the possible connections between Don Quixote and Christ, and between our protagonist and Cupid the only such associations the would-be knight errant has with major religious figures? One curious pattern which emerges in Don Quixote’s ultimate return home and eventual death may indicate otherwise. In the final chapter of *Don Quixote II*, just before the scene of his death, the would-be knight errant announces that “ya yo no soy don Quijote de la Mancha, sino Alonso Quijano, a quien mis costumbres me dieron renombre de *Bueno*” (“I am no longer Don Quixote of La Mancha, but rather Alonso Quijano, to whom my customs have given renown as *Good*”; 2.74:634). Curiously, this is the very first time in the entire course of *Don Quixote* that his name is given as Quijano, and never before has the additional title

of “the Good” been mentioned. Following this introductory sentence which introduces the new appellation supplanted to his surname, he is referred to as “Alonso Quijano el Bueno” (“Alonso Quijano the Good”; 2.74:635-37) an additional four times before the close of the chapter.

At this point in the investigation, the repetition of the new moniker so many times after never having appeared before throughout the novel caused the suspicion to arise that Cervantes may have been encoding a new message into the name. Given that the entire text of *Don Quixote* may have begun with a monogram, it seemed fitting that the text would also end with one. However, the significance of the initials A.Q.B. was not immediately obvious, and did not correspond with any recognizable Christian symbolism. While these initial letters may seem to be little to go on, David Kahn states that encoded communications frequently “are highly abbreviated, so that a few code symbols can represent what would take a few dozen words to spell out” (820), yet adds that despite the possible difficulties “the F.B.I. cryptanalysts nearly always master the systems” (820). In an attempt to match such resolute analysis, this investigation took the cue from the earlier discussion of “albuges,” and a surprising connection did indeed come to light when the letters A.Q.B were considered in the scope of Arabic.

In order to contemplate the case of these particular letters in the context of Arabic, a few orthographic and phonetic rules specific to the language need first be taken into consideration. First of all, in Arabic only the long vowels are represented in the writing while the short are implied by the consonants around them (Abboud 3). In the case of A.Q.B., there is an interesting name in Arabic that is elicited by these letters: al-Aqib, which happens to be one of the names of Mohammed given in the Koran. More

specifically, the name means “the last of the prophets” (Hughes 16). Indeed, when Mohammed first announces al-Aqib as one of his names in the Koran, he states: “there will be no Prophet after me” (Ramadan 177).

This provides an interesting point of comparison, as in the last chapter of *Don Quixote*, when Don Quixote finally becomes Alonso Quijano el Bueno, the fictional Arabic narrator Cide Hamete Benenjeli makes a strong statement that there shall be no more Quixotes—first declaring: “En fin, llegó el último de don Quijote” (“In the end, came the end (or ‘last’) of Don Quixote”; 2.74:637). After repeating various times that Don Quijote had died, Cide Hamete Benenjeli warns all future “presuntuosos y malandrines historiadores” (“presumptuous and evil historians”; 2.74:638) to not attempt to resurrect Don Quixote, adding that “esta empresa, buen rey, para mí estaba guardada” (“this enterprise, good king, was saved for me”; 2.74:638). To further dramatize the finality of the statement, even the pen of Cide Hamete Benenjeli speaks up, saying that “Para mí sola nació don Quijote, y yo para él” (“For me alone was Don Quixote born, and I for him”; 2.74:638), and issues a warning to all to leave Don Quixote to rest in his grave. Interesting here as well is that according to Islam, Jesus and Mohammed after him are not in themselves divine, but are simply “Prophets of Islam” (Thomson vii). Further, as they both followed “the way of total submission” to their Lord, it is “impossible to make any distinction between them” (vii). Viewed from the Islamic perspective, then, if Don Quixote symbolizes Christ (as indicated by the possible Ichthyic source of his name), then it should be impossible to make any distinction between Don Quixote and Mohammed, either.

Another interesting parallel between Don Quixote and Mohammed arises in the death of the knight errant. The notary present at Don Quixote's deathbed, who had just taken his statement for his will, declares that he "nunca había leído en ningún libro de caballerías que algún caballero andante hubiese muerto en su lecho tan sosegadamente y tan cristiano como don Quijote" ("never read in any book of chivalry that a knight errant had died in such a calm and Christian manner as Don Quixote"; 2.74:637). Indeed this was a rarity, as in most of these books the knights usually died in battle or their death was never discussed.<sup>71</sup>

In a manner quite similar to that of Don Quixote, on the other hand, Mohammed died of illness, at home in his own bed, accompanied by family and friends (Gibbon 464). Indeed, Gibbon's description of the Mohammed's actions leading up to his imminent death mirror those of Don Quixote in the final chapter of *Don Quixote*:

He beheld with temperate firmness the approach of death; enfranchised his slaves; minutely directed the order of his funeral; and moderated the lamentations of his weeping friends, on whom he bestowed the benediction of peace (464).

This could just as easily be a paraphrase of the death of Don Quixote—now known as Alonso Quijano the Good. In fact, just as Mohammed paid off all debts that anyone believed were owed them at the time he realized that he was nearing his death (Ockley 61), Don Quixote ensures a settling of accounts with his family and friends through his last will and testament (Mancing *Cervantes' DQ* 39-40).

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<sup>71</sup> One exception, as Rico points out in his edition of *Don Quixote*, is *Tirant lo Blanc* (1335).

But to what end could Cervantes have intended such a risky, heretical reference? Many possibilities can be imagined: the atheistic, the agnostic, the Jewish, the Muslim, or the heterodox. However, it is also possible that the referent “Quixote” could be none of these things, and still be devoutly Catholic. To illustrate: by calling the would-be knight the “godo Quijote” in the prefatory poem from the *Caballero del Febo* to Don Quixote in part one of *Don Quixote*, the word “godo,” in addition to its more contemporary meanings of “noble” or “proud” in the time of Cervantes, could also be literally “Gothic” or “Visigothic” (1.prelim.:110). Of course, here Cervantes could simply be suggesting that the reader must make the substitution with the “letras góticas” in order to come across the second meaning of the name, as derived from the Ichthys. Alternately, however, he could be suggesting that this Quixote of the novel is not the true, Catholic Christ, but simply the Christ of the original Visigothic (Arian) belief: the one who is not equal to the Father, but who derives his own divinity from the Father (i.e., a false Christ, according to the precepts of the Catholic Church). Such a parallel could possibly function as a critique of the nobility of the time, showing that the same royals who claimed or even invented lineage to prove descent from the Visigoths were either ignorant of their familial pride (a double entendre yet again with the word “godo”) or descended directly from a line of heretics. Viewed from this perspective, of course, Cervantes could be seen as the faithful defender of all that is truly Catholic.

While it is this author’s preference to continue to assume the stance of a theory of mind for Cervantes as a skeptic who held possibly heterodox beliefs (at least for the purposes of future investigations and explorations), a true knowledge of the authorial intent is not a possible end goal, but simply a direction in which to approach the author’s

work in the hopes of discovering new and original ways to understand the text of the first modern novel. Through the information gleaned from scientific research on how embodied cognition functions, we can at the very least strive to better understand how the mind-brain processes and encodes information, from the experiential sensations of author's encounter with a physical phenomenon, to the process in the author's imagination as the literary concept takes shape on its way to paper, to the cognitive event of the perception of the reader. By considering these factors, it just may be possible to ever more closely and cautiously approach the intent of the author without committing the "dangerous critical heresy" against which Eco warns the reader.

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VITA

## VITA

**Massimiliano Adelmo Giorgini**  
mgiorgin@purdue.edu

**POSITION ACCEPTED:**

**United States Federal Government: Language Specialist in Spanish and Italian,**  
Start date: December 2014. **Full-Time.**

**CURRENT POSITIONS:**

**Assistant Professor of Spanish,** August 2011 to Present. **Full-Time.**

School of Liberal Arts and Sciences, Ivy Tech Community College, Lafayette, IN.

- Taught 38 full-semester courses of Spanish language in the following courses:  
SPAN 101, SPAN 102, SPAN 201 and SPAN 202.
- Serve as academic advisor in the School of Liberal Arts and Sciences.
- Chair of the Literacy/Read-In Committee.
- Member of the International Films Committee.
- Winner 2014 Presidential Award for Outstanding Faculty, Ivy Tech.
- Winner 2014 NISOD Excellence in Instruction Award.
- Winner 2013 McCallister Outstanding Faculty Instructor Award, Ivy Tech.
- Faculty Fellow, Spanish: January 2009-August 2011. **Full-Time.**
- Adjunct Faculty, Spanish: January 2008-January 2009. **Part-Time.**

**United States Federal Government: Language Specialist in Spanish and Italian, May 2012 to Present. Contractor.**

- Have worked TDY Assignments in multiple locations in other states.
- Have done both Summary & Verbatim Italian Translations and Analyses, from Audio & Text sources.
- Have done Summary & Verbatim Spanish Translations and Analyses, from Audio & Text sources.

**ADDITIONAL PROFESSIONAL LANGUAGE EXPERIENCE:**

**Graduate Lecturer, August 2006 to May 2013. ¾-Time.**

Spanish Department, Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures, Purdue University Main Campus, West Lafayette, IN.

- Taught 19 different full-semester courses of Spanish language in the following courses: SPAN 102, SPAN 201, and SPAN 402
- Taught as guest lecturer on specialty Spanish literary topics in the following courses: SPAN 241, SPAN 333, and SPAN 401.
- Graduate Mentor of SPAN 201: 2008-2009 and 2009-2010 academic years.

**Humanities Faculty Fellow in Spanish, January 2009 to August 2011. Full-Time.**

School of Liberal Arts and Sciences, Ivy Tech Community College, Lafayette, IN.

- Taught 24 full-semester courses of Spanish in SPAN 101, 102, 201 & 202.

**Italian Culture and Language Instructor and Translator, August 2011 to May 2012.**

Designed and instructed weekly classes on Italian Language and Culture for executives of the LEP Special Fasteners Corporation, a Fontana Group Company.

- Responsible for entire course design and lesson plans.
- Integrated elements of society, politics, and popular culture with language.
- Translated documents for Italian nationals from Italian to English for Driver's Licenses, Degrees, Diplomas and Certifications.

**Lecturer in Sound Design and Audio Production**, January 2008 to May 2012.

Theatre Department, Purdue University Main Campus, West Lafayette, IN.

- Taught two 3-credit hour full-semester graduate seminars on sound design and audio production. Course nomenclature: THTR 569/468.

**Graduate Assistant: Purdue Study Abroad in Madrid**, November 2009 to July 2010.

Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures, Purdue University in cooperation with Universidad Nebrija, Madrid, Spain.

- Responsible for student recruitment and organizational meetings.
- Involved in planning and guiding activities and excursions in Spain.
- Augmented Universidad Nebrija course content & tutored students.

**Adjunct Faculty**, January 2008 to December 2008.  $\frac{3}{4}$ -Time.

Spanish Department, School of Liberal Arts and Sciences, Ivy Tech Community College, Lafayette, IN.

- Taught 6 full-semester courses of SPAN 101 & SPAN 102.

**Instructor of Italian Language and Culture**, May 2007 to December 2008.  $\frac{1}{4}$ -Time.

Clinton County Learning Network, Frankfort, IN.

- Taught one full-semester course of Introductory Italian.
- Taught one full-semester of English as a Second Language

**Guest Instructor of Italian Culture**, August 2004 to May 2007

Riley Elementary School, Frankfort, IN.

- Taught 6 units per school year for 3 academic years on Italian language & culture to 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> grade students in the school. Organized a field trip to a recording studio, where students were guided through a session, for a finished CD in which all of the students sang Italian & Spanish.

**Limited-term Lecturer**, August 2004 to May 2006.  $\frac{1}{2}$ -Time.

Italian Studies, Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures, Purdue University Main Campus, West Lafayette, IN.

- Taught 13 full-semester courses of Italian language in the following courses: ITAL 101, 102, 105, 112, 211, 212, & FLL 490E.

**Instructor**, January-May 2006

Cervantes Language School, West Lafayette, IN

- Taught one full-semester course of Introductory Italian.

**EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE EXPERIENCE:**

**Purdue Strategic Planning Committee**, November 2007 to March 2008.

Member of Committee for Student Success & Student Experience of the Purdue Strategic Planning Committee formed by President France A. Córdoba to draft the 2007-2013 Purdue University Strategic Plan.

**Community Outreach Committee**, Purdue Graduate Student Government, 2007-8

Academic Year. As the senator representing graduate students in Foreign Languages and Literatures, served on this committee dedicated to community service in the Tippecanoe County area.

**VOLUNTEER & COMMUNITY SERVICE WORK:**

**Volunteer translator** (Spanish-English) for the YWCA Domestic Violence Intervention and Prevention Program, translation of legal documents for victims of domestic abuse, YWCA, Lafayette, IN. October 2007-present.

**Television News Anchor & Reporter** (Spanish) for the weekly *Fast Track Te Informa* Spanish New Program, sponsored by Purdue University and aired locally as a service to the area Latino community. January 2008-May 2011.

**Benefit Concert for the YWCA Domestic Violence Intervention and Prevention Program.** Originator and chief planner of the concert, which netted over one thousand dollars for the program. January/February 2008.

**Volunteer translator** (Spanish-English) for the Lafayette School Corporation, Parent-Teacher Conferences, Sunnyside Middle School. March/October 2007.

**Benefit Concert for Laura Poggi Medical Relief Fund.** Originator and planner of the concert, which netted two thousand dollars for the medical bills of an underinsured Purdue University graduate student who underwent intensive surgery. November 2005.

**Benefit Concert for the Latino Cultural Center.** Originator and planner of the concert, which raised funds for the Latino Cultural Center of Purdue University.

November 2003.

**Plea for Peace Suicide Prevention Tour.** Musician participant for the full duration of the coast-to-coast United States tour, which generated over thirty thousand dollars to fund the 1-800-SUICIDE suicide prevention hotline. September 13-October 28, 2002.

**Benefit Concert for the Janet Stinson Medical Relief Fund.** Originator and chief planner of the concert, which netted over one thousand dollars towards the medical bills of an uninsured area cancer victim. October 1990.

**Benefit Concert for the Exchange Club Center for the Prevention of Child Abuse.**

Originator and chief planner of the concert, which netted over one thousand dollars to benefit the national organization. September 1989.

#### **ACADEMIC PREPARATION:**

##### Completed Degrees:

**B.A. in Psychology,** Purdue University, Lafayette, IN, 1994

**M.A. in Spanish Language and Literature,** Purdue University, December 2007

**Ph.D. in Spanish Language and Literature,** Purdue University, December 2014

#### **LANGUAGES:**

Native speaker fluency in English, both spoken and written.

Near-native speaking and writing fluency in Spanish (Rated Analyst by FBI)

Near-native speaking and writing fluency in Italian (Rated Analyst by FBI)

Reading fluency in French

**CONFERENCE APPEARANCES:**

**Rokumentti Film and Music Conference**, November 13.

North Karelia College, Outokumpu, Finland. Presented original seminar:  
“The Pedagogical Value of Music as a Teaching Tool.”

**TEDx PurdueU Conference**, March 7, 2014.

Purdue University, West Lafayette, Indiana. Presented original talk: “The *Quixote* Code: Oppression and the Art of Subversion.”

**Don Quixote in the American Imagination Conference**, April 19, 2013.

Purdue University, West Lafayette, Indiana. Presented original study: “*Don Quixote* in American Song: Underground Hero and Champion of the Counterculture.”

**Discovering Science in Art: Special Course and Conference**, August 2-3, 2013.

Wizard Academy, Austin, Texas. Presented original talk and co-taught short course with Roy H. Williams: “Interpreting Symbols, Seeing Hidden Patterns.”

**VIII Congreso Internacional de la Asociación de Cervantistas**, June 15, 2012.

Universidad de Oviedo, Oviedo, Spain. Presented original study: “‘Y así debe de ser mi historia’: Los juegos cervantinos visuales-textuales y subversión anti-inquisitorial en *Don Quijote*.”

**OMETECA 2012: Science and Humanities Conference**, June 18, 2012.

Ateneo de Madrid, Madrid, Spain. Presented original study: “*Don Quixote*: Decoding *Ekphrastic* Subversion of Inquisitorial Authority through Theory of Mind and Advances in Visual Perception.”

**AHLiST 2012: History, Literature, Science & Technology**, June 29, 2012.

Universidad Complutense, Madrid, Spain. Presented original study:  
“La tradición argentina y el arte del engaño *ekfrástico*: una investigación cognitiva de ‘Hombre de la esquina rosada’ de Jorge Luis Borges.”

**47<sup>th</sup> Annual Comparative Literature Conference**, March 2, 2012.

California State University, Long Beach, California. Presented original study:  
“*Ekphrasis* and the Subversion of Inquisitorial Censorship in *Don Quixote*”



**3<sup>rd</sup> International Conference of Escrituras Silenciadas**, January 27, 2012.

Universidad de Alcalá, Alcalá de Henares, Spain. Presented original study: “Dibujando entre líneas: La *écfrasis*, la criptografía y la subversión de la prohibición inquisitorial en *Don Quijote* y ‘La Española Inglesa.’”

**2010 Scholarship of Engagement Conference**, October 28, 2010.

Purdue University, West Lafayette, IN. Served as a panelist for: *Testimonies: Transformational Experiences*.

**2010 Community of Service-Learning Faculty Conference**, September 15, 2010.

Purdue University, West Lafayette, IN. Served as a panelist for: *Three Perspectives of Service-Learning: Faculty, Community Partners, and Students*.

**AHLiST 2010: History, Literature, Science & Technology**, June 25, 2010.

Universidad Complutense, Madrid, Spain. Presented original study: “Un engaño cervantino: El conde de Leste como agente doble en *La española inglesa*.”

**21<sup>st</sup> Annual Cervantes Symposium of California**, April 25, 2009.

University of Southern California, Los Angeles. Presented original study: “Don Quixote Goes to the Movies,” co-authored and co-presented by Howard Mancing.

**3<sup>rd</sup> Annual Wizard Academy Don Quixote Reunion**, October 24, 2008.

Austin, TX. Presented original study: “Encoded Subversive Messages in *Don Quixote*.”

**2<sup>nd</sup> Annual Latino Scholars Forum of Purdue University**, October 1, 2008.

Purdue University, West Lafayette, IN. **Plenary Speaker**. Presented original study: “The *Quixote* Code: Inquisitorial Persecution and Ekphrastic Subversion.”

**24<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of the Medieval Association of the Midwest**, September 27,

2008. Fargo, ND. Presented original study: “Exile or Refuge?: Teresa de Cartagena on the *Ynsula* called *Oprobrium Homini et Abiecio Plebis* in *Arboleda de los Enfermos*,” co-authored and co-presented by colleague Johanna Barrero.

**Theory of Mind and Literature Conference**, November 2, 2007.

Purdue University, West Lafayette, IN. Presented original study: “The *Quixote* Code: Persecution and the Art of *Ekphrasis*.”

**31<sup>st</sup> Annual Meeting of the Semiotics Society of America**, September 29, 2006.

Purdue University, West Lafayette, IN. Presented original study: “*Ekphrasis*, the Argentinean Tradition, and the Art of the Long Con: A Closer Look at ‘Hombre de la esquina rosada’ by Jorge Luis Borges.”

#### **AWARDS & RECOGNITION:**

**2014 Presidential Award for Outstanding Faculty: Full-Time Faculty**

Chosen as one of eight outstanding Full-Time Faculty instructors for the Statewide Ivy Tech Community College system.

**2014 NISOD Excellence in Faculty Research and Instruction Award**

Chosen as the outstanding Faculty researcher and instructor for Ivy Tech Community College, Lafayette.

**2013 McCallister Excellence in Teaching Award: Full-Time Faculty**

Chosen as the outstanding Full-Time Faculty instructor for Ivy Tech Community College, Lafayette.

**2012 Purdue University Literary Awards**

**First Place**, Literary Analysis, Foreign Languages & Literatures, for the study “Rasgos culturales ecuatorianos en las descripciones de la naturaleza española en *Capítulos que se le olvidaron a Cervantes* de Juan Montalvo.”

**2011 Purdue University Literary Awards**

**First Place**, Literary Analysis, Foreign Languages & Literatures, for the study “Una investigación bajtiniana de *El médico de su honra* de Calderón de la Barca: buscando la polifonía en el teatro español aurisecular.”

**First Place**, Cultural Analysis, Foreign Languages & Literatures, for the study “*Hombre de la esquina rosada*: Borges, Figari, la identidad cultural argentina y el arte del engaño ekfrástico.”

**2008-2014 Ivy Tech Excellence in Teaching Award.** Region 8: Lafayette, Crawfordsville, Monticello, Frankfort.

**Finalist** for Outstanding Instructor, Adjunct Faculty, 2007-8

**Finalist** for Outstanding Instructor, Faculty, 2008-9

**Finalist** for Outstanding Instructor, Faculty, 2009-10

**Finalist** for Outstanding Instructor, Faculty, 2010-11

**Finalist** for Outstanding Instructor, Faculty, 2011-12

**Winner** for Outstanding Instructor, Faculty, 2012-13

**Finalist** for Outstanding Instructor, Faculty, 2013-14

#### **PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS:**

**Asociación de Cervantistas** (Spain), 2012-present.

**National Spanish Honor Society**, 2007-2012.

Graduate Mentor and Director of Benefit Events

**Semiotic Society of America**, 2005-present.

**Cervantes Society of America**, 2005-present.

**American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers**, 1995-present

#### **MUSIC AND PRODUCTION EXPERIENCE:**

Produced, audio engineered, or performed as musician on well over one hundred internationally distributed releases, including work with Grammy Award-winning artists. Work as composer, musician, and producer has appeared on motion picture soundtracks by Universal Pictures, MGM Studios, Disney Studios, and the Fox Television Network, and in music videos which have appeared internationally on MTV and Fuse. Feature articles on aforementioned work have appeared in *Rolling Stone*, *Entertainment Weekly*, *Esquire*, *SPIN Magazine*, *Request*, *Guitar World*, *Alternative Press*, and several other premier entertainment journalism magazines. Much of the above listed work was performed in international locations including Spain, Italy, Finland, Mexico, Ecuador, France, Honduras, the United Kingdom, Germany, Australia, Czech Republic, the Cayman Islands, and Jamaica, as well as in all contiguous U.S. states and in Puerto Rico.

## PUBLICATIONS

## PUBLICATIONS

- Giorgini, Massimiliano. "Drawing Between the Lines: Ekphrasis and the Subversion of Inquisitorial Persecution in *Don Quixote*." *Escrituras silenciadas: El paisaje como historiografía*. Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá, 2013. 337-360.
- Giorgini, Massimiliano, Translator: Italian to English. "Brazil." By Alessandra Vannucci. *International Women Stage Directors*. Chicago: U of Illinois P, 2013. 30-42.
- Giorgini, Massimiliano A. "Cervantes Lands a Left Hook: Baiting the Inquisition with Ekphrastic Subversion." *Cervantes* 32.1 (2012):163-199.
- Giorgini, Massimiliano. "It Cuts Like a Knife: Ekphrastic *Rei Vindicatio* for *Un Chien Andalou* in *Bodas de Sangre* by Federico Garcia Lorca." *Comparative Cinema: How American University Students View Foreign Film*. Ceredigion, U.K.: Edwin Mellen Press, 2008. 227-242.
- Schweikert, Richard and Giorgini, Massimiliano. "Selective Influence and Response Time Cumulative Distribution Functions in Serial-Parallel Task Networks." *Journal of Mathematical Psychology* 44.4 (2000): 504-535.
- Schweikert, Richard and Giorgini, Massimiliano. "Response Time Distributions: Some Simple Effects of Factors Selectively Influencing Mental Processes." *Psychonomic Bulletin and Review* 6.2 (1999): 269-288.