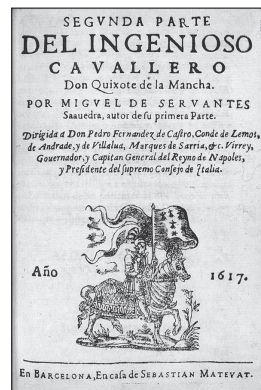


Don Quijote's Barcelona: Echoes of Hercules' *Non Plus Ultra*

FREDERICK A. DE ARMAS

WHEN WE ENVISION THE publication of *Don Quijote*, we think of the Madrid publisher, Juan de la Cuesta, whose name is found in both the first and second parts of the novel which appeared in 1605 and 1615 respectively.¹ Many are still surprised to learn that the first complete text of the two parts of the novel was published in Barcelona in 1617, the same year that the first edition of the *Persiles y Sigismunda*, Cervantes' last and posthumous novel.² Indeed, Texas A&M has recently acquired a copy of the rare 1617 edition as the four millionth volume for their Cushing Memorial Library collection.³ It is not altogether surprising that Barcelona be given this place of distinction in the publication of *Don Quijote*.



Segunda Parte del ingenioso caballero Don Quixote de la Mancha (Barcelona, 1617).

1 Juan de la Cuesta first printed books in Segovia such as the *Emblemas morales* of Juan de Horozco y Covarrubias in 1591. Juan de la Cuesta married the daughter of María Rodríguez de Rivalde, widow of Pedro Madrigal, and took charge of the press in Madrid in 1604. He not only published the *Quijote*, but also Cervantes' *Novelas ejemplares* and *Persiles y Sigismunda*. Many plays by Lope came out from his press as well as his epic *Jerusalén Conquistada*. But, we should emphasize that Cervantes' novel was simply printed here. The actual editor was Francisco de Robles, who worked with Cervantes up to 1615. Cervantes' last two works (*Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses* and *Persiles y Sigismunda*) were edited by Juan de Villarroel.

2 The Barcelona edition includes part one based on the Valencia 1606 edition and published by Bautista Sorita; and part two, after the Valencia 1616 edition, published by Sebastián Matevat.

3 This essay is derived from a talk given at Texas A&M at a symposium celebrating its new acquisition. I would like to thank Eduardo Urbina for pointing out the importance of the Barcelona edition and for inviting me to the Symposium.

After all, this city is praised by Cervantes, even though the defeat of Don Quijote in Part Two of the novel takes place in Barcelona.⁴ Thus, critics such as Luis G. Manegat have attempted to reconstruct the Barcelona of the beginnings of the seventeenth century. Some have also speculated as to when Cervantes may have visited Barcelona. Three main theories have emerged to clarify this issue. Many critics agree that Cervantes sailed to Italy from Barcelona or its environs in 1569, and this is how he came to know the city. Carmen Riera proposes that Cervantes traveled to Barcelona from Italy, and it was in the Catalonia metropolis that he joined don Juan de Austria in 1571, and set sail for what was to be the famous battle of Lepanto.⁵ For Martín de Riquer, Cervantes went to Barcelona in 1610 seeking the patronage of Pedro Fernández de Castro, the seventh Conde de Lemos who was then embarking from Barcelona to become Viceroy of Naples. Jean Canavaggio endorses this moment as the most likely. Although I agree with this last assessment. But it is quite possible that Cervantes visited the city more than once.⁶

This essay, however, is an attempt to understand why Barcelona plays such an important role in Cervantes' novel. First, I will look at the obvious reasons why Barcelona would want to print the complete text of Don Quijote. Secondly, I will analyze the knight's praise of the city in Part Two of the novel in order to decipher its contrary meanings, its reversibility. Third, the mythical and political subtexts of the novel will be discussed as they relate to Barcelona. The myths of Hercules will be key to this analysis.

4 The most laudatory description of the city is encountered in *Las dos doncellas*: "Admiróles el hermoso sitio de la ciudad, y la estimaron por flor de las bellas ciudades del mundo, honra de España, temor y espanto de los circunvecinos y apartados enemigos, regalo y delicia de sus moradores, amparo de extranjeros, escuela de la caballería, ejemplo de lealtad y satisfaz[c]ión de todo aquello que de una grande y famosa, rica y bien fundada ciudad puede un discreto y curioso deseo" (*Novelas*, 1982, 3.150).

5 "Consta documentalmente que fue arcabucero de la compañía de don Diego de Urbina, del Tercio del catalán Don Miguel de Montcada. Y sabemos que ese Tercio, tras combatir contra los moriscos de las Alpujarras, se recompuso en Barcelona, de donde zarpó el 11 de julio de 1571. Eso explicaría que el día de San Juan de 1571, a cuya fiesta aludirá después en el *Quijote*, estuviera en Barcelona..." (Riera 2005, 38).

6 Since, during Don Quijote's stay in Barcelona, an Algerian brigantine is caught by four galleys that watched the coast, it would make sense that they would be in place when Cervantes visited the city. Jean Canavaggio agrees with Riquer in that, although authorized in 1599 by Philip III, they were slow in being purchased and set to sea. The first one, the Sant Jordi, was commissioned in 1607 while the last, the Sant Sebastia, joined the first three in 1609 (2007, 51).

Turning first to Hercules and Cacus and then to Hercules and Antæon, I will show how the myth's reversibility foreground certain anxieties regarding Barcelona.⁷ A discussion of the Pillars of Hercules and the founding of Barcelona will further problematize the city's role in divulging the knight's exploits.

There are a few very obvious reasons why Barcelona would want to be first. The novel actually describes a printing press which Don Quijote views, thus almost inviting the publication of the book in Barcelona and further blurring the distinctions between reality and fiction, one of the major motifs of the work. In addition, *Don Quijote* had, by this time, become a comic masterpiece. Everyone knew about this "funny book," and there were constant attempts to evoke the main characters in feasts, contests and plays. So, it is not surprising that Barcelona, with its substantial publishing industry, its many feasts and courtly entertainments would attempt to be first in publication. And there is a clearly laudatory passage, declaimed by Don Quijote, long after he has left the city. This praise of Barcelona could not go unnoticed at a time when relations with Philip III were rather strained.⁸

And yet, Barcelona becomes the last turning point in Part Two of the novel. It is the place where Don Quijote is defeated. Thus, the anxiety of being first to publish might be coupled with other anxieties. The first complete edition cannot begin to answer any of the questions posed by attentive readers. After all, it is not illustrated, and thus we have no hints as to the publisher's views on the novel.⁹ Other publications, however, may help. Barcelona was known for printing presses that released numerous short *relaciones* or brief news items of events taking place in the Mediterranean and throughout the world. Henry Ettinghausen shows that of the

7 The element of reversibility in the novel has been noted by a series of critics. James Iffland, for example, has pointed to the reversibility of the character as loco/cuerdo (1999, 62); Elsewhere, this critic states: "He intuits that the dynamics of reversibility which lie at the heart of Don Quijote, that «loco-cuerdo», and Sancho Panza, that «tonto-listo», produce a disquieting, even liberating, variety of laughter..." (2001, 75). See also De Armas (2004, 157).

8 "Al final del reinado de Felipe II, en el Consejo de Aragón se había propugnado una política de mano dura hacia los catalanes, y el año 1600, Felipe III se marchó a Madrid sin siquiera haber firmado las constituciones catalanas" (Ettinghausen 2007, 152-53).

9 The first Spanish illustrated edition is Madrid 1674 with one frontispiece and 32 vignettes. It takes some illustrations from Savery (1657) and others from Bouttats (1672). To my knowledge, the first illustrated Barcelona edition is from 1762, almost a century after the Madrid edition.

267 known publications which contained four pages in quarto format more than fifty per cent have to do with this kind of news items. They included engravings that had to do with the topic discussed. For example, a galley on the front would have to do with a naval battle and a knight would signify a battle on land. As Ettinghausen exclaims: “¡Imagínense la alegría que habría tenido don Quijote en la imprenta que visitó en Barcelona, de haber podido ver como se imprimía alguna de las muchas relaciones barcelonesas de batallas en tierra que llevaban en su primera página un grabado – algunas veces idéntico a los que adornaban las portadas de los libros de caballerías – de un caballero armado!” (2007, 166). But perhaps Don Quijote would not have been quite as enthusiastic since it is in this printing press (according to the cervantine text) that Avellaneda’s false second part is being produced, thus undermining the true knight’s authority. Furthermore, the printing press is a new technology, and like the windmills or the ships’ canons, it has the potential to threaten or diminish the knight (although his first adventures are being disseminated through the printed text). This press is in the midst of translating a book from Italian, entitled *Los juguetes*. Would a knight that pays attentions to portents understand that this may signal that he has become a plaything for the inhabitants of Barcelona?

Of course the knight may once again value appearance and imagination over fact. Don Quijote’s entry into the city seems truly epic. At dawn, he is greeted as a great hero: “el espejo, el farol, la estrella y el norte de toda la caballería andante” (1978, 2.61.507). Anthony Close explains that his welcome recalls royal and other ceremonial entrances, and even includes a visit to the ships in port (2007, 61). Close also shows the parallels between the knight’s arrival and the feasts that actually took place around the feast of San Juan.¹⁰ He stresses that these entrances are now presented in a comic vein, that its epic qualities are mocked. Don Quijote may appear to be welcomed as a hero, but in reality the inhabitants of Barcelona are laughing at him. It is as if he were a figure from carnival.

I. *LAUDATIO* OF BARCELONA

Although Don Quijote cannot be fully comfortable in a city where he is mocked and defeated, some time after his departure he intones a lengthy and laudatory description of Barcelona. On his way home, the knight encounters a character from the false second part, Álvaro Tarfe. He tells him

¹⁰ Aurora Egido cites Close’s 1991 essay and foregrounds the feasts surrounding the entry into the city of Philip III and Margaret of Austria (207, 109).

how he deviated away from Zaragoza and towards Barcelona so as to foil Avellaneda: "... que en todos los días de mi vida no he estado en Zaragoza; antes, por haberme dicho que ese don Quijote fantástico se había halado en las Justas desa ciudad, no quise yo entrarme en ella, por sacar a las barbas del mundo su mentira" (1978, 2.72.578). It is at this point that Don Quijote describes Barcelona in terms that recall the *laudatio* of cities in *comedias* and *novelas* of the period.¹¹ Don Quijote calls Barcelona: "archivo de la cortesía, albergue de los extranjeros, hospital de los pobres, patria de los valientes, venganza de los ofendidos y correspondencia grata de firmes amistades, y en sitio y en belleza única" (1978, 2.72.578). Jean Canavaggio warns that we ought to "apreciar con cierta prudencia semejantes declaraciones" (2007, 50). For him this is a place of defeat rather than triumph, and thus Quijote's words cannot be taken at face value. The knight even admits that he found there "mucho pesadumbre" (1978, 2.72.578). Even though Don Quijote enters the city at dawn and is carried about in triumph, his departure inverts this situation. As Aurora Egido states: "El alba luminosa de Barcelona, supondrá, sin embargo, el ocaso de don Quijote, pues partirá de ella como caballero vencido tras un forzado duelo personal y sin salir triunfante de justa alguna que mereciese el nombre de tal" (2007, 95). I would also add that Don Quijote's praise of Barcelona is meant to counter Avellaneda's Zaragoza, and the laudation must be seen in terms of defiance rather than true praise.

If we probe Don Quijote's laudatory speech, we can find a number of dubious statements. As "archivo de la cortesía" the city ought to offer the knight all its favors. But, his stay with Antonio Moreno evinces a sadistic and hypocritical bent that recalls the knight's treatment of Don Quijote at the home of the Duke and Duchess: "Así, tanto don Antonio como el duque, para no herir su sensibilidad, disimulan su hilaridad tras una apariencia de cortesía" (Close 2007, 65).¹² As for "albergue de los extranjeros," the city's openness allows for brigands to roam the countryside and even come into the city. The city also welcomes Sansón Carrasco, the wily figure that will defeat the knight. However, it must be said that this openness allows for the arrival of Ana Félix. For Don Quijote the city could not represent

11 One of the most famous is, of course the praise of Lisbon in the *Burlador de Sevilla*. As for the *novelas* of the period, see Nieves Romero Díaz who has discussed the praise of Córdoba, Sevilla and Madrid in Céspedes y Meneses' *Historias peregrinas y ejemplares*.

12 In addition, the populace is always intent on playing tricks on him, while Antonio Moreno seeks to preserve a certain aristocratic decorum.

the “patria de los valientes,” since he is defeated; and it cannot be seen as a place providing “venganza de los ofendidos” since he is obliged to return home in defeat. Finally, it is not a city of friendship since Antonio Moreno is not Don Quijote’s friend but uses him for amusement; and it is in Barcelona that Sansón Carrasco (although hidden under the disguise of the Knight of the White Moon) makes the final treasonable act that shatters any possible notion of *amicitia*.

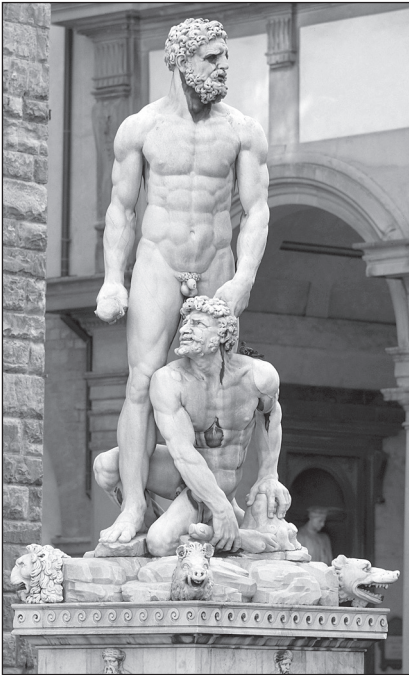
But perhaps the most fascinating of the laudatory attributes of Barcelona is the last one: “en sitio y en belleza única.” Was Barcelona a better site, a more beautiful one? The sixteenth century saw the beautification of Zaragoza, with noble palaces constructed in the Calle Coso. It is here that perhaps we can find the first hint as to why Don Quijote would choose to move to Barcelona. At the Morata palace in Zaragoza the visitor can still view the figures of Theseus and Hercules by the giant doors, while at the still remaining gardens of the now destroyed Zaporta palace, called “el patio de la Infanta,” one can contemplate several labors of Hercules sculpted on the pillars such as the Lion at Nemea and the hero’s defeat of the giant thief Cacus (Avila 180, 192). Many of these images recall those at the *Ayuntamiento* in Tarazona, a nearby site that was reputedly founded by Hercules. Of course, the mythical Hercules was alleged to have been the founder of a number of cities and monuments in Spain.¹³ At least two of his labors were said to have taken place in Spain (the building of the columns and the death of the three-headed Gerión); and Hercules was seen as one of the ancestors of Spanish kings. Thus, Juan de Mariana, mingling legend and history dedicates to Hercules a substantial section of his *Historia general de España* (1601). For López Torrijos: “La obra de Mariana fue el texto histórico fundamental desde 1601, todavía recomendado

13 In his *Crónica general* (1543), Florián de Ocampo recounts how Hercules arrived in Spain at Cádiz, he went up the Guadalquivir river to a place suited to the establishment of a new city, Sevilla. Hercules, as Osiris’ son, also took revenge on Geryon’s sons. He left the conquered territory in the hands of his son Hispalo. Discussing the text, Alexander Samson asserts: “The account mixes and blends different mythologies, biblical narratives, speculative etymologies and toponyms with classical sources on the basis of a principle of resemblance” (Samson 2006, 348). Hercules is even thought to have founded Toledo where he built a magnificent palace or had a magical cave (Candelaria 2005, 19–21). Of course, during early modern times, a number of humanists and historians questioned these mythical origins. In his *Diálogo de la lengua*, for example, the feats of Hercules’s nephew are even discarded: “Como será dezir que el conduto de agua que sta en Segovia, que llaman *Puente*, fue hecho por Hispán, sobrino de Hércules, aviéndolo hecho los romanos, como consta por algunas letras que el día de oy en ella se veen” (2006, 253).

por palomino como fuente de la historia para los artistas, en 1715” (1985, 141). Cervantes would have certainly known Mariana’s text. But he would have also looked back as the Hercules connection became enlivened in the sixteenth-century with the rule of Emperor Charles V. It is not surprising that Gabriel Zaporta would exhibit Hercules in his palace in Zaragoza – he was one of the bankers for the emperor.¹⁴ Although a number of sites in Zaragoza exhibit Hercules, this city was not visited by the mythical hero.

II. HERCULES AND CACUS

For Rosa López Torrijos, each land often selects the *trabajos* that are reflected in that area: “En Italia, por ejemplo, se impuso la historia de Hércules y Caco, episodio exclusivo de la mitología romana; en Francia, la imagen de Hércules gálico; y en España se resaltó, sobre todo, la colocación de las columnas de Hércules en el estrecho de Gibraltar” (1985, 140).



Hercules and Cacus
Bandinelli, Baccio (1488-1560)

Cervantes’ novel will certainly highlight the columns, but it will also turn to the “Roman/Italian” story of Cacus – and let us remember that Cervantes spent part of his youth in Italy. From the very beginning of Part One of the novel, Don Quijote seems keenly aware of one of the labors of Hercules. When he first arrives at an inn, which he views as a castle, he wishes to be knighted by the castle-keeper. But he is knighted not only by a mere innkeeper, but one who is labeled by the narrator as “no menos ladrón que Caco” (1978, 1.2.84).¹⁵ A picaresque

¹⁴ Indeed, in the City Hall, Renaissance reliefs exhibit Hercules’ heroic deeds and relate them to the emperor. Here we also find an image of the entrance of Charles V into Bologna.

¹⁵ This is not the only reference to Cacus in the novel, thus increasing its problematic status. In the Prologue, the friend had advised the author to use Biblical and mythological names so that he could annotate his work. Cacus was one of the names mentioned. In the

character and a thief cannot possibly impart knighthood on Don Quijote. But more importantly, the innkeeper as Cacus adds an unstable element to the text. In book 8 of the *Æneid*, Evander tells the epic hero the story of Hercules and Cacus: “Here was once a cave, receding to unfathomed depth, never visited by the sun’s rays, where dwelt the awful shape of half-human Cacus; and ever the ground reeked with fresh blood, and, nailed to its proud doors, faces of men hung pallid in ghastly decay” (1978, 8.193-97). He even stole Hercules’ cattle and hid them in his subterranean abode. But Hercules heard the sounds of one of his cows and was able to find the entrance and destroy Cacus. Since Evander tells the story to Æneas at the very site where Rome would be erected, it prefigures the founding of the city by Æneas’ descendants. Thus, Hercules’ triumph over Cacus is central to both the Æneas myth and the founding of Rome (with its concomitant imperial mantle). It was used throughout Europe to show the triumph of legitimate power over rebellion.¹⁶

If Don Quijote is to be a new Hercules and a new Æneas, founding a



The Columns of Hercules at the Ayuntamiento de Sevilla

new chivalric age, and a new empire, he should be Cacus’ enemy. Instead, the innkeeper not only knights him but also gives him good counsel. This very problematic reversal leads us to yet another difficult element in the text.¹⁷ Moving from mythology to the praise of empire, we must recall that both Æneas and Hercules were heroes linked to the Spanish monarchy and particularly to the Habsburgs. Everywhere he went, Charles was associated with Hercules. In 1516 when Charles was proclaimed king of Cas-

sixth chapter of Part One, the priest calls Reynaldos de Montalbán and his companions “más ladrones que Caco” (1978, 1.6.113).

¹⁶ We need only look at Baccio Bandinelli’s sculpture of Hercules and Cacus at the Piazza della Signoria in Florence. It represents the triumph of the Medici (De Armas 2006, 76-80).

¹⁷ For a discussion of this problem through the lenses of Renaissance Art see Hibbard 1974, 208. Here, the statues of Michelangelo’s *David* and of Bandinelli’s *Hercules and Cacus*, placed in front of the Palazzo della Signoria in Florence are brought to bear on the problem.

tile and was inducted into the Order of the Golden Fleece, he assumed the device of the Pillars of Hercules. Instead of following Hercules' warning not to go beyond the known world, Charles inscribed the motto *plus ultra*.¹⁸ A sixteenth-century carving of the pillars and the motto can be seen on the wall of the *Ayuntamiento* (Town hall) in Sevilla.¹⁹ And, in his triumphal entry into Paris in 1540, for example, the emperor was presented with a statue of Hercules with a lion skin of gold.²⁰ In due course, representations of Hercules became a standard part of the repertory of princely palace decorations. Thus it is that in 1634 Zurbarán was commissioned to paint the Twelve Labors of Hercules for the Buen Retiro. The final altered commission of ten paintings include Hercules' apotheosis. Since Don Quijote wants to become not just the greatest of knights but also king and emperor, the figure of Hercules would bring him closer to Spanish imperial ambitions, as he inserts himself in the construction of fabled genealogies.

There are other signals in the text that leads the reader to link Don Quijote with the Habsburgs. The first name given to the gentleman from La Mancha before his transformation into a knight is that of Quijada. It is also the name of one of his ancestors. Towards the end of the 1605 novel Don Quijote brags that he descends from "los valientes españoles Pedro Barba y Guiterre Quijada" (1978, 1.49). Through this name, as MacCurdy and Rodriguez argue, the knight is showing his "orgullo genealógico" (1978, 453).²¹ Quijada, is an important clue for his association with Charles V. The emperor was never happy with the way portrait artists depicted him. Harold Wethey explains: "we know that the ruler's extremely deformed jaw did not permit the upper and lower teeth to meet or the mouth to close" (1971, 19). We can see the challenge of the jaw in a number of works by Lucas Cranach, painter and childhood friend of the future emperor

18 Traveling to Spain the following year, Charles was finally acclaimed by the Castilian and Aragonese Cortes in 1518. In 1519 he became Holy Roman Emperor.

19 By utilizing the myth of Hercules Charles was in many ways asserting his Spanish roots. The mythical hero has gone as far as Spain where he had built many monuments and founded several cities, Seville and Cadiz being major examples. Spain was also the scene for one of Hercules' most important labors, the capture of King Geryon's cattle.

20 See the account of Charles V's entry into Paris, published in 1540 and exhibited at the British Museum. The author is listed as A., N.

21 Indeed, Charles V was particularly fond of a soldier named Don Luis Quijada, who was famous for his valor and heroic deeds: "Este personaje, célebre por su carácter, era soldado de Carlos V y tan querido del emperador, que fue a él a quien confió la crianza secreta de su hijo natural, Don Juan de Austria (Fernández-Cañadas 1985, 18).

(García Simón 1995, 103). Titian solved this and other problems to the emperor's satisfaction, stressing decorum instead of relying on imitation. The Venetian painter thus became Charles's portrait artist. He transformed a deformed jaw into a jaw of determination.²² Since the term jaw in Spanish is *quijada* and Don Quijote always complains of the way his Arabic biographer depicts him, it is clear that we are meant to view the knight in terms of the emperor as poorly portrayed by artists other than Titian (De Armas 2006, 116-19).

In the 1605 novel, then, Hercules and the Habsburgs are intimately tied to the portrayal of Don Quijote, one where the knight is armed by Hercules' rival. In the end we are left with more questions than answers. What is the text telling us about the relation between the knight and the Habsburgs? And why is Don Quijote depicted as a fraudulent knight, armed by his enemy? This is part of the reversibility that is often found in the text. If a barber's basin can be reversed and become a helmet, so can Hercules be seen as his reverse, his enemy, in this case a *Cacus in bono*.

III. SANSÓN CARRASCO: SAMSON OR HERCULES?

The problems connected with the association Hercules/Don Quijote in the second part, although still tied to the Habsburgs, no longer have to do with chivalric investiture, but with the way in which Sansón Carrasco vies to become the new Hercules, attempting to take from Don Quijote the mythical labors that reinforce imperial might, valor and fortitude. As Sansón Carrasco seeks to defeat Don Quijote disguised as the Knight of the Forest and the Knight of Mirrors, he tells the story of how his beloved Casildea de Vandalia sought to occupy him with valorous rather than amorous deeds, thus copying what Juno had done to Hercules. The four labors that the disguised Sansón pretends to have completed, such as defying the "giganta" Giralda in Sevilla (1978, 2.14.134-35), poke fun at Hercules's travails.²³ The fifth, he claims, is the defeat of Don Quijote. Although the Knight of the Mirrors fails to do so, he will continue to pursue Don Quijote in order to find a new disguise and occasion to defeat him. After all, Sansón has a clear advantage -- his name. As the biblical Samson he is also

²² Discussing Titian's *Charles V at Mulberg*, Panofsky states: that now: "his ungainly mouth [is] set in an expression of unshakable resolve" (Panofsky 1969, 85).

²³ "prometiéndome al fin de cada uno que en el fin del otro llegaría a mi esperanza; pero así se han ido eslabonando mis trabajos, que no tienen cuento, ni yo sé cuál ha de ser el último que dé principio al cumplimiento de mis buenos deseos" (1978, 2.14.134).

a representative of valor. During the period, Hercules and Samson were often compared in an attempt to decide who would be the greater hero. Ana Ávila explains: “Es curiosa la comparación que Alonso Madrigal realiza en el *Comento de Eusebio* (1506) entre Sansón y Hércules: aunque llevaron a cabo el mismo esfuerzo, el primero de ellos debe ser tenido por mas fuerte. Además obra en detrimento del héroe el hecho de que sus proezas son fabulosas, inciertas, mientras que las de Sansón están avaladas por la verdad de las Sagradas Escrituras” (Ávila 1993, 179). Of course, Sansón Carrasco is far from being a biblical hero. Using the art of physiognomy, Cervantes’ narrative shows him to be malicious.

While the disguised Sansón seeks to surpass and entrap the knight as a new Samson and a new Hercules, Don Quijote continues to be associated with Hercules. Both characters want to be heirs to the ancient hero, thus triggering a subtle contest within the novel. But it is clearly noticeable that the Don Quijote of the second part lacks agency. As time goes on, he is less able to act like a would-be Hercules. Instead, other characters use him for their own diversion. When analyzing these darker episodes, some critics view them as a grotesque purgatory, a purgatory in this world that cleanses the knight of his illusions;²⁴ others argue that Don Quijote as a melancholy figure must endure a process of self-exorcism so as to regain his reason; while others still trace his growing *desengaño* and his final conversion into “Alonso Quijano, el bueno” (1978, 2.74.588-93).²⁵ In spite of the differing interpretations, most agree that the episodes at the palace of the Duke and Duchess are particularly cruel. Vladimir Nabokov, for example, points out that when Don Quijote falls from his horse as he goes to meet the Duke and Duchess, the knight “ought to have taken this for a warning and an omen; for this is the beginning of a long and cruel series... the sequence of cruel pranks begins in Chapter 32...” (1983, 63). At this point, Don Quijote and Sancho encounter the huntress in green, the Duchess and what Nabokov has called the diabolical Diana as he emerges from his

24 For Henry Sullivan: “It is as if the Cave of Montesinos were the entrance to Purgatory in this life, and Sancho’s pit were the temporary exit from it once more. In between, the two are tormented in ways likely to cause anguish to each” (1996, xii).

25 Echoing Michael Hasbrouck, Hilaire Kallendorf, points out that Don Quijote “shouts the exact words of the official exorcism ritual of the church” towards the end of the novel. She thus asserts that “By giving these words to Don Quijote instead of to a priest, Cervantes grants to his character the opportunity to make a declaration of independence. Don Quijote is, in effect, exorcising himself” (2003, 176). See Lo Re for a discussion of the reasons for the knights demise (1989, 21-42).

adventure of the enchanted boat. The fact that this adventure takes place on the Ebro river helps to pinpoint location of this episode. The chivalric pair is now well into the Kingdom of Aragon, as this river waters its shores and then goes to sea in Catalonia.

IV. HERCULES AND ANTÆUS

It can be argued, then, that the knight loses his agency, determination and strength as he moves further away from his home in La Mancha and the Kingdom of Castile and goes deeper into Aragon, eventually ending up in the furthest reaches of Iberia, Catalonia. And I believe that this debilitation is underlined in the text through the myth of Hercules and Antæus. This notion is already foreshadowed in Part One. Although often comparing himself to a chivalric hero, Don Quijote also thinks of Spanish epic figures such as Bernardo del Carpio.²⁶ The very first chapter of the 1605 novel shows the knight imagining how he can surpass many of these figures. There is, however, one minor and thus significant break in this *enumeratio*. Discussing how Bernardo del Carpio had defeated Roland at Roncesvalles, Don Quijote explains that he did so “valiéndose de la industria de Hércules cuando ahogó a Anteo, el hijo de la Tierra entre los brazos” (1978, 1.1.74). The knight repeats and embellishes the tale in Chapter 26 when he is trying to decide if he should imitate Amadís or Orlando/Roland.²⁷

He does so for the third time in Part Two of the novel, when he is at the Palace of the Duke and Duchess, at the very beginnings of his cruelest sojourn there. The knight explains to the Duchess that he has the ability to be freed of enchantments, but does not have an invincible or enchanted body which cannot be penetrated by weapons.²⁸ This, he admits, is a serious lack, since he is forever being wounded. He then provides the Duchess with an example of how this invincibility can be conquered: “... el famoso Roldan, uno de los doce Pares de Francia, de quien se cuenta que no podía

26 There could also be a political subtext here. Charles V was given Bernardo's sword as a gift when he arrived in Spain. On this subject see Jesús Botello.

27 Although Roland is “enchanted” and cannot be killed, he does have an Achilles' heel: “metiéndole un alfiler de a blanca por la punta del pie.” This is why Roland protects himself: “el traía siempre los zapatos con siete suelas de hierro” (1978, 1.26.318).

28 Don Quijote tells the Duchess that he hopes he has some supernatural ability like that of other heroes he has read about. After considering the matter, Don Quijote concludes that he can escape enchanters since he escaped the enchanted cage. He then argues that these frustrated enchanters have gone after his beloved Dulcinea, who they can indeed enchant.

ser ferido sino por la planta del pie izquierdo, y que esto había de ser con la punta de un alfiler gordo, y no con otra suerte de arma alguna; y así cuando Bernardo del Carpio le mató en Roncesvalles, viendo que no le podía llagar con fierro, le levantó del suelo entre los brazos, y le ahogó, acordándose entonces de la muerte que dio Hércules a Anteón, aquel feroz gigante que decían ser hijo de la tierra” (1978, 2.32.292). Once again, Don Quijote tells the tale of Bernardo del Carpio. Here, as before, Cervantes is certainly poking fun at epic poems of the sixteenth century where Bernardo was an anti-French paladin.²⁹ More importantly, Don Quijote, throughout the novel, is quite aware of the story of Antæus, although he seems to refuse to tell it in its entirety or to understand its implications.

The tale of Antæus is one of the twelve labors of Hercules and he thus appears from Enrique de Villena's moralizing account of 1417 to Zurbaran's ten paintings for the Buen Retiro begun in 1634.³⁰ Antæus, the son of Gaia and Neptune, was said to be invincible, always defeating and killing all who accepted his challenge. When Hercules met him, he discovered both his invincibility and his one weakness. Every time he flung him to the ground, Antæus regained his strength. Hercules deduced that the giant's power came from his mother, Gaia or the earth. He then lifted him in the air and was thus able to crush him with his arms (Apollodorus 1976, 2.5). This story was so popular in Spain that it appears “in such intimate spaces as the marginalia of Spanish chantbooks for the Mass...” such as a Kyriale produced ca. 1500 for a Dominican convent in Toledo (Candelaria 2005, 1). While Hercules represents Christian virtue, Antæus is earthly lust. Having his feet on the ground, Antæus is thus the opposite of Don Quijote who is always building castles in the air (or out of inns).

Cervantes uses the tale in a different way. Antæus, like Cacus, must also be read as an instance of reversibility in the novel. In Part One, the knight manages to get as far as Sierra Morena where he recalls the tale of Orlando/Antæus. As Eric Graf explains: “When Don Quijote is completely alone in the middle of the novel, in the middle of the forest, in the

29 “En rigor, la nueva imagen exacerbada de Bernardo como héroe anti-francés, y hasta como matador personal de Roldan, estaba ya anticipada en los extensos poemas épicos de 1555 censurados por Cervantes. Es claro que en el *Quijote* se satiriza sobre todo al *Roncesvalles* de Espinosa, a costa del Bernardo-Hércules que asfixia al Roldan-Anteo” (Cid Martínez, 2006, 178)

30 According to Enrique de Villena, the twelve labors are as follows: 1. Centauros 2. León de Nemea 3. Aves harpías 4. Manzana de oro 5. Cancerbero 6. Diomedes 7. Hidra 8. Anthele 9. Anteo 10. Caco 11. Puerco de Calidonia 12. Soñten de los cielos vs. Atlas.

middle of his textual labyrinth, life boils down to an uncomfortable choice between the competing exemplarities of Roland and Bernardo del Carpio" (2007, 40).³¹ It is when Don Quijote is furthest from civilization that he is faced with an impossible choice and is trapped in an enchanted cage – thus somehow losing his “powers.” Since both Roland and Bernardo have a heroic role to play, this opens the way for the reversal of the Hercules story. Bernardo may be Hercules but Antaeus is the knight’s other great example Orlando/Roland. While Antaeus loses his powers when he is raised from his motherland, Gaia, Don Quijote loses his when he is far from his homeland. In Part Two, the limits of Don Quijote’s powers are not established by a mountain chain, but by a river. After boating on the Ebro, he encounters the devilish Duchess and starts to suffer in their palace-purgatory. And later, as he goes deeper into Aragon, arriving in Barcelona, he is finally defeated. The powers of Antaeus/Don Quijote are weakened by Aragon and destroyed by Catalonia. This is the fate of the complex alliances of one who lives in an Iberia that became a “composite kingdom,” one that sought to bring in more and more disparate lands within the rule of one sovereign.³²

V. BARCELONA AND THE PILLARS OF HERCULES

Even though he has been knighted by Cacus and has the failing powers of an Antaeus, Don Quijote wants to be Hercules; he wants to be associated with the lineage of Castilian kings and Habsburg rulers. In this sense, I think that the adventure on the Ebro can be a foreshadowing of Don Quijote’s future Herculean task. On reaching the river, the knight enjoys its beauty, but is immediately taken by the presence of a “pequeño barco sin remos” (1978, 2.29.262). The adventure proceeds in typical manner. For Don Quijote, the boat has been left there by enchanters to take him and his squire to an adventure; for Sancho, it has been left there by some fisherman. As they sail, Don Quijote imagines that they have crossed the equator, while Sancho just trembles with fear as he is surrounded by water and has no oars with which to navigate. In the distance, the knight thinks he perceives a “ciudad, castillo o fortaleza” (1978, 2.29.265), which turns out to

31 Graf also includes a political context: “Spanish resistance to Carolingian imperialism in 778 coincided with the goal of Moorish imperialism” (2007, 41).

32 “Composite monarchies were therefore subject to both centripetal and centrifugal forces. Which of these forces emerged the stronger depended on the circumstances. Modern historians, still under the anachronistic spell of the national monarchies concept, have not yet attempted to analyze this problem systematically” (Koenisberger 1994, 172).



Henrique Florez, España Sagrada.
Tomo 29, Tratado 65.
Madrid: Antonio de Sancha, 1775.
University of Chicago Library

be a flourmill. The pair would have capsized and drowned if it were not for the mill workers. What could this possibly have to do with Barcelona other than the fact that the countryside around the city was dotted with these mills?

Starting with in the Middle Ages, a legend grew in Catalonia regarding the founding of Barcelona. Although there are a number of versions, all tell of nine "barcas" one of which separates from the others, possibly due to a storm.³³ This lone ship is led by Hercules who lands in a beautiful coast and founds a new city. In a volume published in 1775, Henrique Flórez explains: "y la nona llegó al sitio donde Hércules edificó esta Ciudad, y la dió el nombre de Barcanona, esto es, Ciudad de la

nona o novena Barca, como interpreta Pujades" (1775, 1).³⁴ Although a number of humanists reacted against the authenticity of this story, it became one of the most popular foundational myths of Barcelona.³⁵

33 This story is told from Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada in the thirteenth century to Bishop Joan Margarit in the fifteenth. On Rada see Candelaria 2005, 18.

34 Pujades gives a number of reasons why this legend must be true including the following: "Y no decimos sino es Barcelona, haziendo siempre la semejanza a la barca novena de Hércules... así también de la superscripción de las monedas antiguas de Cataluña, sacaremos argumento a favor de nuestro propósito: porque en los reales de plata del rey don Alfonso el primero se lee escrito el nombre de esta ciudad en esta forma BARKNONA, como se ve en la figura de ellas que pinto a continuación, para estirpar toda duda. Con esta demostración queda evidenciado que hace más de quinientos años que a Barcelona sus Príncipes, Condes y Señores la llamaban claramente BarKanona, que es tanto como decir la ciudad de la novena barca" (Pujades 1829, 77).

35 "Writing to a colleague in the Vatican, Paolo Pompilio, he avoided giving credence to the well-known myth of the city's supposed foundation by Hercules, who was said to have stepped onto the shore from the ninth ship in his fleet, thus giving the new settlement the name barca nona. As Pau noted, nulla adiuiti autoritate priscorum aut probabili coniectura" (Tate 2002, 151). In the eighteenth-century Florez also objects to Pujades: "...y

In order to accept the boat as a foreshadowing of Don Quijote as the Hercules of Barcelona, there ought to be other pointers in the text that would reinforce this notion. Studying the role of Barcelona in *Las dos doncellas*, Barbara Fuchs views the city not just in terms of its laudatory description in the *novela*. She argues that this geographical space ought to be viewed in terms of “both the limits and limitations of Spain’s imperial reach” (2003, 57). Thus Barcelona, for this critic, stands as a *non plus ultra*, as Cervantes seeks to contain Spain’s imperial expansionism. Barcelona, I would argue, also stands as the sailing point to the Italian shores, and we know that Cervantes spent his life desiring Italy, a desire that is often represented in his literary texts through allusions to the art, architecture and culture of the Italian peninsula (De Armas 2006, 4). In the same way that Cervantes cannot return to Italy, the knight cannot continue his adventures. Both character and author must return home in defeat. Fiction and biography intersect at this point. Cervantes had gone to Barcelona to seek patronage from the Count of Lemos—he wanted to embark on a journey to Italy. But this was denied.³⁶ In this sense, Don Quijote’s praise of Barcelona is also a cruel reflection on Cervantes. The supposed city of perfect friendship is the place where the writer discovers that his friend Lupericio Leonardo de Argensola is not willing to help him to obtain patronage; that he is not willing to argue for Cervantes; and that Lemos, in spite of all the praise Cervantes heaped on him, will not take him on his ship.³⁷ It should not surprise us, then, that Barcelona is also the city where Sansón Carrasco perpetrates his final betrayal of his supposed friend Don

la nona llevo al sitio donde Hercules edifico esta Ciudad, y le dio el nombre de Barcanona, como interpreta Pujades que alega al mismo fin la moneda de plata del Rey D. Alfonso a quien llama primero, y con el nombre de BARX NONA. Ya se habia burlado de estas volunteriedades Luis Núñez, De nobilissimae bujus urbae exordios varia... (Flórez 1775, 4).

36 For a description of the glittering court at Naples, led by the Conde de Lemos and its many impromptu plays, Academies and distinguished visitors such as Villamediana see Green (1933: 290-308).

37 While Lemos named the poet Lupericio Leonardo de Argensola as his secretary and also called on a number of literary figures to go with him to Naples, Cervantes was not chosen. Cervantes never gave up on his patron. He dedicated to Lemos his *Novelas ejemplares*, *Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses*, the second part of *Don Quijote* and his posthumous *Persiles y Sigismunda*. Cervantes blames the Argensola brothers for his failure to join the Count of Lemos in his *Viaje del Parnaso* (1614): “Pues si alguna promesa se cumpliera / de aquellas muchas que al partir me hicieron / lléveme Dios si entrara en tu galera. / Mucho espere, si mucho prometieron, / mas podía ser que ocupaciones nuevas / les obligue a olvidar lo que dijeron” (1973, 91)

Quijote.

Barcelona's meaning in the text then has to do with false friendships, with the halt of the imperial or chivalric pursuits, with the end of hope. Don Quijote, as a new Antaeus, is too far from home and is thus defeated by Sansón Carrasco, a new Samson and a new Hercules, but one *in malo*, a malicious figure. While it is said that the Pillars of Hercules were constructed to stop traffic beyond the Mediterranean and thus stand on both sides of the coast as Gibraltar and the Atlas mountains, these pillars seem to have yet another meaning in Cervantes' novel. When Don Quijote meets Maese Pedro the puppeteer, the latter kneels before the knight and intones a parodic praise: "Éstas piernas abrazo, bien así como si abrazara las dos columnas de Hércules, ¡oh resucitador insigne de la ya puesta en olvido andante caballería!" (1978, 2.25.235). The Pillars of Hercules, then, are no longer static, standing in place to warn of further incursion. They are now Don Quijote's own legs. He is the one who delimits the limits of adventure. In this sense, Don Quijote is once again a new Charles V, a notion that returns us to the beginning of this essay.

Since Spain was thought to be at the ends of the world, Hercules set up his two pillars at the edge of the Mediterranean, warning mere mortals not to travel beyond them. Charles V, through this "emblem expressed his ambition to extend his sovereignty east to the Holy Land and west to the New World, beyond the boundaries Hercules had once marked at Gibraltar to indicate the furthest reaches of Europe in antiquity" (Tanner 1993, 155). Upon Charles V's abdication a medal was coined with "an image of Philip-Hercules assuming the burden of global rule from his father, Charles-Atlas" (Tanner 1993, 139). This was just a beginning. Jonathan Brown and J. H. Elliott assert that "The invention of the emperor's emblematic device... fixed the association of the ancient hero with the modern ruler firmly in the minds of sixteenth-century princes" (1980, 157). An Apotheosis of Charles V painted in the 1590s make use of the columns in a new way: "With this arrangement the columns at his back are positioned towards the east, that is, towards Istanbul and not towards the Atlantic, where they used to point in emblems decorating books of imperial edicts during Charles's reign" (Kleinschmidt 2004, 165). In this new kind of image, the columns would not signal the straits of Gibraltar. Perhaps one of them is now Barcelona? Philip II was also seen as going beyond Europe and having power over the four continents in Luca Contile's *imprese*, which features the fabled columns (Tanner 1993, 141). Maese Pedro allows Don Quijote the same

ambition as that of Charles V and his Habsburg successors.

But Maese Pedro is not what he appears to be. He is a trickster, the famed Ginés de Pasamonte. While Don Quijote moves forward, thinking that his legs urge him on to adventure, to the Herculean and imperial *plus ultra*, they are actually leading him to the purgatory of the Duke and Duchess and to defeat in Barcelona. He does not land in Barcelona on his lone *barca*, but gets there with the help of the bandit Roque Guinart who might be another incarnation of an *in bono* Cacus. On arriving he is greeted by “grandes amigos de Roque Guinart” (1978, 2.61.508). Who does land in a small boat is Ana Félix, dressed as a man, killing Christians while she herself is a “morisca Cristiana” (1978, 2.63.529). Charles V was another problematic arrival. He came to Spain by sea in 1517 using the French motto on his ship *Plus Oultré*.³⁸ He had come to meet with the Order of the Golden Fleece, the first time they met outside of Burgundy. But his Spanish subjects did not like the French / Burgundian Order and soon the motto was turned to Latin (Rosenthal 1971, 223). Indeed, on the back of Charles’ seat in the choir at the Cathedral in Barcelona, where he met with the Order in 1519, there is a painted heraldic painting by Juan de Borgoña with the columns of Hercules (Rosenthal 1971, 209).³⁹ Before going *plus ultra*, beyond the columns, Charles had to learn to live with his Iberian subjects. While he did so, Spaniards did not learn to live with *moriscos* who were expelled shortly before the publication of *Don Quijote* Part Two. Thus the appearance of Ana Félix’s *barca*, may represent a different foundational myth, one based on diversity.

Barcanona does not belong to Don Quijote. The Pillars of Hercules are about to tumble, as he is thrown from his horse and to the ground by the disguised Sansón Carrasco. His legs or Hercules’ Pillars cannot hold the knight, so he is taken away from his defeat in a “silla de manos” (1978,

38 Charles and his sister Eleonore travelled from Brussels to the coast of Flanders. His ships awaited him at the port of Flushing. They were able to sail in September, landing in Villaviciosa, Asturias (rather than Santander) on September 18th. After a visit to his mother in Tordesillas and a meeting with the Cortes of Castile in 1518, he departed for Zaragoza. Then, in 1519, he went on to Barcelona where “he held a chapter of the Order of the Golden Fleece and conferred the collar of the order on the most exalted members of the Spanish nobility” (Fernández Álvarez 1975, 28).

39 “The fire steel and flint stone between the columns are symbols of that Order and thus the meaning may be read figuratively as ‘I promise to lead the order to glory beyond any heretofore known’ that is to say, beyond the confines of Europe...” (Rosenthal 1971, 218).



Spanish nobles lead a riderless horse with the motto of Emperor Charles V "Plus ultra" in the funerary procession held in Brussels in 1558.

2.64.535).⁴⁰ The new Samson has defeated the would-be Hercules – or should we say Antaeus. The knight has lost his force, being far away from home; the pillars have crumbled, as *plus ultra* becomes an ambiguous and reversible sign that can bring the Other into Spain. Through the image of Barcelona and the myth of Hercules, its mythical founder, the novel brings the reader face to face with the difficult realities of imperial conquest; with the problematics of a composite kingdom, where many loyalties are at play; and with the manipulation of foundational myths and imperial mottoes in a textual space where reversibility denies the opposition of friend and foe. The novel's architecture erects and breaks up the Pillars of Hercules and the myths of Barcanona, while the worth of its knight is that he is a new Hercules who can receive counsel from Cacus; a Hercules who loses strength much like his rival Antaeus; and a Hercules who, through conquest, serves to question unquestioned expansionisms.

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⁴⁰ On leaving the city Don Quijote exclaims: "Aquí fue Troya... aquí se escurecieron mis hazañas; aquí, finalmente, cayo mi ventura para jamás levantarse" (1978, 2.66.541). When Don Quijote states that this was his Troy, we are not to conceive of Barcelona as Troy. Rather, Don Quijote's body is Troy while the beach that surrounds him (and by extension, the city of Barcelona) represents the Greeks. It can be argued that Sansón Carrasco won by his valor, but he actually won by trickery and disguise. He is the Trojan horse that defeats Don Quijote. He is the new Ulysses who enters the fortress of the knight's dreams.

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2. Bandinelli, Baccio (1488-1560) Hercules and Cacus. Location: Piazza della Signoria, Florence, Italy. Credit: Scala/Art Resource, NY.
3. The Pillars of Hercules with the motto *Plus Ultra*. Location: Town hall in Seville.
4. Henrique Flórez, España Sagrada. Tomo 29, Tratado 65. Madrid: Antonio de Sancha, 1775. Location: University of Chicago Regenštein Library.
5. Spanish nobles lead a riderless horse with the motto of Emperor Charles V "Plus ultra" in the funerary procession held in Brussels in 1558. Watercolor in a book printed by Plantin-Moretus in Brussels. Location: Bibliothèque Municipale, Besançon, France. Credit: Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY.