

Don Quixote de Loyola: Cervantes' Reputed Parody of the Founder of the Society of
Jesus

by

Philip Ross Davidson
B.A., University of Victoria, 2005

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of

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Supervisory Committee

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Abstract

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Readers have associated Don Quixote and St Ignatius of Loyola for centuries. Many have inferred an intentional parody of Loyola in Cervantes' classic novel, *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha*. The first part of this thesis traces reader associations of Don Quixote and St Ignatius since the publication of Part I of *Don Quixote* in 1605. The second part analyzes two texts commonly cited as sources for reader associations of St Ignatius and Don Quixote, Loyola's *Autobiografía* (1555) and Pedro de Ribadeneyra's *Vida de Ignacio de Loyola* (1583), and proposes a hypothesis for how Cervantes may have intended to parody the founder of the Society of Jesus. The third part analyzes narrative, substantive and thematic parallelisms in *Don Quixote*, the *Autobiografía* and *Vida* and discusses the likelihood of Cervantes intentionally parodying Loyola in his most famous and enduring work.

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Dedication

To

Samuel Dumka

A gentleman, scholar and consummate story teller,
who did more for his thesis than he had to.

Thanks for the encouragement, Gramps.

Introduction

In the preface to his 1952 work, *The Disinherited Mind*, essayist Erich Heller reflects on the role of the literary scholar and the nature of his discipline. For Heller, a central difficulty in the study of literature is the influence of a scholar's experience beyond his immediate area of focus. However much he may strive for objectivity and attempt to restrain bias in his work, his understanding of a subject will be inevitably characterized by his knowledge, temperament and experiences in the world. This is not necessarily a bad thing, he argues. In fact, it is one of the unique strengths of his discipline. For the aim of literary study is not to remain purely neutral, but to communicate meaning and illuminate important differences of opinion that exist:

It is true that his devotion to literature is capable of purging his affections of too narrowly subjective and emotional elements; yet his comprehension will remain largely determined by his own character, spontaneous sympathies or antipathies, the happiness he has enjoyed or the disasters that have befallen him. And this, he will see, is no shortcoming of his own discipline, to be conquered in scientific campaigns or disguised by scientific masquerades, but is in fact its distinctive virtue. For the ultimate concern of his subject is neither facts nor classifications, neither patterns of cause and effect nor technical complexities. Of course, strict honesty in the face of facts and a certain mastery in dealing with their manifold interconnections are the indispensable qualifications of the literary scholar. In the end, however, he is concerned with the communication of a sense of quality rather than measurable quantity, and of meaning rather than explanation.

Thus he would be ill-advised to concentrate exclusively on those aspects of his discipline which allow the calm neutrality of what is indisputably factual and 'objective'. His business is, I think, not the avoidance of subjectivity, but its purification; not the shunning of what is disputable, but the cleansing and deepening of the dispute (xiii-xiv).¹

The study of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra's reputed parody of St Ignatius of Loyola in *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha* demands, I think, this approach. Scholars would be hardpressed to find a work more disputed and subject to greater levels of subjective interpretation than *Don Quixote*. Similarly, Ignatius, and the religious order he founded, have been no strangers to controversy over the course of history. While this thesis is not about the controversial reputation of Loyola and the Jesuits, there can be no doubt about the relevance of their reputation to its purpose. That

¹ Erich Heller. *The Disinherited Mind: Essays in Modern German Literature and Thought*. Expanded ed. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, (1952) 1975.

purpose is to examine a possible intended meaning of Cervantes' novel and to determine whether the evidence for it justifies its interpretation.

In this sense, I use meaning to refer to that which is intended by the author, is stable and determinate, and is the essence of what makes interpretive knowledge possible. In this understanding of meaning and authorial intentionality, I follow the critical stance of American literary scholar E.D. Hirsch. In the 1960s and 70s, Hirsch was one of a few academic voices to defend the traditional philological practice of hermeneutics against a rising tide of critical relativism and perspectivism. In two important works that challenged this emerging status quo in critical theory, Hirsch pointed to the relatively few fundamental premises that have appeared in the history of the theory of interpretation.² He furthermore exposed the logical deficiencies of relativist critical theories that reject the notion that it is possible for an interpreter to ascertain an author's likely intended meaning in a text and that would prefer to banish the author as a determiner of meaning altogether. While Hirsch's approach to interpretation has not enjoyed the same degree of acceptance as relativist critical theories in contemporary literary study, it does offer a helpful perspective for ours. In particular, his distinction between meaning (as intended by the author) and significance (as perceived by a reader or critic) is a useful principle for understanding the diversity of critical opinion that has developed over time with respect to *Don Quixote*. Hirsch maintains that it is the goal of the interpreter to understand and explicate the meaning of a text (i.e. the author's likely intended meaning). Significance, on the other hand, which is "meaning-as-related-to-something-else" (*Aims* 80), is the proper object of literary criticism. This thesis focuses on whether the reputed parody of Loyola in *Don Quixote* was Cervantes' likely intended meaning or not. If it was, the significance of this parody, and its relationship to our understanding of Cervantes and his works, and to Loyola and the Society of Jesus, must necessarily remain a subject for another time.

² E.D. Hirsch. *Validity in Interpretation*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1967; *The Aims of Interpretation*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1976.

In pursuit of my objective, I have divided this thesis into three parts. Part I deals with a recurrent phenomenon in the interpretation of *Don Quixote*: reader associations of its protagonist with St Ignatius of Loyola. This section is based on a paper I presented at the XLVII Congress of the Canadian Association of Hispanists in 2011 and an article that I wrote which was published in 2012.³ The examination of reader associations reveals that, while some variability exists, there has been a consistent interpretation of *Don Quixote* as a burlesque parody of Ignatius of Loyola. This interpretation has spanned generations of readers across centuries, including some who have arrived at it by way of translations of the original Spanish text.

In the second part I examine the texts which form the basis of reader associations of Don Quixote and St Ignatius: the *Autobiografía* and Pedro de Ribadeneyra's *Vida de Ignacio de Loyola*. Before embarking on this analysis, however, I discuss an aspect of *Don Quixote* which offers potential insight into Cervantes' authorial intention. This discussion of the discreet reader and the author's message for him in the text is followed by the story of the writing of Ignatius' memoir and biography, an intriguing tale of efforts undertaken to narrate the life of the founder of a great religious order and man determined to become a saint. Cervantes' personal familiarity with Loyola and the Society of Jesus, and the genesis of his novel *Don Quixote*, are the focus of the next section, followed by my consideration of a rival hypothesis concerning the object of Cervantes' satire, which rounds out Part II.

The third and most extensive part of this thesis looks at the parallelisms that have been identified by readers of the *Quixote*, *Autobiografía* and/or *Vida* throughout the centuries. These parallelisms have been divided into three categories: narrative, substantive and thematic. The narrative parallelisms deal with parts of *Don Quixote*'s story that are analogous to relevant episodes in the *Autobiografía* and *Vida*. The section on substantive parallelisms examines a series of similarities between the character of Don

³ Philip Davidson. "Don Quixote de Loyola: Reader Associations of Don Quixote with St Ignatius of Loyola." *XLVII Congreso de la Asociación Canadiense de Hispanistas*. May 28-30, 2011. Saint Thomas University. Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada. 2011; "Don Quijote de Loyola: sus asociaciones por lectores a lo largo del tiempo." *Cuadernos de Aleph*. 4 (2012): 47-74. Web. <<http://cuadernosdealeph.com/2012/pdfs/04.pdf>>.

Quixote and Ignatius of Loyola, as revealed in the texts about the founder's life. The final section on thematic parallelisms analyzes a number of themes common to the *Autobiografía* and *Vida* which appear to be humorously represented in *Don Quixote*.

In the Conclusion I summarize my analysis of these parallelisms and offer my view of the probability of Cervantes intending to parody Loyola in his novel. As with Heller's estimation of the role of the literary scholar, my intention here is not to avoid subjectivity in interpretation but rather to purify it through recognition of relevant facts, intrinsic textual and extrinsic contextual arguments and alternative understandings of the text. The aim of this approach is to deepen the dispute over the meaning of *Don Quixote* and to communicate a quality of understanding that has larger implications for the appreciation of Cervantes' work, its underlying message, and what he may have intended to say with respect to Loyola and the Society of Jesus.

Note on Editions, Translations, Quotations and Citations

The works examined in this thesis have each been consulted in their original language. Where possible I have also consulted English translations. In some instances, I have quoted short passages of a particular work in its original language in the body of the text; in others, I have employed the English translation. Longer passages have been quoted in the original language. For greater accessibility of the English reader, I have provided English translations of all passages quoted in the original language in footnotes to the text. I have also provided the original language version of a passage in footnotes wherever an English translation has been used. In some cases, where no English version is available, I have provided my own translation.

For *Don Quixote*, I have used Martín de Riquer's 2001 edition⁴ of the text and Edith Grossman's 2003 translation.⁵ For Ignatius' *Autobiografía*, I have used the 1992

⁴ Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha*. ed. Martín de Riquer. Barcelona: Planeta, 2001.

⁵ Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. *Don Quixote*. Tran. Edith Grossman. New York: Ecco, 2003.

Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos edition⁶ and Joseph N. Tylenda's 1991 translation.⁷ The *Vida* I have used is the 1967 Espasa-Calpe edition.⁸ All translations into English of this last work are my own, as are all other translations in this thesis, unless otherwise noted.

For citing passages from *Don Quixote*, I have followed the traditional approach. A Roman numeral I or II indicates the novel's part, followed by the chapter and page number in Arabic numerals (e.g. I, 5, 68 for Part I, chapter 5, page 68). The *Autobiografía*, which is divided into chapters and numbered paragraphs, is cited in a similar fashion. The chapter in this case is represented by a Roman numeral, followed by the numbered paragraph and page number in Arabic numerals (e.g. II, 23, 78-79). The *Vida* is divided into four books with a series of chapters in each; its citation is as follows: Roman numeral for book, Arabic numerals for chapter and page number (e.g. I, 12, 54). All other citation adheres to the Modern Language Association style. In addition to this, when a work is first quoted or referred to in the text, I have noted its complete bibliographic citation at the bottom of the page so the reader may observe its source without having to turn to the bibliography at the end.

⁶ San Ignacio de Loyola. *Autobiografía y Diario Espiritual*. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1992.

⁷ Saint Ignatius of Loyola. *A Pilgrim's Journey: The Autobiography of Ignatius of Loyola*. Tran. Ed. Joseph N. Tylenda, SJ. Collegeville, Minn: The Liturgical Press, 1991. Print.

⁸ Pedro de Ribadeneyra, SJ. *Vida de Ignacio de Loyola*. 3^a ed. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, (1583) 1967.

Part I. Reader Associations of Don Quixote and St Ignatius of Loyola

So it's not enough to make your listener bare his teeth
in a grin — though I grant there's some virtue in that.
You need terseness, to let the thought run freely on
without becoming entangled in a mass of words that will hang
heavy on the ear. You need a style which is sometimes severe,
sometimes gay, now suiting the role of an orator or poet
now that of a clever talker who keeps his strength in reserve
and carefully rations it out. Humour is often stronger
and more effective than sharpness in cutting knotty issues.

Horace, *Satires* I, 10

1. Associating Don Quixote and St Ignatius of Loyola

Reading *Don Quixote* has been an extremely varied enterprise. Diverse interpretations of the great Spanish classic have led readers to ask a variety of often contradictory questions about the novel's meaning: is it a satire of books of chivalry, told through the hilarious adventures of an insane reader, or the tragic story of a visionary hero, victim of a blind and uncomprehending society?; does it convey a critical social commentary of some important figure, institutional power or contemporary state of affairs, or does it merely fulfill the author's stated purpose of abolishing an over-the-top literary genre?; does it esteem and defend the socio-political values of seventeenth-century Spain, or subvert and ridicule them?; is it burlesque comedy, or romantic tragedy?; humanist discourse, or moral-philosophical treatise?; invective against religion, or defence of Roman Catholic orthodoxy?; precursor to postmodern perspectivism, or simply good entertainment? Indeed, readers have asked themselves for centuries, what did Cervantes really mean to say in *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha*?⁹

⁹ The following works of *Quixote* criticism illustrate the variability of inquiries into this matter. The question of whether Don Quixote is a hero or a fool has been examined by John J. Allen in *Don Quixote: Hero or Fool? A Study in Narrative Technique*. Gainesville: UP of Florida, 1969; the defense of the novel as a satire of books of chivalry can be found in Anthony J. Close's *A Companion to Don Quixote*. Woodbridge, UK; Rochester, NY: Tamesis, 2008, Daniel Eisenberg's *A Study of Don Quixote*. Newark, Del: Juan de la Cuesta, 1987, and in the introduction to Martín de Riquer's edition of the *Quixote*; James A. Parr equates *Don Quixote* with Menippean satire in the tradition of the satirical homilies of Horace in *Don Quixote: An Anatomy of Subversive Discourse*. Newark, Del: Juan de la Cuesta, 1988; Américo Castro, heavily criticized by Close, reinvigorates the Romantic interpretation of *Don Quixote* in *El pensamiento de Cervantes*. Ed. Julio Rodríguez-Puértolas. Barcelona: Noguer, (1925) 1972, and detects an Erasmian influence in Cervantes' thought; Marcel Bataillon supports this idea in *Erasmus y España: estudios sobre la historia espiritual del siglo XVI*. 2. ed. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1966; Ludovik Osterc Berlan takes the Romantic approach further and characterizes Cervantes as a liberal social reformer in *El pensamiento social y político del Quijote: interpretación histórico-materialista*. 2 ed. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1975; Kurt Reichenberger finds a similar, politically subversive bent to Cervantes' satire in *Cervantes ¿un gran satírico?: los enigmas peligrosos del Quijote descifrados para el «Carísimo lector»*. Kassel, Germany: 2005. Paul M. Descouzis conversely sees Cervantes as a Counter Reformation writer and studies the *Quixote* in light of the Council of Trent in *Cervantes, a nueva luz, I: el 'Quijote' y el Concilio de Trento*. Frankfurt, Germany: Klostermann, 1996; the Catholic orthodoxy of the *Quixote*'s religious and philosophical values are defended in Pedro Rueda Contreras' *Los valores religiosos-filosóficos de El Quijote*. Valladolid: Miraflores, 1959; the capacity of the novel to evoke different interpretations is studied in James Iffland's "On the Social Destiny of "Don Quixote": Literature and Ideological Interpellation: Part I." *The Journal of the Midwest Modern Language Association* 20.1 (1987): 17-36 and "On the Social Destiny of "Don Quixote": Literature and Ideological Interpellation: Part II." *The Journal of the Midwest Modern Language Association* 20.2 (1987): 9-27; Álvaro Ramírez maintains Cervantes' work anticipates the postmodern novel in "'Don Quijote" and the Age of Simulacra." *Hispania* 88.1 (2005): 82-90 and Cory A. Reed emphasizes its chaotic and perspectivist aspects in "Chaotic Quijote:

This lack of consensus concerning Cervantes' authorial intention in *Don Quixote* no doubt has something to do with his use of irony and allusion, and ability to convey multiple layers of meaning to his readers. A highly skilled writer and communicator, Cervantes is often capable of eliciting mirth by mere implicit suggestion—a turn of phrase, a play on words, a subtle conceit, a bit of mock gravity or an oblique hint at larger themes lurking beneath the surface—without need of more explicit communication. This facility is based largely on his awareness of what his readers know. By knowing what his readers know, Cervantes is able to treat certain topics with discretion and to evoke certain desired reader responses, all without in some cases even formally acknowledging these topics in his text. This subtle form of authorial communication leads invariably to the interpretive chaos and diversity of opinion we are familiar with today, as readers with different degrees of knowledge and varying points of view encounter the text and come to their own conclusions about what it means.

Although reader-response theory figures prominently in postmodern and perspectivist criticism of *Don Quixote*, I do not think readers' subjective or emotional responses are vital to the interpretation of the text. Rather, I think certain articulations of this theory, such as those expressed in the works of German literary scholar Wolfgang Iser, including *The Implied Reader* (1974) and *The Act of Reading* (1976), are useful for understanding Cervantes' approach to satire in *Don Quixote*.¹⁰ Iser argued that authors may intentionally create gaps or blanks in texts that powerfully affect the reader and impel him to explain what is left unsaid, or to connect what is separated, in order to make sense of matters incited by, but not necessarily uttered in, a text. This sort of indirect authorial intentionality corresponds to a persistent phenomenon in the interpretation of

Complexity, Nonlinearity, and Perspectivism." *Hispania* 77.4 (1994): 738-49; Pierre L. Ullman details the controversy surrounding the differing interpretations of *Don Quixote*'s ironic humour in "Romanticism and Irony in Don Quixote: A Continuing Controversy." *Papers on Language and Literature: A Journal for Scholars and Critics of Language and Literature* 17.3 (1981): 320-33, and P.E. Russell defends the novel as a fundamentally funny book in "'Don Quixote' as a Funny Book." *The Modern Language Review* 64.2 (1969): 312-26.

¹⁰ See Wolfgang Iser, *The Implied Reader: Patterns of Communication in Prose Fiction from Bunyan to Beckett*. Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins UP, 1974 and *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins UP, (1976) 1980. Later, in Part II, I discuss my hypothesis for how Cervantes may have intended to parody St Ignatius and to communicate this intention to a select group of readers.

Don Quixote: for centuries, readers of Cervantes' novel have associated its protagonist with St Ignatius of Loyola. These associations form a recurring motif in the interpretation of the work as readers of different origins, often independent from one another, have identified striking parallelisms between the two figures and, at times, inferred an intentional parody of Loyola in the text. This interpretation, however, has gained relatively little attention in scholarly studies of the novel. Indeed, it is a reading that remains very much on the margins of Cervantine criticism.

Nevertheless, in recent years, amateur readers of *Don Quixote* who maintain the existence of an intentional parody of Loyola in the text have made considerable efforts to highlight the parallelisms between the iconic character and the founder of the Society of Jesus. Most determined among these, without a doubt, has been Federico Ortés, a Spanish Cervantes enthusiast and retired teacher who has written five books on the subject: *¡Mi padre!* (1995), *Don Quijote y Compañía* (1997), *El triunfo de Don Quijote: Cervantes y la Compañía de Jesús, un mensaje cifrado* (2002), *Don Quijote bálsamo-yelmo y emperador de la China* (2007), and *Don Quijote Peregrino entre Loyola-París* (2013).¹¹ In addition to these books, Ortés has published a memoir, available for download from his website, www.donquijoteliberado.com, which narrates his quixotic efforts to have prominent *cervantistas* review his work.¹² *Cronicón quijotesco*, published in 2005, is an entertaining if somewhat dispiriting read thanks to the personal correspondence the author has included with distinguished figures from the world of Cervantine studies, including Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce, Helena Percas de Ponseti, Daniel Eisenberg, Juan Goytisolo, the Jesuit bibliographer of Cervantine studies, Jaime Fernández, SJ, and the former President of the Asociación de cervantistas, José María Casasayas, among other leading scholars.

¹¹ Federico Ortés. *¡Mi padre!*. Mérida: n.p., 1995; *Don Quijote y Compañía*. Sevilla: n.p., 1997; *El triunfo de Don Quijote: Cervantes y la Compañía de Jesús, un mensaje cifrado*. 1st ed. Brenes, Sevilla: Muñoz Moya, 2002; *Don Quijote bálsamo-yelmo y emperador de china*. Sevilla: n.p., 2007. Web. <www.donquijoteliberado.com/balsamo.html>; *Don Quijote Peregrino entre Loyola-París*. Sevilla: n.p., 2013. Web. <www.donquijoteliberado.com/peregrino.html>.

¹² Federico Ortés, *Cronicón quijotesco*. Sevilla: n.p., 2005. Web. <www.donquijoteliberado.com/cronicon.html>.

Despite the Cervantine establishment's unenthusiastic and, at times, hostile response to his ideas, Federico Ortés remains firm in his belief that the *Quixote* conceals a hidden allegory about Ignatius and the Society of Jesus. His greatest exposition of this thesis is found in the enormous tome, *El triunfo de Don Quijote*, an intricate comparative study of the first eight chapters of *Don Quixote*, St Ignatius' *Autobiografía*, dictated by Loyola between 1553 and 1555, and a hagiographic biography, *Vida de Ignacio de Loyola*, written by the Jesuit historian Pedro de Ribadeneyra in Latin in 1569 and first published in Spanish in 1583.¹³ With his analysis extending to over six hundred pages, Ortés presents an argument concerning Cervantes' authorial intention in the *Quixote* which, with its foundation in a number of parallelisms between the three works, includes the principal adventures of Don Quixote, notable events in the life of Loyola and a series of words and expressions the texts have in common.

The parallelisms Ortés identifies between these works lead him to a rather curious understanding of Cervantes' ultimate purpose in *Don Quixote*. Briefly, he argues that 1) the parallelisms prove that Cervantes knew and closely read Loyola's *Autobiografía*; 2) that Ribadeneyra's *Vida* is a manipulation of the story narrated in the *Autobiografía* since, among other things, it minimizes Loyola's brushes with ecclesiastical authority; and 3) that *Don Quixote* represents Loyola as an idealistic Church reformer, whose spiritual legacy was corrupted by his followers after his death. Cervantes' awareness of the substitution of Loyola's *Autobiografía* for the airbrushed *Vida* therefore gave him the impetus to write the *Quixote* which, according to Ortés, is a critique of the Society of Jesus for having abandoned the values of its founder and become a reactionary organization.

Ortés' theory about Cervantes' authorial intention is characterized by a distinctly Romantic interpretation of *Don Quixote*, a reading inspired by a long and controversial tradition in Cervantine criticism.¹⁴ This manner of regarding *Don Quixote* as an authentic hero rather than an amusing fool conditions his analysis of the parallelisms he identifies

¹³ These texts are discussed further in II, 2.1-2.2.

¹⁴ For a more detailed discussion of Romantic *Quixote* criticism and its effect on readers' understanding of the novel, see I, 1.8.

and results in the distinction that he makes between Loyola (hero) and the religious order he founded (reactionary). The majority of readers who associate Don Quixote and Loyola, however, do not make this distinction and instead opt for an interpretation in which the satiric weight of the novel falls upon the protagonist and, by association, upon Loyola and the Society of Jesus.

Regardless of his inability to win over Cervantes scholars, the doubtfulness of some of his arguments and the stridency with which he sometimes makes them, the real value of Ortés' work lies in his efforts to shed light on the many parallelisms between Don Quixote and St Ignatius, and in his recognition that he is but the latest in a long line of readers to identify these as important clues for understanding Cervantes' authorial intention. Indeed, Ortés cites reader associations of Loyola and Don Quixote that go back for centuries, including an instance which is possibly the earliest known reader association of the two figures, and the example from which he derives the title of his book.

1.1 El triunfo de don Quijote

“El triunfo de don Quijote” was a burlesque masque performed by students of the University of Salamanca to commemorate the beatification of Ignatius of Loyola in 1609. The celebrations to mark this occasion lasted a week, from the 10th to the 17th of January, 1610, and included, in addition to solemn religious rites, all the festive elements typical of the age: music, bullfights, fireworks, expositions of art, theatrical performances inspired by biblical stories and books of chivalry, and other assorted entertainments. On the final Sunday of the fiestas, a procession organized by the city's university students wound its way through the streets and squares of Salamanca representing famous achievements of the Society of Jesus through various different ancient fables. An account published later that year by a man named Alonso de Salazar paints the scene vividly that day and makes special mention of a masque that followed a triumphal car depicting Vulcan forging rays for Jupiter and Mars:

Y estando todos oyendo la música les interrumpió otra de trompetas y atabales, que assomaua por otro lado de la plaça. Y era yna graciosa máscara a la picaresca, fiesta propia de los estudiantes de Salamanca, miembro[s] tan principal della que, como gente que alcança más de ingenio y gusto que de dineros, no pudiendo hazer sus fiestas con aparatos tan costosos como los más ricos, las solemnizan con ingeniosas y baratas inuenciones, a que en todas las fiestas más graues desta Ciudad se ha dado siempre mui buen lugar (qtd. in Buezo 96).¹⁵

As Salazar recounts, this was “la dicha máscara del triunfo de don Quixote de la Mancha, hecho con tan buena inuención que dio mucho que reír a todos” (97).¹⁶ He describes the ridiculous attire of the actors who played Don Quixote, Sancho and the other characters in their retinue (“El vestido de doña Dulcinea era para perecer de risa”) (97),¹⁷ props from the novel, such as the balm of Fierabrás and helmet of Mambrino, that they carried with them, and the public’s reaction to their witty performance. “Destá suerte dieron buelta por la plaça y hazían perecer de risa a la gente, y en particular a los que auían leído su libro” (97).¹⁸

In her article about the masque, Catalina Buezo points out that Don Quixote and Sancho Panza appeared often as agents of amusement at celebrations in the Hispanic world during the seventeenth century (95).¹⁹ But their presence at the fiestas in honour of Loyola, five years after the publication of *Don Quixote*, suggests an intriguing possibility: did the public associate Don Quixote with Ignatius of Loyola? Ortés considers this to be obvious (52). However, his thesis about Cervantes’ intention in *Don Quixote* influences his interpretation of the episode, which he sees as the public’s celebration of Loyola’s heroism in spite of the Society that had corrupted his legacy.

¹⁵ “And while everyone was listening to the music, they were suddenly interrupted by another performance of trumpets and drums, which appeared on the other side of the square. And it was a witty picaresque masque, a performance typical of the students of Salamanca, such important members of the city who, being persons with more wit and taste than money, and unable to celebrate their fiestas with costly apparatuses like the wealthier citizens, solemnize their fiestas with witty and inexpensive inventions, which have always played an important part in this City’s most serious celebrations”.

¹⁶ “the aforementioned masque of the triumph of Don Quixote of La Mancha, performed with such wit that it made everyone laugh a great deal”.

¹⁷ “doña Dulcinea’s dress was enough to kill you laughing”.

¹⁸ “In this manner they proceeded around the square and made the people perish with laughter, and particularly those who had read his book”.

¹⁹ Catalina Buezo. “El triunfo de don Quijote: Una máscara estudiantil burlesca de 1610 y otras invenciones.” *Anales Cervantinos* 28 (1990): 87-98.

Yet the masque itself, and the reaction of the public, point to another conclusion. Buezo observes that “El triunfo de don Quijote” was a typical burlesque student masque of the era. It was the sort of comic masquerade or adolescent mummery usually performed at celebrations of this kind. These mischievous performances, Buezo points out, served as humorous counterpoints to more serious cars in triumphal processions. Viewed in this manner, “El triunfo de don Quijote” takes on a more ironic tone and the supposed heroism of its protagonist serves more as a satirical joke than as an object of admiration. The natural response to all of this, as we have seen, was riotous laughter.

The fact that the masque moved its spectators to laughter, and particularly those who had read Cervantes’ book, is a detail of interest with respect to the association of Don Quixote and Loyola. Did it seem to these readers that the masque was a parody of the founder of the Society of Jesus? Did they consider *Don Quixote* to be a parody of him already? Did the students take advantage of this understanding to make, with ironic winks and allusions, their performance that much more hilarious?²⁰ History cannot offer a conclusive answer, neither can speculation resolve the matter, but what is certain is that this was an occasion replete with opportunities to make humorous comparisons, particularly after a parade in which the achievements of Loyola and the Society of Jesus were praised in earnest. The result is an anecdote documented in Cervantes’ time which reveals indications of an association between Loyola and Don Quixote made by readers of the novel that produces widespread, generalized amusement. Alonso de Salazar, the only person to have recorded the performance for posterity, summarizes the experience of having witnessed the students’ masque with an expressiveness that underscores Spanish readers’ appreciation for *Don Quixote* and the effect that witty representations of the same had on the public: “Solamente puedo afirmar que fue este vno de los buenos días de

²⁰ Here Loyola’s personal history in Salamanca is relevant. Eighty-three years before, in 1527, he arrived in Salamanca to pursue his university studies. He never had the opportunity, however, for he was soon arrested for speaking publicly about spiritual matters and teaching his *Spiritual Exercises* without, as his Dominican inquisitors noted, any formal education or qualifications to do so. Ignatius, together with his two companions, was jailed and interrogated by the friars of the San Esteban monastery who suspected his teaching. After three weeks he and his companions were finally set free. He promptly left for Barcelona, and afterward travelled to Paris where he succeeded in enrolling in university. The incident of Ignatius’ arrest and imprisonment, which caused considerable commotion in Salamanca at the time, would have lived on in the civic memory of the city and may have provided material for the students to ironize with in “El triunfo de don Quijote”. For Loyola’s time in Salamanca, see the *Autobiografía*, VII, 64-72, and the *Vida*, I, 15.

regozijo que yo he visto en mi vida” (qtd. in Buezo 97).²¹

1.2 The *Bibliothèque universelle et historique*

Reader associations of Don Quixote and St Ignatius would continue in the following centuries in much the same fashion as suggested by the response to “El triunfo de don Quijote”. The majority of readers who associated Loyola and Don Quixote would understand Cervantes’ novel to be a burlesque comedy —although this would change with the Romantic era— and see in it an intentional parody of Loyola.

This is evident in the first explicit association of Don Quixote and St Ignatius, which appeared in 1688 in the periodical *Bibliothèque universelle et historique* published by the French encyclopaedist Jean Le Clerc. The association appears in a review of a religious tract published in England earlier that same year.²² Its author compares Ignatius to Don Quixote in a number of ways: before his conversion, Ignatius had an ardent desire to win honour and glory, was naturally haughty and could not get enough of chivalrous adventures and feats of arms; he loved poetry, novels and books of chivalry; he was a great admirer of the book *Amadís de Gaula*, as was Don Quixote; and, upon reading the lives of Saints Francis and Dominic, he asked himself, in a rather quixotic fashion, “*Que ferai-je pour imiter les illustres exploits de S. DOMINIQUE? Que pourrai-je entreprendre, qui puisse égaler les fameuses actions de S. FRANCOIS?*” (108-108).²³ As he experienced religious conversion, Ignatius began to exchange his worldly ideals for more heavenly aspirations and finally concluded, given his only objective was to win

²¹ “I can only affirm this was one of the great days of rejoicing I have seen in my life”.

²² Jean Le Clerc, et al. “The enthusiasm of the Church of Rome &c. *L’Enthousiasme de l’Eglise Romaine démontré par quelques remarques sur la vie d’Ignace Loyola.*” *Bibliothèque universelle et historique*. Tome XI. Amsterdam: Henri Scheltz, 1688. 93-147. The tract reviewed was written by Anglican divine William Wharton. The term “enthusiasm” was used in the late 17th century to describe religious fanaticism, both Catholic and Protestant. In this context it meant “highly emotional, deeply embodied religious experience in the form of inspired raptures, miraculous revelations, and prophetic power”. See Andrew Keitt. “Religious Enthusiasm, the Spanish Inquisition, and the Disenchantment of the World.” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 65.2 (2004): 231-250.

²³ A paraphrased quotation from Chapter I of the *Autobiografía*, in which Ignatius asks, “-¿Qué sería, si yo hiciese esto que hizo San Francisco, y esto que hizo Santo Domingo?-”, and later “-Santo Domingo hizo esto; pues yo lo tengo de hacer. San Francisco hizo esto; pues yo lo tengo de hacer.-” (I, 7, 62). (“What if I were to do what Saint Francis did, or to do what Saint Dominic did?”; “Saint Dominic did this, so I have to do it too. Saint Francis did this, so I have to do it too.” (I, 7, 14).

glory, according to the author of the article, that he ought to prefer holy chivalry to the profane. This led him to deliberately imitate St Francis of Assisi, a saint who surpassed all others as much as Amadís surpassed the real life heroes of history (109).

The source from which the anonymous writer drew these parallelisms remains unclear, but the details of Loyola's conversion which he observes in his commentary are featured in both the *Autobiografía* and Ribadeneyra's *Vida*. Ultimately, it is likely that the writer was more familiar with the *Vida* than the *Autobiografía*, given the suppression of this latter work by the Society of Jesus in the sixteenth century.²⁴ Nevertheless, regardless of the source, it is clear that the writer's familiarity with Loyola's story gives rise to a sustained comparison with Don Quixote and an understanding of his mad adventures as a parody of the spiritual ambitions of the first Jesuit.

1.3 Pierre Quesnel and *The Spiritual Quixote*

In 1736, almost fifty years after the publication of the *Bibliothèque universelle et historique* article, Pierre Quesnel, a French cleric and journalist based in The Hague, published a book entitled *Histoire de l'admirable dom Inigo de Guipuscoa*. The book was translated into English and published pseudonymously in London in 1755 as *The Spiritual Quixote; or the Entertaining Story of Don Ignatius Loyola, Founder of the Order of the Jesuits*.²⁵ Narrated in mock-heroic style, *The Spiritual Quixote* is an ironic history of Ignatius and the Society of Jesus which observes some of the same parallelisms mentioned in the *Bibliothèque universelle et historique* article (although without mentioning this publication), and adds a few more such as, for example, the acts of

²⁴ The suppression of the *Autobiografía* is discussed later in II, 2.1.

²⁵ Pierre Quesnel. *The Spiritual Quixote or; the Entertaining History of Don Ignatius Loyola, Founder of the Order of the Jesuits. ... Containing also an Account of the Establishment, Government, and Surprising Progress of that Powerful Order. Translated from the French of Mons. Rasiel De Selva. in Two Volumes. ... Uniform Title: Histoire de l'Admirable Dom Inigo de Guipuscoa. English.* Tran. Charles Gabriel Porée. 2 vols. Vol. London: J. Bouquet, 1755. The pseudonym under which it was published was "Mons. Rasiel de Selva".

penance that both Ignatius and Don Quixote perform, albeit to varying degrees of hilarity (24).²⁶ The author, for his part, describes his purpose in a notably mischievous tone:

My present undertaking is to write the history of a Spanish gentleman, who proposing to copy the wonderful achievements of the heroes of the legend, quitted a military life to dedicate himself to the service of the Virgin Mary, and after having vowed himself her knight, in this quality traversed a great part of the world, rendering himself as famous by his extravagances in spiritual knight-errantry, as his illustrious countryman Don Quixote was afterwards in temporal (1).

Quesnel's jocosely approach to the figure of Loyola in reality masks the seriousness of a work which, for dealing with the intrigues, conspiracies and struggles for power involving the Society of Jesus and various European sovereigns till that time, demonstrates a concern for the influence of the order that he established. The association with Don Quixote therefore serves as a platform from which to interpret the life and work of Loyola, and the legacy he left behind. The interpretation Quesnel offers is, in the end, resolutely critical but nevertheless expressed with the detached irony of a prudent observer. In reading his work one is left with the impression that he endeavoured to treat his subject with at least a modicum of respect in order to avoid elevating animosities more than was necessary with his barbs and witticisms.

As a source for his association of Don Quixote and Loyola, Quesnel reveals that he has drawn liberally from the *Vida de Ignacio de Loyola* by Pedro de Ribadeneyra, whom he refers to ironically as "the historian of [Ignatius'] most secret thoughts" (29). Indeed, *The Spiritual Quixote* closely imitates the form and structure of Ribadeneyra's *Vida* to narrate Loyola's story, although it inverts the hagiographic perspective of this work to offer a more irreverent account.

²⁶ Don Quixote's penance takes place in the Sierra Morena mountains (I, 23-27). Loyola's ascetic practices and penance in Manresa are detailed in chapter III, 19-27 of the *Autobiografía*. This parallelism is discussed in greater detail in Part III.

1.4 Voltaire's *Dictionnaire philosophique*

The irreverence of another French writer can be seen in a second association of Don Quixote and St Ignatius from this period. In 1764, François Marie Arouet, better known as Voltaire, included an entry on Ignatius in his *Dictionnaire philosophique* comparing him, rather unflatteringly, to the Manchegan knight. Voltaire begins by reiterating the motives observed by other readers concerning Loyola's aspirations of glory and ascribes them to madness: "Voulez-vous acquérir un grand nom, être fondateur? Soyez complètement fou," writes the philosopher, but "d'une folie qui convienne à votre siècle" (298).²⁷ Furthermore, he advises, "have in your madness reason enough to direct your extravagances; and forget not to be excessively opinionated and obstinate. It is certainly possible you may get hanged; but if you escape hanging, they will have altars erected to you".²⁸

The manner in which Loyola contracted this madness is, according to Voltaire, what merits his association with Don Quixote. The reading of the *Golden Legend*, a compendium of saints' lives written by Jacobus de Voragine in the thirteenth century, was what dried out Ignatius' brain and made him fit for Les Petits Maisons, the lunatic asylum of Paris.²⁹ In contrast to Ignatius, books of chivalry made Don Quixote insane; they inspired him to abandon his home to chase after dreams of glory won by the strength of his arm. Their madness in both their cases, however, was the same: a curious illness that allowed the lunatic to reason, but only to pursue his mad ambitions with indomitable determination.

²⁷ "If you are desirous of obtaining a great name, of becoming the founder of a sect or establishment, be completely mad; but be sure that your madness corresponds with the turn and temper of your age" (138). English translation from *The Works of Voltaire: A Contemporary Version with Notes*. Eds. T. Smollett, et al. Paris; New York: E.R. Du Mont, 1901. The original French can be found in *Œuvres de Voltaire*. Eds. A. J. Q. Beuchot and P. A. M. Miger. Paris: Lefèvre, 1829-1840.

²⁸ The English translation is mine. "Ayez dans votre folie un fonds de raison qui puisse servir à diriger vos extravagances, et soyez excessivement opiniâtre. Il pourra arriver que vous soyez pendu; mais si vous ne l'êtes pas, vous pourrez avoir des autels" (298).

²⁹ "En conscience, y a-t-il jamais eu un homme plus digne des Petites-Maisons que saint Ignace ou saint Inigo le Biscaïen, car c'est son véritable nom? La tête lui tourne à la lecture de la *Légende dorée*, comme elle tourna depuis à don Quichotte de la Manche pour avoir lu des romans de chevalerie" (298). ("In real truth, was there ever a fitter subject for the Petites-Maisons, or Bedlam, than Ignatius, or St. Inigo the Biscayan, for that was his true name? His head became deranged in consequence of his reading the 'Golden Legend'; as Don Quixote's was, afterwards, by reading the romances of chivalry") (139).

Voltaire, a former pupil of the Jesuits at their Louis-le-Grand preparatory school in Paris and a man of immense learning in his own right, would have had ample opportunity to familiarize himself with the story of St Ignatius. His reference to the *Golden Legend* indicates that he knew of at least Ribadeneyra's *Vida de Ignacio de Loyola*, and it can be imagined that he had a more intimate and personal familiarity with the subject that allowed him to form his opinion. The knowledge he acquired through reading and experience thus brought Voltaire to associate Loyola and Don Quixote on the basis of an equally peculiar form of behaviour he observed in both.

The recognition of similarities between Don Quixote's madness and Loyola's determination to pursue his spiritual ideal would form the basis of other reader associations in the centuries to follow. However, the advancement of the scholarly study of the novel, and the arrival of European Romanticism on the intellectual scene, would be noted first in the emerging literary criticism of *Don Quixote*. These developments would occasion more discussions of parallels between Don Quixote and St Ignatius and affirmations of an intentional parody of Loyola in Cervantes' novel.

1.5 John Bowle's Letter to Dr. Percy

The Reverend John Bowle was an English clergyman and scholar who lived during the eighteenth century. After earning a Master of Arts degree from Oxford, Bowle assumed the vicariate of Idmiston in Wiltshire where, in addition to carrying out his ecclesiastical duties, he dedicated himself to a life of study, writing articles for learned publications and participating as a member of the intellectual and literary elite.³⁰ A self-taught speaker of Spanish, Bowle published in 1781 what was a first for Cervantine studies: an annotated edition of *Don Quixote*, in Spanish, with a glossary of terms and index. Although Bowle's edition did not enjoy widespread critical acclaim in his own

³⁰ Bowle was, among other things, a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and a member of Samuel Johnson's Essex Head Club.

time, primarily because of a personal imbroglio that damaged his reputation,³¹ it nonetheless represents a milestone for Cervantine studies and the beginning of modern criticism of the novel.

In 1777, Bowle published a letter he had written to his friend, the bishop of Dromore, Dr. Thomas Percy, in which he identifies Ignatius of Loyola as the inspiration for Don Quixote and the object of Cervantes' satire.³² Wary of previous unfounded commentaries suggesting famous figures such as the Holy Roman Emperor and King of Spain, Charles V, or the Duke of Lerma as models for Don Quixote, Bowle cautiously advances his thesis that "Ignacio Loyola might have been pitched upon by the author as a person worthy of distinguished notice" (135). The editor sees his conjecture supported by Pierre Quesnel's ironic observation in *The Spiritual Quixote* that Ignatius was as famous in spiritual knight errantry as Don Quixote was in his quest for adventures. The comparison, Bowle assures us, is not "the idle flourish of a Frenchman's pen, but is fairly deducible from Rivadeneira's account of him, from a fair and candid examination of which a just parallel betwixt both may be formed" (136).

Bowle's reading of *Vida de Ignacio de Loyola* permits him to describe the saint's resemblance to Don Quixote in a detailed manner. From Ribadeneira's account, Bowle learns that Ignatius as a young man was "muy curioso y amigo de leer libros profanos de caballerías" (136);³³ that he later traded these works for books on the lives of the saints and, like Don Quixote who, "in order to imitate in every way possible the deeds he had

³¹ This was a quarrel that arose between Bowle and Giuseppe Baretti, an Italian writer and literary critic resident in London. In 1786 Baretti published a vituperative critique of Bowle's edition of *Don Quixote*, a work that, as Eisenberg points out, "inaugurates Cervantine controversy" (143). See Daniel Eisenberg. "Tolondron. Speeches to John Bowle about His Edition of Don Quixote, Together with some Account of Spanish Literature." *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 23.2 (2003): 141-274. (*Tolondron*, the title of Baretti's critique, means "idiot" or "perplexed fool" in Spanish). According to Ralph Cox, "Barretti is the individual chiefly responsible for the cold reception of Bowle's edition. It is he who asserted enough influence for it to be treated, if at all by the reviewers, with more indifference than warmth" (114). See Ralph Merrit Cox. "The Rev. John Bowle: The First Editor of "Don Quixote"." *Studies in Philology* 67.1 (1970): 103-15.

³² John Bowle, "A Letter to Dr. Percy." *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America*. Ed. Daniel Eisenberg. 20.1 (2001): 95-140.

³³ "very fond of reading profane books of chivalry". Bowle cites I, 2 of the *Vida*.

read in his books” (*DQ* I, 4, 39),³⁴ Ignatius decided to imitate everything he read: “y a querer imitar y obrar lo que leía” (136).³⁵

For Bowle, the conduct of Loyola after his decision to imitate the saints was “in several instances truly quixotic” (136). Examples abound of his behaviour showing humorous parallels with Don Quixote’s adventures. Bowle cites several, although he cautions against going too far in forming parallels. Nevertheless, the editor sees a possible motive for Cervantes’ mockery in Loyola’s zealotry to re-make his life according to a newfound spiritual ideal. Like Don Quixote, who gets carried away imitating his hero Amadís in his penance for Dulcinea, a rough country lass he believes is a beautiful virgin, despite Sancho’s reports to the contrary, Ignatius becomes unhinged in his efforts to emulate the asceticism of venerable saints, allowing his nails and beard to grow and attempting to dominate his senses in a manner that, as Ribadeneyra assures “así suele Nuestro Señor trocar los corazones a los que trae a su servicio, y *con la nueva luz que les da, les hace ver las cosas como son, y no como primero les parecían*” (138).³⁶ To this Bowle remarks:

To deny man the use of those senses which God gave him is somewhat truly quixotic; ‘tis substituting fancy and imagination in the place of that evidence which alone is to be relied on, from a due use and exertion of them. The visionary enthusiast may give into the belief of every absurdity, bewilder himself with his own strange notions, “y *ponerse en un laberinto de imaginaciones,*” because he will not believe his own eyes, as was the case of the knight and Carrasco (II, 14)” (138).

John Bowle’s association of Don Quixote and St Ignatius is notable for being based on an extensive study of the *Quixote*, a close reading of Ribadeneyra’s *Vida de Ignacio de Loyola* and Pierre Quesnel’s previous association made four decades earlier. His analysis, however, goes beyond the commentaries of previous readers who associated Loyola and Don Quixote to contextualize the madness parodied by Cervantes while highlighting the potency of the delusions it causes. The man who worked for so long to

³⁴ “por imitar en todo cuanto a él le parecía posible los pasos que había leído en sus libros” (*DQ* I, 4, 61).

³⁵ “and desired to imitate and put into practice what he read”. Bowle cites II, 24 of the *Vida*.

³⁶ “as Our Lord often transforms the hearts of those whom he brings into His service, and *with the new light that he gives them, He makes them see things as they are,* and not how they first appear to them.” Bowle cites book I, chapter 5, p. 32 of the *Vida*. The italics are his.

elevate the study of *Don Quixote* and produce a scholarly edition of the novel was under no illusions as to the identity of Cervantes' humorous knight: Don Quixote was Ignatius of Loyola.

1.6 Critical Controversy in the 19th Century

With the editorial work of John Bowle, and critical and interpretative efforts of other scholars in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha* came to be regarded as a great work of world literature. Although amateur readers' interpretations continued to influence critical commentary of the novel, literary critics and specialists in Cervantes' writings acquired ever greater predominance over the interpretation of *Don Quixote*. These readers, the predecessors of today's *cervantistas*, dedicated themselves to expounding the merits of an eminently literary work, that is to say, a book that cleverly parodies what are essentially literary themes, such as readers, writers and literary genres. Extra-literary issues, such as a possible real life model for Don Quixote, remained in the background and assertions that the protagonist may be based on a historical person appeared highly questionable, to say the least.

This critical posture can be seen in a series of articles on Cervantes and his work published in a variety of literary journals during the nineteenth century. One of these pieces, published anonymously in *American Monthly Magazine* in 1836, demands a more sensible approach to interpreting *Don Quixote* and shows contempt for those who would conclude that the novel is, for example, similar to an epic poem or that Cervantes slavishly followed Aristotelian poetics to write his story.³⁷ The critic, however, reserves his greatest reproach for John Bowle and the idea that "the whole book is a covert satire on the Jesuits, and their founder, Ignatius of Loyola" (350). In making such a suggestion, he argues, Bowle surpasses even the most clueless commentators in absurdity. If a satire of Loyola were to exist in *Don Quixote*, the critic adds, it has been hidden so perfectly that only a foreigner could detect it (350).

³⁷ Anonymous. "Cervantes and His Writings." *American Monthly Magazine* 1 (1836): 342-354.

This would in fact be the case when another foreigner, in a brief article published in the British journal *Notes and Queries* in 1854, made the very same suggestion.³⁸ The critic, who identifies himself only by the initials J.B.P., insists on the validity of the suspicion that *Don Quixote* satirizes Ignatius of Loyola and comments, without mentioning Bowle, that many readers have already arrived at this interpretation. The *Quixote* obviously satirizes Loyola and Jesuitism, “the dominant mania of that time” (343), writes J.B.P., but Cervantes did not dare to expose the true intention of his work. Don Quixote clearly personifies St Ignatius; the appeals he makes for protection in his adventures are simply made to his lady Dulcinea, rather than the Virgin Mary. Don Quixote’s family and domestic surroundings furthermore correspond to those of a cleric. “Almost every page” of the novel, he assures, “confirms the opinion advanced, and may be verified by any reader” (343).

Such a conclusive opinion about Cervantes’ authorial intention, however, would not sit well with W.B. MacCabe who published a reply to J.B.P. later that same year in a subsequent number of *Notes and Queries*.³⁹ How could J.B.P. argue that Don Quixote personifies St Ignatius and that the novel was written to attack Jesuitism if Cervantes was a devout Catholic, a man who wrote poems in honour of St Teresa and was a faithful member of the confraternity of St Francis? Don Quixote does not resemble Loyola at all, MacCabe argues, and the reasons that J.B.P. provides for associating them are wholly inadequate. In any case, he adds, the odious character of Jesuitism that J.B.P. supposes Cervantes satirizes does not correspond with the noble and likeable character of Don Quixote. Not only are his arguments false, MacCabe concludes, they are offensive to Catholics. The fact is, “J.B.P., like many others, cries out ‘Jesuit’ where there is ‘no Jesuit’” (408).

³⁸ J.B.P. “Don Quixote.” *Notes and Queries* 10.261 (1854): 343.

³⁹ W.B. MacCabe. “Don Quixote.” *Notes and Queries* 10.264 (1854): 407-408.

1.7 *The Westminster Foreign and Quarterly Review*

The association of Don Quixote and St Ignatius would not cease with these summary critiques of nineteenth-century Anglo-Saxon readers. In 1868, *The Westminster Foreign and Quarterly Review* published another association of Loyola and the *ingenioso hidalgo* in a long and wide-ranging article on *Don Quixote* that surpasses its predecessors in analysis and profundity.⁴⁰ The anonymous author of the piece characterizes *Don Quixote* as an essentially funny book and Cervantes as a man of large and magnanimous spirit. The humour that permeates the novel, he argues, is peculiar: it provokes laughter which tempers and gladdens the heart; it is mischievous and ironic but not vulgar; it is motivated by goodwill and represents the best of the human condition; it is virtuous comedy that manifests the lofty ideals of its author, in particular truth, good taste, faith and righteousness; it is, in short, a work that splendidly realizes its aim of defeating the pernicious influence of chivalric romances and is founded on a “a vast amount of real knowledge, the finest temper, a genial heart, and all the Christian virtues, without any of what may be called the Christian asperities” (310).

Although he accepts that demolishing books of chivalry was the motivating cause of *Don Quixote* (308), the critic maintains that Cervantes’ purpose was greater than what he admitted. His reticence in this regard was intended to “quieten the minds of court politicians and professional guardians of the faith” (310), for his purpose in effect extended to all which corrupted faith, morality and literature. Cervantes, he argues, envisioned a comprehensive reform and sought a way of achieving it that would evade the scrutiny of the Inquisition. He found it in a satire that taught his compatriots about diverse frauds of their day through laughter and smiles. The reform he launched can be considered “more lasting as it was more natural, and more implicit as it was more genial, than that of Luther” (309). For in religion, although we may have ten times more knowledge, he adds, we have one hundred times “more insipidity, shallowness and meanness; whilst in literature we have to thank God and Cervantes for an increase in

⁴⁰ Anonymous. “Don Quixote.” *The Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review* New Series, 30.2 (1868): 299-327.

good humour, pleasantness, originality, kindness, and all that makes human nature loveable” (309-310).

With this understanding of Cervantes’ authorial intention, and informed by a biography of St Ignatius published in 1753,⁴¹ the anonymous commentator declares that “it seems to us almost incredible that the founder of the Jesuits was not the prototype for the Knight of the Rueful Visage” (323). He identifies numerous parallelisms linking Don Quixote and St Ignatius, but the quality he emphasizes above all is madness. Don Quixote was mad, the commentator assures, although Cervantes does not invite us to laugh at the tragedy of mental illness. “He does”, however, “ask us to laugh at the infatuation which, if left unchecked, will most certainly issue in madness” (322). Such infatuation leading to madness is, in his view, what precipitated Loyola’s conversion. The only difference between Don Quixote and St Ignatius is that the former was restored to his senses while the latter died insane (326).

The article concludes with a panegyric vision of Cervantes’ achievement that takes a decidedly dim view of the religious and social panorama of seventeenth century Spain. The author vigorously proclaims Cervantes’ good humour and heroism for having overcome the challenges he faced to deliver an important message to his countrymen. Cervantes, according to the writer,

lived in an age when the heavens were robbed of their sweet smiles by clouds of a gloomy theology, and the sun itself was hidden by clothes-lines of myriads of priestly vestments hung across it, yet he strove to teach his countrymen through joyous hearty laughter, and to reform abuses by ridiculing them; hence the ‘Don Quixote’ is a satire without bitterness, for it sprang in a heart large and loving, and full of generous purposes. He warned mankind of the horrors of madness, to save men if it were possible from going mad; and if that could not be, then to guard the world from madmen’s schemes, reforms, and promises. He designed and manfully carried it out in spite of neglect, poverty, and sorrow, to teach men that if they would do well and see good days they must live free,—free of all holy Inquisitions, or the enforcing of Levitical laws by means of pincers and boots, free to love

⁴¹ See Francisco Xavier Fluvià, SJ. *Vida de S. Ignacio de Loyola fundador de la Compañia de Jesus: enriquecida con las copiosas solidas noticias de los Padres Jesuitas de Ambères, ordenada nuevamente, y dividida en ocho libros*. Barcelona: Pablo Nadal, 1753. Fluvià’s work is based on biographical writings on Loyola published in the Society of Jesus’ *Acta Sanctorum*, an encyclopedia of saints’ lives compiled by Jesuit scholars in Belgium beginning in 1643. Annibal du Coudret’s Latin translation of Loyola’s *Autobiografía*, which was prepared in the 16th century, was first published in the *Acta Sanctorum* in 1731. See II, 2.1.

flowers and smiles and gladness as well as the weightier matters of the law, and must have a free highway to heaven, cleared of the toll-bars of priests (326-327).

This view of Cervantes' authorial intention in *Don Quixote* summarizes, with few exceptions, the understanding of most readers who associated Don Quixote and Ignatius of Loyola during the first three centuries of the novel's existence. Notwithstanding this agreement, the popularization of another interpretation of *Don Quixote* at the beginning of the nineteenth century would eventually eclipse these reader associations and define the majority of future ones to come.

1.8 Romanticism, Unamuno and the Association of Don Quixote and St Ignatius

The Romantic interpretation of *Don Quixote* represents a significant departure from the way in which the novel has traditionally been read.⁴² In fact, it constitutes an interpretive revolution that radically changes the understanding of Cervantes' authorial intention and the meaning of his work.⁴³ The uncontrollable laughter that Don Quixote's adventures originally incited would no longer be the customary response of a certain type of reader following the advent of European Romanticism. Instead, Don Quixote would stir up a sort of woeful nostalgia, a lament for a bygone era of chivalry and heroism. Furthermore, Don Quixote's chaotic sallies and botched attempts at imitating the feats of fictional heroes would no longer be considered indications of madness, but rather the outcome of a clash between a committed idealist and a world that did not know how to comprehend or appreciate him. Needless to say, this interpretation has significant implications for reader associations of Don Quixote and St Ignatius.

⁴² Anthony Close, the foremost chronicler of the Romantic tradition in *Quixote* criticism, defines the Romantic approach as "serious, sentimental, patriotic, philosophical, and subjective" and argues that it has "pulled criticism directly away from the questions that the novel most obviously and naturally prompts," i.e., the ridicule of books of chivalry, the madness of the protagonist in imitating them and the burlesque intention of Cervantes. See Anthony J. Close. *The Romantic Approach to Don Quixote: A Critical History of the Romantic Tradition in Quixote Criticism*. Cambridge, Eng.; New York: Cambridge UP, 1978, p.2.

⁴³ I have explored this subject elsewhere in some detail. See Philip Davidson. "From Burlesque Comedy to Romantic Tragedy and Beyond: Revolution in the Interpretation and Understanding of Don Quixote". *The Department of Hispanic & Italian Studies of the University of Victoria 26th Annual Colloquium*. October 21-22, 2010, Victoria, British Columbia, Canada. Included in Appendix A.

The Romantic interpretation of Cervantes' novel extended rapidly throughout Europe in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, influencing readers of many different nationalities. In 1823, one of the leading English Romantics, Lord George Gordon Byron, joined the mourning for the failure of Don Quixote's chivalric enterprise in the thirteenth canto of his epic poem, *Don Juan*.⁴⁴ Lord Byron recognized that he himself would have been more disposed to righting wrongs and punishing crimes "Had not Cervantes, in that too true tale / Of Quixote, shown how all such efforts fail" (407). For Byron, Don Quixote's story is sad precisely because it makes us laugh. With a smile, Cervantes, according to the poet, demolished not only books of chivalry but the heroic standing of his country:

Of all tales 'tis the saddest, and more sad,
Because it makes us smile. His hero's right,
And still pursues the right: to curb the bad
His only object, and 'gainst odds to fight
His guerdon: 'Tis his virtue makes him mad.
But his adventures form a sorry sight;
A sorrier still is the great moral taught
By that real epic unto all who have thought.

Redressing injury, revenging wrong,
To aid the damsel and destroy the caitiff,
Opposing singly the united strong,
From foreign yoke to free the helpless native.
Alas, must noblest views, like an old song
Be for mere Fancy's sport a theme creative,
A jest, a riddle, fame through thin and thick sought!
And Socrates himself but Wisdom's Quixote?

Cervantes smiled Spain's chivalry away;
A single laugh demolished the right arm
Of his own country. Seldom since that day
Has Spain had heroes. While romance could charm,
The world gave ground before her bright array;
And therefore have his volumes done such harm
That all their glory as a composition
Was dearly purchased by his land's perdition (445).

The Romantic notion that Cervantes extinguished heroism and chivalry in Spain, and that Don Quixote was a genuine hero the Spanish would do well to imitate if they wanted to restore the former glory of their country, would take time to draw interest in

⁴⁴ Byron, Baron George Gordon. *Don Juan*. Eds. T.G. Steffan, E. Steffan, and W.W. Pratt. London: Penguin Books, (1819-24) 1986.

the Iberian Peninsula. When it did gain notice, its most energetic proponent was perhaps the Generation of '98 writer Miguel de Unamuno. His book *Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho* (1905) is an extended discourse on the potential for renovating Spanish society through the imitation of Don Quixote's mad idealism.⁴⁵ The work moreover includes a meditated association of Don Quixote and St Ignatius.

Unamuno's re-creative method of reading *Don Quixote* prompts a *sui generis* form of literary criticism. He combines history and fiction freely, parting from the idea that one must search for the real meaning of *Don Quixote* as much outside the text as in it, and that the novel embodies the essential faith and spirit of the Spanish people. It therefore has antecedents in the life and works of distinguished historical figures such as St Teresa of Ávila or St Ignatius of Loyola, whose autobiography and biography he cites in parallel with Don Quixote's adventures.

The founder of the Society of Jesus occupies an important place in Unamuno's reading of *Don Quixote*. Cervantes' physical description of Don Quixote allows Unamuno to infer that the knight had a choleric temperament, the same as "aquel caballero de Cristo, Íñigo de Loyola",⁴⁶ a fact he has learned from Pedro de Ribadeneyra's *Vida* (21).⁴⁷ What is more, he reasons that Loyola's male pattern baldness, mentioned by Ribadeneyra, was shared by Don Quixote (although the novel does not confirm this) because it was another sign, according to Juan Huarte de San Juan's sixteenth century medical treatise, *Examen de ingenios para las ciencias*, that both men possessed an ingenuity for military affairs.

Beyond their physical appearance, Unamuno discerns a whole series of similarities and notable parallelisms between Don Quixote and St Ignatius that enliven his colourful re-creation of the novel. He even goes so far as to assert that Ribadeneyra's *Vida de Ignacio de Loyola* was "una de las que figuraban en la librería de Don Quijote,

⁴⁵ Miguel de Unamuno. *Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho*. 12th ed. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, (1905) 1964.

⁴⁶ "that knight of Christ, Íñigo de Loyola".

⁴⁷ Here Unamuno cites book V, chapter 5 of the *Vida*.

que la leyó, y una de las que en el escrutinio que de tal librería hicieron el cura y el barbero, fué indebidamente a fuego del corral” (26).⁴⁸

The comparisons Unamuno makes between the two figures are indeed similar to those made by John Bowle and Jean Le Clerc in their own time. When recalling Don Quixote’s first sally, in which he is dubbed a knight and, according to the chivalrous custom, stands vigil over his arms at the inn, Unamuno, quoting Ribadeneyra’s *Vida*, asks:

¿No os recuerda esta salida la de aquel otro caballero, de la milicia de Cristo, Íñigo de Loyola, que después de haber procurado en sus mocedades “de aventajarse sobre todo sus iguales y de alcanzar fama de hombre valeroso, y honra y gloria militar” [...] y habiendo sido, antes de convertirse, “muy curioso y amigo de leer libros profanos de caballerías”, cuando después de herido en Pamplona leyó la vida de Cristo, y las de los Santos, comenzó a “trocársele el corazón y a querer imitar y obrar lo que leía”? (26)⁴⁹

What distinguishes Unamuno’s association of Don Quixote and St Ignatius from the associations of previous readers, however, is that he makes it without regard to Cervantes’ authorial intention and does not consider it to be a parody of St Ignatius. Rather, he uses Loyola and Don Quixote, and the parallelisms he perceives between both, as exemplars to advance his project of spiritual and social renewal for Spain. The Romantic interpretation of the novel is simply the means by which to achieve this end. In Unamuno’s opinion, the one is as admirable and worthy of imitation as the other and Cervantes’ intention as the author of *Don Quixote* is of little importance. As he would later reflect later in *Del sentimiento trágico de la vida*:

Escribí aquel libro [*Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho*] para repensar el *Quijote* contra cervantistas y eruditos, para hacer obra de vida de lo que era y sigue siendo para los más letra muerta. ¿Qué me importa lo que Cervantes quiso o no quiso poner allí y lo que realmente puso? Lo vivo es lo que yo allí descubro, pusiéralo o no

⁴⁸ “one of the works that figured in Don Quixote’s library, which he read, and was one of those that, in the scrutiny of said library carried out by the priest and the barber, went unduly to the fire in the corral”.

⁴⁹ “Doesn’t this sally remind you of the one of that other knight, of Christ’s militia, Íñigo de Loyola, who after managing in his unruly youth ‘to elevate himself above all of his equals and achieve fame as a brave and honourable man, and military glory [...] and having been, before his conversión, very fond of reading profane books of chivalry’, when after being wounded in Pamplona he read the life of Christ, and the lives of the Saints, he began to “feel his heart change and desired to imítate and put into practice what he read?”

Cervantes, lo que yo allí pongo y sobrepongo y sotopongo, y lo que ponemos allí todos. Quise allí rastrear nuestra filosofía (301).⁵⁰

The subjectivity of Unamuno's criticism of *Don Quixote* presages, albeit in somewhat extreme form, much of the academic criticism of the novel that would appear in the twentieth century. What the modern study of *Don Quixote* has not entailed, however, is a similar interest for the association of its protagonist with Ignatius of Loyola.

1.9 The Association of Don Quixote and Loyola Today

“Cervantine studies are so chaotic”, Daniel Eisenberg writes in *A Study of Don Quixote*, “and the positions held so contradictory, that every scholar disagrees strongly with much of what has been written” (xiv).⁵¹ It is hardly surprising then, given the state of Cervantine studies, that the association of Don Quixote and St Ignatius has not earned a more prominent place in academic criticism of the novel. Controversial from the beginning, the association has remained for the most part the province of non-specialist readers of Cervantes' works over the course of the twentieth century.⁵² Occasionally specialists have taken note of the parallelisms between the two figures, but these observations continue to be a minor curiosity at best for *cervantistas* today and certainly not the basis for questioning the fundamental interpretation of the novel.⁵³

⁵⁰ “I wrote that book [*Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho*] to rethink the *Quixote* against *cervantistas* and scholars, to make a living work out of what was and continues to be for most a dead letter. What do I care what Cervantes intended or did not intend to put there and what he really put? Life is what I discover there, whether Cervantes put it there or not. Life is what I put and ‘overput’ and ‘underput’ and what we all put there. I wanted to track down our philosophy in that book”. Miguel de Unamuno. *Del sentimiento trágico de la vida*. Madrid: Renacimiento, 1912.

⁵¹ Daniel Eisenberg. *A Study of Don Quixote*. Newark, Del: Juan de la Cuesta, 1987.

⁵² Between 1905 and 1991 there were more than half a dozen associations or references to parallelisms between Don Quixote and St Ignatius published in a variety of books, articles, essays and doctoral dissertations. These include, but are not necessarily limited to: Florens Rang. “Don Quijote, Politik und Seele.” *Preussische Jahrbücher* CXX (1905): 387-423; Harri Meier. “Zur Entwicklung der europäischen Quijote-Deutung.” *Romanische Forschungen* LIV (1940): 227-64; Manuel F. Suárez. *The Revelations of Don Quixote*. New York: Harbinger House, 1947, 1949; Dalai Brenes. “The Sanity of Don Quixote: A Study in Cervantine Deception.” Graduate School of Cornell University, 1957; Alberto Navarro González. “El ingenioso Don Quijote, caballero andante cristiano y santo.” *Anales Cervantinos* VI (1957): 49-5; E.C. Riley. *Cervantes's Theory of the Novel*. Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, (1962) 1992 and Eric Jozef Ziolkowski. *The Sanctification of Don Quixote: From Hidalgo to Priest*. University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 1991.

⁵³ An example would be Eisenberg in *A Study of Don Quixote* who carefully cites reader associations of Don Quixote and Loyola—including the association made by John Bowle, whose *Letter to Dr. Percy Eisenberg*

Nevertheless, amateur readers of *Don Quixote* and academics on the margins of Cervantine studies have steadily contributed more observations of similarities between Don Quixote and St Ignatius in recent years that call into question the generally accepted interpretations of the novel, whether the Romantic view which regards the protagonist as an idealistic hero or the traditional interpretation that firmly insists *Don Quixote* does not exceed the author's apparent purpose, whose "only desire has been to have people reject and despise the false and nonsensical histories of the books of chivalry" (II, 74, 940).⁵⁴

In 1996, the Italian academic Marco Corradini published an article entitled "Il santo e il cavaliere: Dalla *Vida del Padre Ignacio de Loyola* al *Don Quijote*" in which he analyzes the parallelisms between Pedro de Ribadeneira's biography of Loyola and the story of Don Quixote.⁵⁵ Corradini identifies the same parallelisms that drew the attention of earlier readers: the fascination with books of chivalry, and in particular *Amadís de Gaula*, that Ignatius and Don Quixote both shared; the symmetry between Ignatius' older brother, who begs him not to leave the family home to dedicate himself to the capricious whim of imitating the lives of the saints, and staining "nuestro linaje con perpetua infamia y deshonor" (*Vida*, I, 3, 28),⁵⁶ and Don Quixote's niece who tries to reason with her uncle and convince him that it would be better if he would stay peacefully at home, "and not wander around the world searching for bread made from something better than wheat, never stopping to think that many people go looking for wool and come back shorn"⁵⁷ (I, 7, 55); Ignatius' defense of the Virgin Mary before the impertinent Moor whom he meets on the road to Montserrat, and Don

published in 2001— yet does not address their conclusions concerning Cervantes' authorial intention in the novel. (See *A Study of Don Quixote*, chapter 1, note 59, pp. 23-24). Eisenberg, together with Anthony Close, Martín de Riquer and other *cervantistas* who have advocated an intentionalist interpretation of the novel, that is to say, one based on the likely intention of the author, affirms that the book is essentially a parody of chivalric romances and argues that it is mistaken to suggest *Don Quixote* is a parody of a historical person.

⁵⁴ "no ha sido otro mi deseo que poner en aborrecimiento de los hombres las fingidas y dispartadas historias de los libros de caballerías" (II, 74, 1099).

⁵⁵ Marco Corradini. "Il Santo e Il Cavaliere. Dalla *Vida del Padre Ignacio de Loyola* al *Don Quijote*." *Studi di Letteratura Hispano-americana* 28/29 (1996): 7-24.

⁵⁶ "our lineage with perpetual infamy and dishonour".

⁵⁷ "y no irse por el mundo a buscar pan de trastrigo, sin considerar que muchos van por la lana y vuelven tresquilados" (I, 7, 85);

Quixote's imperious demand that the Toledan merchants confess the unrivalled beauty of Dulcinea del Toboso; and, so as to not prolong the list of parallelisms, the vigil of arms that both Loyola and Don Quixote —inspired by their reading of chivalric romances— carry out after undergoing their respective transformations.

Although he does not allow himself to reach a definitive conclusion about Cervantes' intention in light of these correspondences, Corradini does suggest that Loyola's story is related to the author's purpose in an important way. With a knowing wink to Unamuno, the Italian critic comments that if he cannot entirely agree with the assertion that Ribadeneira's *Vida de Ignacio de Loyola* figured in Don Quixote's library, he is certain that it figured in an as yet unexplored part of Cervantes' (23-24).

One critic who has not hesitated to express conclusive opinions about Cervantes' authorial intention in *Don Quixote* is Federico Ortés. The tireless advocate of the idea that Don Quixote was inspired by Ignatius of Loyola has waged a campaign dedicated to persuading *cervantistas* of the relevance of Loyola's story for nearly twenty years. Despite the books he has written, a paper presented at the Fifth International Congress of the Asociación de Cervantistas in Lisbon in 2003, and the voluminous correspondence he has maintained with numerous specialists, which includes cordial responses from Helena Percas de Ponseti, José María Casasayas y Jaime Fernández, SJ, among others, Ortés has not succeeded in achieving greater prominence for his ideas within the ambit of Cervantine studies. The reply offered to him by Daniel Eisenberg, in effect, seems to sum up the impression this hapless scholar has made on the Cervantine world. The then editor of *Cervantes*, the official journal of the Cervantes Society of America, finally responded to Ortés' incessant requests for a review of *El triunfo de Don Quijote* in his august publication with the summary evaluation of his book as "unscientific", the characterization of his arguments as "eccentric" and the culminating terse judgement: "Ud. anda por los cerros de Úbeda" (*Cronicón quijotesco* 157).⁵⁸

⁵⁸ The idiomatic Spanish expression may be translated as "you've gone off on a tangent".

Notwithstanding the results of Ortés' efforts to raise awareness, the association of Don Quixote and St Ignatius appears to be attracting a growing level of interest among *cervantistas*. In his 2003 study of divergent interpretations of *Don Quixote*, Julio Baena certifies that “nunca se insistirá lo suficiente en el obvio paralelismo entre la narración de la conversión de Loyola y lo del enloquecimiento de don Quijote. Cambia, tal vez, el género literario que les ‘seca el cerebro’ a ambos héroes, pero es idéntica la *determinación mimética* (salir a emular a otros caballeros/santos), la obsesión y concentración de energías” (69).⁵⁹ A more profound understanding of this mimetic determination —identical, as Baena points out, in the careers of Ignatius and Don Quixote— brings us to our final and perhaps most intriguing association of Don Quixote and St Ignatius.

1.10 Don Quixote and the *Spiritual Exercises* of St Ignatius

Loyola's Greater Narrative: the Architecture of the Spiritual Exercises in Golden Age and Enlightenment Literature (2008), by French scholar Frédéric Conrod, is an ambitious study that seeks to illuminate a sceptical undercurrent in Golden Age and Enlightenment authors that challenged the meta-narrative of the Catholic Counter Reformation.⁶⁰ Conrod argues that Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*, which were developed after his conversion and disseminated widely by the Society of Jesus following his death, constituted the motivating spirit of the Counter Reformation. This movement aimed to intensify Rome's institutional control over the economy of salvation, a predominance that had been weakened as a result of the Protestant Reformation. The *Spiritual Exercises* thus came to influence a wide spectrum of art, culture and politics of the Baroque period, provoking, according to Conrod, a reaction at first subtle and then increasingly more open, on the part of writers critical of the effect they had on society.

⁵⁹ “the obvious parallelism between the narration of Loyola's conversion and Don Quixote's descent into madness will never be insisted on enough. The literary genre that ‘dries up the brains’ of both heroes changes, perhaps, but the *mimetic determination* (to go out and emulate other knights/saints), the obsession and concentration of energies is identical”. The italics are Baena's. See Julio Baena. *Discordancias cervantinas*. Newark, Del: Juan de la Cuesta, 2003.

⁶⁰ Frédéric Conrod. *Loyola's Greater Narrative: The Architecture of the Spiritual Exercises in Golden Age and Enlightenment Literature*. New York, NY: Peter Lang, 2008.

Conrod points out that the *Exercises* —a collection of writings Ignatius added to and revised over the years as he gained insight and instruction through his mystical experiences— were not written to be read, but rather to be imparted by a spiritual director to an exercitant, the term used for practitioners of the *Exercises*. They in effect amounted to a framework for teaching a person to create a personalized repertoire of mental images to use in the imitation of Christ and the lives of the saints. The exercitant, through his five senses, focused on a variety of stimuli to give life to explicit religious imagery, saturating the imagination with intense representations of the model to be imitated and ensuring its essence wholly occupied his mind. Once committed in this manner, the spiritual director taught the exercitant to apply his newly transformed imagination within the framework of the meta-narrative of the Church.

For Conrod it is easy “to imagine how Cervantes used the story of Ignatius for inspiration in the writing of his masterpiece” (34). The parallelisms between Loyola and Don Quixote can be established without the least difficulty and many have been identified by others already, including, most recently, Federico Ortés (35). But the apparent relation between Loyola’s *Spiritual Exercises* and Don Quixote’s manner in pursuing his adventures offers him his principal reason for associating the fictional character and founder of the Society of Jesus. This is because Don Quixote, Conrod observes,

takes the novels of Chivalry as his initial narrative and builds on it his own fantasy: it is the basic image reservoir on the basis of which he is going to invent his own “greater narrative” and project himself into a reality that he entirely designs. The borders between the real world and its representation are going to be blurred in the process. Like an exercitant doing a retreat, he uses reality as a territory for simulation where he can finally envision himself as the continuation of knight-errantry, as the successor of Amadis, as the new dominating figure in the continuity of this narrative tradition (107).

Cervantes’ purpose in creating a character that blurs the lines between reality and fiction is, according to Conrod, clear. “There is no doubt,” he maintains, “that Cervantes is attentive to the central dynamics of the *Spiritual Exercises* and especially to the relationship established by Loyola between a director and his exercitant” (110-111). He sees this director-exercitant relationship internalized and represented by both

Don Quixote and Sancho in the course of their adventures. This immortal fictional duo, according to the scholar, parody in the first great novel of the modern era the fundamental spiritual practice of the founder of the Society of Jesus.

Summary

The multitude of questions that have been asked about the real meaning of *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha* appears to be incomplete without attending to the relevance of the story of St Ignatius of Loyola, as told in his *Autobiografía* and the *Vida de Ignacio de Loyola* written by Pedro de Ribadeneyra. These two works share extraordinary parallelisms with the novel that Cervantes would write a few short decades later. Numerous readers throughout the centuries have noted the parallelisms and associated the protagonists, leading to speculation about Cervantes' authorial intention and the meaning of his work. Although it may no longer be a subject of interest in certain parts of the academy, this authorial intention continues to be an important question for scholars who seek to know, insofar as it is possible, what the writer meant to say. This search is complicated, however, by the many diverse interpretations *Don Quixote* has been subjected to and Cervantes' own declarations that appear to exclude the possibility of an extra-literary satirical target. Nevertheless, this is the conclusion of the majority of readers who have associated Don Quixote and St Ignatius. In the amusing adventures of his iconic mock-hero, readers have found a witty parody of the religious conversion, vainglorious motives and even *Spiritual Exercises* of the founder of the Society of Jesus. These findings and the questions they raise deserve the attention and continued study of *cervantistas* and all those who are interested in the novel for what they might tell us about the message it conveys and the man who communicated it. For the moment, in this thesis, we will focus on whether the parallelisms identified by readers of *Don Quixote*, the *Autobiografía* and *Vida* may be construed as evidence of an intentional parody of Loyola.

Part II. The Texts: St Ignatius' *Autobiografía*, Ribadeneira's *Vida de Ignacio de Loyola* and Cervantes' Authorial Intention in *Don Quixote*

For what injustice is it that when we allow every course of life its recreation, that study only should have none? Especially when such toys are not without their serious matter, and foolery is so handled that the reader that is not altogether thick-skulled may reap more benefit from it than from some men's crabbish and specious arguments.

Erasmus, *In Praise of Folly*.

1. *El lector discreto*: the Reader in the Know

Readers have associated Don Quixote de La Mancha and St Ignatius of Loyola throughout the centuries and inferred an intentional parody of the Jesuit founder in Cervantes' novel. The question of *how* Cervantes could have intentionally parodied St Ignatius in *Don Quixote*, however, remains at the centre of doubts about the validity of this interpretation. There is nothing explicit in the novel which would lead one to believe that the founder of the Society of Jesus was the target of his satire. On the contrary, the author goes out of his way to insist that his only intention has been to create in readers an aversion to “the false and nonsensical histories of the books of chivalry” (II, 74, 940).⁶¹ Among those who have concluded that the *Quixote* parodies St Ignatius, few have succeeded in advancing their arguments in the mainstream of literary opinion. The question thus remains, quite apart from why, how could Cervantes parody St Ignatius in *Don Quixote* and only a few see it?

The problem of how to communicate one's authorial intention to readers is addressed at the very beginning of *Don Quixote*. In the Prologue to the first part published in 1605, Cervantes sends up the self-conscious process of presenting his work to an audience. Having finished his novel, the author, with amusing mock self-deprecation, paints an image of himself stricken with writer's block as he attempts to compose the book's preface. He does not know how to introduce the story of Don Quixote and is disconsolate over his apparent inability to equal other great writers in wit and wisdom. Furthermore, he cannot supply the pretentious adornments that ordinarily characterize their vain prefaces to literary works. As he sits at his desk, palm planted in cheek, the author receives a visit from a friend, a wise and witty fellow who, upon hearing his predicament, attempts to encourage him with ironic suggestions for how he can falsify these tropes and overcome his situation. Amusing proposals aside, the author's friend ultimately advises him that his book requires no further embellishment. The work, as he understands it, has no other purpose than to demolish books of chivalry; the writer need only communicate his intention clearly, so that it can be understood by the reader:

⁶¹ “las fingidas y disparatadas historias de los libros de caballerías” (II, 74, 1099).

Y, pues, esta vuestra escritura no mira a más que a deshacer la autoridad y cabida que en el mundo y en el vulgo tienen los libros de caballerías, no hay para qué andéis mendigando sentencias de filósofos, consejos de la Divina Escritura, fábulas de poetas, oraciones de retóricos, milagros de santos, sino procurar que a la llana, con palabras significantes, honestas y bien colocadas, salga vuestra oración período sonoro y festivo, pintando, en todo lo que alcanzáredes y fuere posible, vuestra intención; dando a entender vuestros conceptos sin intrincarlos y escurecerlos (I, Prólogo, 18).⁶²

The friend's advice, however, does not end there. He goes on to identify a series of types of reader the author would do well to keep in mind, and suggests the particular enjoyment each one should derive from the novel. This, he says, should be the author's purpose:

Procurad también que, leyendo vuestra historia, el melancólico se mueva a risa, el risueño la acreciente, el simple no se enfade, el discreto se admire de la invención, el grave no la desprecie, ni el prudente deje de alabarla (I, Prólogo, 18).⁶³

The counsel provided to the author in the Prologue to Part I begins to clarify how a parody of something other than *Don Quixote's* explicit subject matter could be carried out and appreciated by only a few. While the author's friend shows concern for a number of different types of reader that may read the book, the melancholy who ought to be made to laugh, the simple who should not be irritated, the serious who should not be given reason to scorn it, etc., it is the *lector discreto* (the discreet or, in Grossman's translation, "clever" reader) who is singled out to admire the novel's "invention". This phrase in particular commands our attention for it is possible that more is meant by it than the inventiveness of Cervantes' prose. The use of the word could well be a reference to *inventio*, or the first of the five canons of classical rhetoric, the process by which ideas are discovered to develop an argument in discourse.⁶⁴ If there were to exist in *Don*

⁶² "And since this work of yours intends only to undermine the authority and wide acceptance that books of chivalry have in the world and among the public, there is no reason for you to go begging for maxims from philosophers, counsel from Holy Scripture, fictions from poets, orations from rhetoricians, or miracles from saints; instead you should strive, in plain speech, with words that are straightforward, honest and well-placed, to make your sentences and phrases sonorous and entertaining, and have them portray, as much as you can and as far as it is possible, your intention, making your ideas clear without complicating and obscuring them" (I, Prologue, 8).

⁶³ "Another thing to strive for: reading your history should move the melancholy to laughter, increase the joy of the cheerful, not irritate the simple, fill the clever with admiration for its invention, not give the serious reason to scorn it, and allow the prudent to praise it" (I, Prologue, 8).

⁶⁴ From the Latin *invenire* (Greek *heuriskein*), meaning literally "to discover or find out", *inventio* (invention), is followed by *dispositio* (arrangement), *elocutio* (style), *memoria* (memory) and *pronuntiatio* (delivery) in what are known as the the five canons or activities of classical rhetoric. Aristotle defined rhetoric primarily as

Quixote an intention other than to demolish “the ill-founded apparatus of these chivalric books”(I, Prologue, 8),⁶⁵ this advice given to the author’s fictional self in the Prologue might be an allusion and important clue to its discovery. Certain ideas and narrative elements employed by Cervantes in *Don Quixote* may effectively evoke an argument that he wanted the discreet reader, and only the discreet reader, to apprehend.

Discretion is therefore an important quality to possess in order to fully appreciate the meaning of *Don Quixote*. As such, it depends largely on the knowledge one has. Knowledge is what enables a person to make thoughtful decisions, express oneself with good sense and, of importance in this case, discern things that may pass unnoticed by others. Knowledge of certain matters thus allows one to be discreet in these areas. If, as the friend in the Prologue suggests, the author has designed specifically for the discreet reader to admire the story’s “invention”, it is likely that matters related to this “invention” are integral to the argument of his novel. These matters, commonplaces or topics (*topoi*—literally “places” in rhetorical invention) are recognizable to the discreet reader because he has prior knowledge of them. Other readers, fitting another description—simple, or serious, melancholy, or cheerful, prudent, but not discreet—may not notice them at all,

invention, or an art employed “to discover the possible means of persuasion”. Invention is thus “a theoretical activity”, writes George Alexander Kennedy, “and discovers knowledge. This knowledge, which includes words, arguments, and topics, is then used by the orator as the material cause of a speech.” See *Classical Rhetoric and its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times*. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1980, p.63. Cicero titled his first treatise on rhetoric *De inventione* and later in *De oratore* established the importance of rhetorical invention by likening it to the knowledge a hunter must have of where to pursue his prey: “Once you have surrounded the entire place with the net of your thought, at least if practical experience has sharpened your skill, nothing will escape you, and everything that is in the subject matter will run up to you and fall into your hands.” See Marcus Tullius Cicero. *Cicero on the Ideal Orator (De oratore)*. Trans. Eds. James M. May and Jakob Wisse. New York: Oxford UP, 2001, pp.161-162. Quintilian, whose *Institutio oratoria* was a staple of Renaissance humanist education, follows a similar schematic for the five activities of rhetoric, with invention antecedent and fundamental to the rest. See Quintilian. *The Orator’s Education (Institutio oratoria)*. Tran. Ed. D. A. Russell. 5 vols. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard UP, 2001, books 3-6, vols. 2 and 3. Given Cervantes’ humanist training under Juan López de Hoyos in Madrid, it is likely that he had at least a rudimentary understanding of the principles of rhetorical invention. For his part, E.C. Riley speculates that “Cervantes could have repaired to ancient sources directly or become acquainted with their doctrines through his contemporaries. No doubt some standard works like Quintilian’s *Institutio oratoria*, Cicero on oratory, and perhaps the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and Horace’s *Ars poetica*, figured as part of his formal education” (24). See also Antonio Roldán. “Cervantes y la Retórica clásica”. *Cervantes, su obra y su mundo: Actas del I Congreso Internacional sobre Cervantes*. Ed. Manuel Criado de Val. Madrid: EDI-6, 1981. pp.47-57.

⁶⁵ “la máquina mal fundada destes caballerescos libros” (I, Prólogo, 18).

particularly if they receive mention only in passing or are not addressed explicitly in the text.

This message to readers in the 1605 Prologue to *Don Quixote* thus suggests a way in which to conceive of *how* a subject other than chivalry books could be parodied by Cervantes and communicated to a particular audience without the knowledge of others. For the author to communicate his intention successfully in this manner the discreet reader would require prior knowledge of certain topics in order to identify those that are inherent to the novel's argument. This understanding of Cervantes' authorial enterprise corresponds with a category of rhetorical syllogism known as the enthymeme. An enthymeme is an argument in which a premise is left unexpressed because it is readily apparent. In other words, prior knowledge of the unstated premise facilitates an obvious logical conclusion. An example would be "The sun is shining, so it is day." The logically necessary, yet unstated, premise is evident to most: "The sun shines during the day." For readers who have argued that *Don Quixote* parodies St Ignatius of Loyola, completion of such enthymematic logic is precisely how the association has been made. The furnishing of the missing premise, known to those familiar with the life of Loyola—i.e., that he performed many of the same feats as Don Quixote, shared noteworthy traits with the character and left to posterity a story whose themes are reflected in burlesque fashion by the *ingenioso hidalgo* of La Mancha—completes the syllogistic argument, making possible the inference that Cervantes intended to parody him. For some, the logic of this argument is inescapable. The accumulation of parallelisms throughout the story, on "almost every page" of the novel, in the somewhat exaggerated words of one commentator, "confirms the opinion advanced, and may be verified by any reader" (J.B.P. 343). Others, however, as examined in Part I of this thesis, have not been equally convinced by this interpretation. Strong objections or, in many cases, indifference toward these claims have consigned it to the margins of *Quixote* criticism.

In order to determine whether the interpretation of an intentional parody of Loyola is valid, we must examine the evidence and test the soundness of the parallels that have been drawn. The method outlined above for discreetly communicating and making

known to a particular audience such a parody provides a plausible understanding for how this intention could have been carried out. Validity in this case of interpretative controversy therefore becomes a matter of probability. As E.D. Hirsch has observed, verification in hermeneutics, “is a process of establishing relative probabilities” (*Validity*, 236).⁶⁶ Each parallelism soundly drawn by readers of *Don Quixote*, Ignatius’s *Autobiografía* or Ribadeneyra’s *Vida* increases the likelihood that Cervantes meant this to be so, and that these correspondences are not the result of mere coincidence. At a certain point, the interpreter must make a probability judgement and decide whether a preponderance of parallelisms justifies the claim that there is an intentional parody in the text. Such a claim would affirm that Cervantes used a kind of rhetorical shorthand in *Don Quixote* to ingeniously parody Loyola. The joke, however, would be a subtle one, restricted as it was by a mode of enthymematic communication accessible only to those readers in the know, whose personal familiarity with the story of St Ignatius uniquely enabled them to identify the commonplaces used to associate Loyola and Don Quixote and to appreciate the splendid irony and wit on display. As a rhetorical strategy designed to send a subversively comical message, it is difficult to imagine one more masterful and suited to achieving its purpose, without raising the ire or diminishing the pleasure of others, than this.

⁶⁶ “The interpreter’s goal,” writes Hirsch, “is simply this—to show that a given reading is more probable than others” (236).

2. Writing Ignatius' Story

The texts that form the basis of reader associations of Don Quixote and St Ignatius are as intriguing for their narrative inclusions as their omissions, and exhibit important similarities as well as differences. How they came to be, their particular characteristics, circumstances and intentions are the subject of this chapter.

2.1 The *Autobiografía*

In 1552, two of Ignatius' closest companions, Juan de Polanco and Jerónimo Nadal, approached the founder in Rome with a special request. Having guided the Society of Jesus during its first dozen years and finished the drafting of its Constitutions, Ignatius was now suffering from ill health. They feared he did not have much longer to live and so, to preserve his memory and example, they asked him to relate how God had led him during his life. Founders of other religious orders, like St Francis of Assisi, had been known to leave their followers a spiritual testament to help them grow in virtue. Similarly his story, they told him, would be of benefit to members of the Society. Ignatius resisted their appeals for some time; however, in August of 1553, a Portuguese Jesuit named Luis Gonçaves da Câmara came to seek his advice. While walking together in the garden of the house where Ignatius lived, they discussed spiritual matters and in particular the feelings of vainglory that had been troubling Gonçaves da Câmara. Their conversation recalled for Ignatius his own life prior to conversion and the similar struggles he had experienced with this sin. After some reflection he decided that telling his story might be of help not only to Gonçaves da Câmara, but to others as well.

Over the next two years, Gonçaves da Câmara would meet with Ignatius on a number of occasions to hear his story. In each of their sessions, he would listen carefully to Ignatius' narration and return afterward to his room where he would write down what he had heard in an abbreviated form. Sometime later he would expand these notes and arrange to have them transcribed in Spanish. Their sessions took place during three periods, the first ending in September of 1553. An interruption of seventeen months followed before

Ignatius resumed his narration in March 1555. The death of Pope Julius III that month however caused a further delay and they did not meet again until September. By that time, Ignatius had decided to send Gonçalves da Câmara back to Portugal. Gonçalves da Câmara continued to hear Ignatius' story until the eve of his departure for Genoa on October 23, where he would await his passage to Spain. While in Genoa, he dictated the remainder of his notes in Italian as he was unable to find a scribe to write in Spanish. The manuscript text of Ignatius' memoirs is as a result a Spanish-Italian hybrid, with the Italian portion of the text beginning midway through chapter VIII and constituting the last third of the work.

The *Autobiografía* of St Ignatius of Loyola, or *El relato del peregrino*, as it is also known,⁶⁷ covers eighteen years of the founder's life, from his conversion in 1521 to the first beginnings of the Society of Jesus in 1538.⁶⁸ It is divided into eleven brief chapters and 101 numbered sections that extend to little more than one hundred pages. It has two prefaces, one written by Nadal, who provides context for the biographical project, and another written by Gonçalves da Câmara who details his first meeting with Ignatius and how he came to write the work. The story itself is narrated in the third person, and employs both direct and indirect speech to relate Ignatius' inner thoughts and conversations with others. It has all the characteristics of a simple and unpretentious memoir, designed to instruct the reader in the events that shaped the life of the founder. As such, it appears to have been read widely in manuscript form until 1567 when it was suppressed by the Society of Jesus.⁶⁹ A Latin translation, prepared between 1558 and 1561 by Annibal du

⁶⁷ Gonçalves da Câmara did not provide a title for his text. Jerónimo Nadal gave it the title *Hechos del P. Ignacio*, or *Acts of Father Ignatius, as Father Luis Gonçalves First Wrote Them, Receiving Them from the Mouth of the Father Himself*. The Latin translation is known similarly as *Acta Patris Ignatii*. The alternative titles *Autobiografía* and *El relato del peregrino* (in English, *A Pilgrim's Testament* or *A Pilgrim's Journey*) have been used by modern editors. See for example Tylanda's edition.

⁶⁸ Ignatius' life prior to his conversion constitutes a notable lacuna in the *Autobiografía*. The omission of these years and suppression of the work by the Society of Jesus are discussed below.

⁶⁹ The circulation of the *Autobiografía* prior to its suppression by the Society is attested to by Nadal in his preface, written at some point between 1561 and 1567, in which he writes: "These are the the *Acts of Father Ignatius* that are passed hand in hand". ("Estos son los *Hechos del P. Ignacio* que corren de mano en mano") (*Autobiografía*, Biblioteca de Autores Cristiano edition, p.52). Curiously, this sentence is omitted in Tylanda's translation.

Coudret, was published in 1731 in the Society's *Acta Sanctorum*. The original Spanish-Italian text was not published until 1904.⁷⁰

The *Autobiografía* begins *in medias res* during the siege of Pamplona where a thirty-year-old Ignatius leads a foolhardy attempt to defend the city's fortress against a vastly superior French army. A blast from an enemy cannon puts an abrupt end to this effort, leaving Ignatius severely wounded and in need of surgery to fix a shattered leg. After an initial operation, he is carried by fellow soldiers to his family's home near Azpeitia, in the Basque province of Guipúzcoa, where he undergoes further surgery to repair his wounded limb. The pain he endures is excruciating.

During the next several months, as his health improves, a bedridden Ignatius searches for ways to pass the time. He requests copies of his favourite reading, books of chivalry, but none are to be had. Instead, he is provided with a *Life of Christ* and a book on the lives of the saints in Spanish.⁷¹ Ignatius then enters a period of deep reflection. Ultimately, he decides to abandon his worldly ideals and to dedicate himself to the service of the Lord, with Saints Francis and Dominic as his models for imitation.

The transformation Ignatius undergoes is radical, and by the time he has recovered sufficiently to walk again (albeit with a noticeable limp), he has vowed to do without the honour and privilege of his family name. He sets out on pilgrimage, against the wishes of his family, first to Montserrat where he keeps a vigil of arms —after the fashion of knights in books of chivalry— before the altar of the *Moreneta*, the black Madonna of Montserrat, and later to Manresa where, having disposed of his money and rich attire and assumed the

⁷⁰ For a brief history of the various editions and translations of the text, see Tylanda xii-xiv. For a more recent edition and study of the *Autobiografía*, which I have been unable to consult for this thesis, see John M. McManamon, SJ. *The Text and Context of Loyola's "Autobiography"*. New York: Fordham UP, 2013.

⁷¹ The *Autobiografía* refers to “un *Vita Christi* y un libro de la vida de los Santos en romance” (61). The first book given to Ignatius by his sister-on-law, Doña Magdalena de Araoz, the wife of his elder brother Martín García de Loyola, was *The Life of Jesus Christ* by Ludolph of Saxony, a Carthusian monk who died in 1377. A Spanish translation was commissioned by King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella and published in Alcalá in 1502-1503. The second volume provided by Doña Magdalena was *The Golden Legend*, also known as the *Flos sanctorum*, by Jacobo de Voragine, the Dominican Archbishop of Genoa who died in 1298, which had been in circulation in Spain since 1480. The edition read by Ignatius, prepared by the Cistercian Gauberto Maria Vagad, was first published in 1493 and reprinted in Toledo in 1511. See Tylanda pp.11-12, note 5.

simple sackcloth dress of a pilgrim, he lives on alms for the next year, dedicating himself to intense prayer, fasting and worship. It is in Manresa that Ignatius has his first mystical experiences and makes his general confession to a Dominican priest, who in turn helps him to overcome his crippling scruples and abandon some of his more extreme ascetic practices, such as his intense fasting and refusal to cut his hair or finger nails. As a result of his visions at Manresa, Ignatius begins to formulate a method of spiritual discernment, a process he later develops into his *Spiritual Exercises*.

After this lengthy stay in Manresa, Ignatius continues on his journey to Barcelona, where he begs his way aboard a ship to Gaeta, Italy. After more hardships as a penniless pilgrim in Italy, Ignatius manages to secure passage on a vessel that sets sail from Venice to the destination of his holy dreams: Jerusalem. Despite irritating fellow passengers along the way with pious reprimands of their unruly behaviour and risking abandonment by the crew, Ignatius arrives in Palestine to be escorted during his stay by the Franciscan guardians of the Holy Places. Having experienced great spiritual consolation in these surroundings, Ignatius expresses his desire to remain there to help souls. The friars rule out such a possibility and inform him that he must return home, yet Ignatius is single-minded in his purpose and refuses to acquiesce. The Franciscan provincial explains that he is empowered by the Apostolic See to expel or excommunicate anyone who refuses to obey; the pilgrim finally relents, although not without first absconding to the Mount of Olives one last time, bribing his way past the sentries to gain entry. Descending from the Mount, Ignatius is detained by an annoyed Syrian Christian and returned to the monastery, from whence he is taken to a ship and sent back to Italy.

Once again in Venice, Ignatius realizes that it was not the Lord's will for him to stay in Jerusalem. He comes to the conclusion that in order to help souls he must acquire the proper education to do so. The rest of the *Autobiografía* details Ignatius' grammar and university studies in Barcelona, Alcalá de Henares and Paris; his various teaching and preaching activities, and encounters with individuals along the way, some of whom become his companions and followers; the development of his *Spiritual Exercises*, which he imparts to his associates and others interested in his new method; his run-ins with the

Inquisition over these activities, and his trial and imprisonment in Salamanca on suspicions of heresy; the meeting in Paris of the first companions who would later form the Society of Jesus; Ignatius' excursions to Flanders during university breaks to solicit funds from wealthy Spanish merchants; his final trip home to bid farewell to his family; the reunion of the first Jesuit companions in Italy; their ordaining as priests and plans to travel to Palestine to serve the Lord among the infidels; and their ultimate decision, when this opportunity fails to materialize, to put themselves at the disposal of the pope in Rome. The *Autobiografía* thus concludes in October of 1538, just prior to establishment of the Society.

As noted above, the *Autobiografía* begins when Ignatius is already thirty years old. The first three decades of his life, including his education and training as a courtier in Castile and service to the Duke of Nájera as a gentleman-at-arms, are entirely absent from the narrative.⁷² In his study of the history the *Autobiografía*, Jesuit scholar Luís Fernández

⁷² Ignatius was born Íñigo López de Loyola in 1491. Íñigo, the Castilian rendering of the Basque name Eneko, was Latinized to Ignatius (Ignacio in Spanish) when he received his master's degree fourty-four years later at the University of Paris. The youngest of thirteen children born to Beltrán Ibáñez de Oñaz y Loyola and Marina Sánchez de Licona, Íñigo was in a very real sense an *hidalgo*, or "son of something". His family belonged to the Oñacino clan of *parientes mayores*, the Basque rural nobility, a social class which, although not on par with the nobility of Castile or Navarre, enjoyed the prestige of a longstanding Christian lineage and privileges such as the ability to build fortified dwellings like the ancestral casa-torre (tower-house) in Azpeitia where Íñigo was born. See Rogelio García Mateo, SJ. "El mundo caballeresco en la vida de Ignacio de Loyola" in *Ignacio de Loyola: su espiritualidad y su mundo cultural*. Ed. Instituto Ignacio de Loyola. Bilbao: Ediciones Mensajero, 2000, 27-28 and 30-31. Like other younger children of *hidalgo* families without the right to inherit their father's property, Íñigo faced the choice of "iglesia, o mar o casa real" (church, sea or royal household). It would appear that it was originally decided for him that he would follow the first of these careers, as documentation of his involvement in a violent dispute in 1515 shows. The Loyolas had been at odds with their parish priest, who wanted his nephew to succeed him in his post; Pero López de Loyola, Íñigo's older brother, however, was considered by his family to be the right man for the position. The priest's nephew, who was ultimately killed in 1519 by relatives of the Loyolas, was ambushed and assaulted and Íñigo and his brother were implicated in crimes "calificados e muy enormes, por los haber cometido... de noche e de propósito e sobre habla e consejo habida sobre asechanza e alevosamente". ("described as being very enormous for having been committed... at night and on purpose in a premeditated fashion by way of luring"). Pedro Leturia, SJ. *El gentilhomme Íñigo López de Loyola: en su patria y en su siglo*. 2. ed. Barcelona: Editorial Labor, 1949, p.85. Íñigo, however, was able to appeal to his status as a tonsured cleric, a title earned apparently when he was quite young, and granted immunity from prosecution. His appeal to his clerical status, however, seems to have been out of convenience more than anything else, as the following description of his appearance in 1515 suggests: "vestía el joven «desgarrado y vano» traje acuchillado de dos vistosos colores, capa abierta, calzas y botas ajustadas, espada y daga al cinto, y sobre la erguida cabeza de rubia cabellera, cuyos bucles caían «hasta los hombros inclusive», la gorrita de escarlata (divisiva del partido oñacino) tocada de pluma gallarda y ondulante" (Leturia 82). ("the youth dressed in a «scandalous and vain» way, with a suit cut in two bright colours, an open cape, tight-fitting boots, sword and dagger on his belt, and on a haughty head of blonde hair, whose locks fell «even unto his shoulders» a scarlet hat (signifying his membership in the oñacino clan) topped with a fine-looking, undulating feather"). In fact, by 1506, Íñigo had been sent to Arévalo in Castile to live with the family of Juan Velázquez de Cuéllar, the Contador Mayor of the Kingdom

Martín argues that Ignatius did indeed recount these experiences to Luis Gonçalves da Câmara and that they were included in a now missing first chapter of the text.⁷³ This chapter was later excised from the work, leaving the story truncated. The purpose of this bowdlerization was apparently to avoid any possible irreverence toward the figure of the

of Castile, responsible for the finances of the Castilian monarchy. Here he was immersed in a courtly environment and received an education fit for a youth aspiring to enter into the service of the royal household. He learned to ride horses, use a sword, court ladies and socialize with knights; he adopted the customs of palace etiquette and learned to treat persons of high rank, including King Fernando of Aragón and his second wife, Germana de Foix, whom he served as a page during their visits to Arévalo. He learned to write with an attractive hand, becoming, as he describes himself in his *Autobiografía*, “muy buen escribano” (I, 11) and, under the tutelage of his patron, became skilled in administration, an ability he would demonstrate in his future role as Superior General of the Society of Jesus. He also learned the importance of personal honour and the obligation to respond to affronts against it with violence. His years in Castile and Navarra before the age of thirty include several instances of violent confrontations as well as his applications for royal approval to hire bodyguards. See Luis Fernández Martín, SJ. *Los años juveniles de Iñigo de Loyola: su formación en Castilla*. Valladolid: Caja de Ahorros Popular de Valladolid, 1981. In Arévalo, Iñigo acquired a taste for music and poetry and became an avid reader of chivalric romances, the “libros falsos y mundanos” he would later condemn in his *Autobiografía* (I, 5). These would contribute significantly to the formation of his character, instilling in him a desire to seek honour and glory, and to achieve greatness through bravery and military prowess, values that would remain with him even after his religious conversion and the establishment of the Society of Jesus. See Rogelio García Mateo, SJ. “Ignacio de Loyola y el mundo caballeresco.” *Ignacio de Loyola, Magister Artium en París, 1528-1535: Libro homenaje de las Universidades del País Vasco y de la Sorbonne a Ignacio de Loyola en e V centenario de su nacimiento*. Eds. Julio Caro Baroja, Antonio Beristáin. Donostia-San Sebastián: Caja Gipuzkoa, 1991. His love affairs during this time would similarly conform to the chivalrous ideal. Indeed, during his convalescence in Azpeitia, he would dream of the great things he still hoped to achieve in the service of a certain lady who “no era de vulgar nobleza: no condesa, ni duquesa, mas era su estado más alto que ninguno destas” (*Autobiografía*, I, 6, 61). (“not one of the lesser nobility, neither was she a countess, nor a duchess, but her station was much higher than any of these”). It has been speculated that the object of his desires may have been Queen Germana de Foix, or Leonor de Mascarenhas, a lady in waiting of the Empress Isabel, or one of Carlos V’s sisters, Leonor de Austria or Catalina, who later became Queen of Portugal. See Leturia (101) and Félix de Llanos y Torriglia. *El capitán Iñigo de Loyola y la dama de sus pensamientos. Estudio histórico crítico, leído en el salón de actos de la Congregación de Nuestra Señora del Buen Consejo y San Luis Gonzaga el día 3 de junio de 1941*. In 1517, Juan Velázquez de Cuéllar fell into disgrace for disobeying an order of the king and was killed in a stand off with authorities. This brought a disastrous and disappointing end to Iñigo’s career as a courtier. Velázquez de Cuéllar’s wife later recommended him to her relative, Antonio Manrique de Lara, the Duke of Nájera, whom he served for the next four years, not as an officer of rank or professional soldier, but as a *gentilhombre*, or gentleman-at-arms. To earn the title of capitán, he would need to *señalarse*, or prove himself, and in his service to the duke he would indeed do well, helping to diffuse through his effective diplomacy a revolt in Guipúzcoa in 1520. In late May of 1521, however, Iñigo undertook the suicidal defence of Pamplona that would culminate in his catastrophic injury. Although his duke had already fled the city, Iñigo persuaded a handful of men to join him in the citadel to repel the French attack. It was not long before the enemy opened fire with its heavy artillery and a cannonball penetrated a crumbled section of the the wall where Iñigo found himself. The ordnance passed between his legs, completely shattering his right leg while gravely injuring the left. His dreams of glory won on the battlefield now dashed, Iñigo was carried home on a stretcher to recover and consider what the future might have in store for him, the point at which his *Autobiografía* begins.

⁷³ See Luis Fernández Martín, SJ. “Peripia histórica de la «autobiografía» Ignaciana.” *El pueblo vasco en el Renacimiento, 1491-1521: actas del simposio celebrado en la Universidad De Deusto, San Sebastián, con motivo del V.0 centenario del nacimiento de Ignacio de Loyola, 1-5 octubre, 1990*. Ed. José Luis Orella Unzué. San Sebastián; Bilbao: Instituto Ignacio de Loyola, Universidad de Deusto; Ediciones Mensajero, 1990.

founder that narration of his dissolute early years might have caused. The removal of the chapter, however, did not settle the matter for the Society of Jesus. Eventually, for reasons examined below, the entire *Autobiografía* was suppressed and replaced by a more circumspect biography, Pedro de Ribadeneyra's *Vida de Ignacio de Loyola*.

Despite the absence of Ignatius' early years, and even if his narration is, as Marjorie O'Rourke Boyle has observed, "five times removed from his lips" (3),⁷⁴ the *Autobiografía* is still a compelling memoir. This is in no small part due to the influence of classical rhetoric in its elaboration, as O'Rourke Boyle shows in *Loyola's Acts: The Rhetoric of Self*. The *Autobiografía* is noticeably attentive to rhetorical values and displays a skilful application of rhetorical techniques that strengthen its grip on the reader. Its clarity of style appeals to the reader's sense of sight with the aim of realizing *enargeia*, "a clarity so vivid as to render the absent present", thus penetrating the reader's emotions (5-6). Gonçalves da Câmara's vow "not to write a single word other than those I have heard from the Father" (*Autobiografía* 4)⁷⁵ furthermore implies his composition is "a filial imitation of Loyola's discourse" (O'Rourke Boyle 5) designed to bring a life-likeness to the text, as if Loyola were himself relating his story to the reader. The desultory process by which it was created moreover highlights the importance of memory in the text. Loyola's narrative evokes the mnemonic technique of "a long journey", similar to the "memory palace" method whereby a speaker arranges mental images representing the topics of his discourse in an architectural pattern, or in this case along a route to be travelled in the mind's eye, to aid recall (8).⁷⁶ The demands of recollection and writing therefore require a robust visual description of events. Loyola and Luis Gonçalves da Câmara may therefore "be imagined as plotting the memorial pilgrimage that structures the recitation and the text" (9).

The *Autobiografía* is designed to affect the reader beyond vividly illustrating events in the life of Ignatius. Classical rhetoric emphasized the importance of the introduction in

⁷⁴ After recitation, O'Rourke Boyle notes that there followed "audition, memorization, notation, composition, [and] transcription" (4). See *Loyola's Acts: The Rhetoric of the Self*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1997.

⁷⁵ "de ninguna palabra poner sino las que he oído del padre" (*Autobiografía* 55).

⁷⁶ Another famous early Jesuit, Matteo Ricci, was known for teaching this technique to Confucian scholars in Ming Dynasty China as a missionary in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. See Jonathan D. Spence. *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci*. New York, NY: Viking, 1984.

setting out the purpose of a work. As O'Rourke Boyle shows, Gonçalves da Câmara's preface "establishes the text as a mirror of vainglory for repentance and consolation" (17). The vice troubling Gonçalves da Câmara leads him to seek the counsel of Ignatius, who himself admits to vainglory's grip on him in early life. These admissions oblige Gonçalves da Câmara to ensure the reader is favourably disposed toward both Loyola and himself. "Loyola must be introduced as decisively converted from vainglory, so as to exonerate the father, if not the sons, from the capital vice" (16). Gonçalves da Câmara achieves this with the affected modesty of a traditional rhetorical technique, the *captatio benevolentiae*. He abases himself in regard to Loyola, acknowledges his memory may not be flawless, although he has tried to relate the story as faithfully as he can, and carries out the task only at the behest of the founder. Loyola's own modesty is affirmed by the many petitions that are required to gain his consent to tell his story. His procrastinations which delay the narration of his story furthermore add to the humble impression of a man reluctant to speak about himself. Thus the effect of the preface is to underscore the very unvainglorious nature of both Loyola and Gonçalves da Câmara. What is more, as the Portuguese author recalls the tears of consolation he shed upon receiving Ignatius' moral guidance, he exemplifies the desired response for readers of the work. Gonçalves da Câmara effectively "becomes the model for the reader of the text, who is to respond by weeping" (17).⁷⁷ O'Rourke Boyle affirms this is hagiographic (16). While that may be so, it is distinctly more subtle than the work that would replace it.

⁷⁷ Cervantes makes fun of this common rhetorical strategem in the prologue to Part I of *Don Quixote*: "Pero yo, que, aunque parezco padre, soy padastro de don Quijote, no quiero irme con la corriente del uso, ni suplicarte casi con las lágrimas en los ojos, como otros hacen, lector carísimo, que perdones o disimules las faltas que en este mi hijo vieres, y ni tu libre albedrío como el más pintado [...] Todo lo cual te esenta y hace libre de todo respecto y obligación, y así, puedes decir de la historia todo aquello que te pareciere, sin temor que te calunien por el mal ni te premien por el bien que dijeres della" (I, Prólogo, 13). ("But though I seem to be the father, I am the stepfather of Don Quixote, and I do not wish to go along with the common custom and implore you, almost with tears in my eyes, as others do, dearest reader, to forgive or ignore the faults you may find in this my child, for you are neither his kin nor his friend, and you have a soul in your body and a will as free as anyone's [...] Which exempts and excuses you from all respect and obligation, and you can say anything you desire about this history without fear that you will be reviled for the bad things or rewarded for the good that you might say about it") (I, Prologue, 3-4).

2.2 Ribadeneira's *Vida de Ignacio de Loyola*

After Ignatius died in 1556, the Society of Jesus remained without a Superior General for two years until Diego Laínez, another Spaniard, was elected to the position. During the generalship of Laínez, an untold number of manuscript copies of Ignatius' *Autobiografía* were made and circulated by Jesuits and their friends in the many places they established their presence.⁷⁸ As a history of the founder, it was unparalleled in its intimate portrayal of his life and character and, not surprisingly, in considerable demand among members of the Society. Yet at some point during this time the decision was made to remove the chapter on Loyola's early life. Evidence of this can be seen in the two prefaces that accompany the text in its current form. In the first, Gonçalves da Câmara indicates that Ignatius had told him "about *his entire life, as well as his youthful escapades*, and all this clearly and distinctly and in full detail" (3).⁷⁹ However, in a preface written at some point between 1561 and 1567 for the Latin edition of the *Autobiografía*,⁸⁰ Jerónimo Nadal states that he had asked Ignatius to explain "how the Lord had formed you from *the beginning of your conversion*" (Tylanda 124).⁸¹ This discrepancy is the clearest sign that editorial work on the *Autobiografía* continued after Gonçalves da Câmara completed his manuscript. When exactly the expurgation of Loyola's early years occurred, and how many copies of the text with the offending

⁷⁸ By the time of Loyola's death in 1556, the Society had 1,000 members in 12 provinces spanning the globe, including India, Brazil and Japan (Tylanda xii). They also operated 74 schools and colleges on three continents. This Jesuit-lead expansion of Catholicism took place at a rate greater than even the spread of Islam in the seventh century. For more on the early development of the Society of Jesus, see John W. O'Malley, SJ. *The First Jesuits*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard UP, 1993 and Luke Clossey. *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions*. New York: Cambridge UP, 2008.

⁷⁹ "el Padre me llamó, y me empezó a decir *toda su vida y las travesuras de mancebo clara y distintamente con todas sus circunstancias*" (54). Italics mine.

⁸⁰ Tylanda says Father Annibal du Coudret's Latin translation was prepared between 1558 and 1561 (xii). Fernández Martín more or less coincides, saying du Coudret's translation was "escrita en 1559 y 1561" (187). However, he indicates that Nadal wrote his preface to the Latin edition in 1556. This seems improbable and it is not clear whether it is an error on his part or there is some other explanation. The Spanish-Italian edition I cite says Nadal's preface was composed between 1561 and 1567 (49, note 1). Tylanda in his English translation indicates it was between 1561 and 1576 (156, note 7), although I believe this last date to be a typographical error, transposing 6 for 7. Both of these editions translate Nadal's preface from the same Latin edition of the *Autobiografía* preserved in the Society's *Fontes Narrativi*. The page numbers Fernández Martín provides for this edition in the *FN* however do not correspond with those cited by the BAC editors or Tylanda, both of which are identical.

⁸¹ "como el Señor os fue llevando *desde el principio de vuestra conversión*" (51). Italics mine.

chapter were made prior to its removal, is impossible to tell. Nevertheless, many of Ignatius' first companions and others further removed from this circle now had copies in their possession. This diffusion of Ignatius' memoirs would soon worry Laínez's successor and result in the work being hidden for nearly two centuries.

The position of the Society of Jesus during the first years of its existence was precarious. Criticism from its detractors and lingering suspicions regarding the orthodoxy of Ignatius' *Spiritual Exercises* threatened the Society's standing as a nascent congregation of the Church. When Francisco de Borja (Borgia) became Superior General in 1565, he brought with him this preoccupation to ensure the order's survival. He also needed to establish his own fidelity in the eyes of others. Borja, the son of the notorious aristocratic Valencian family and, before entering the Jesuit order in 1546, Duke of Gandía, had faced criticism and suspicion himself, in particular for his friendship with the Archbishop of Toledo, Fray Bartolomé de Carranza, who had been denounced by the Inquisition in 1559 for heresy and subjected to a prolonged inquisitorial process until shortly before his death in 1576. This relationship cast doubt on Borja and caused him to fall out of favour with Felipe II of Spain. His reputation suffered further from the machinations of rivals at court and he was forced to seek refuge for a time in Portugal. What is more, leading figures of the Spanish Church insinuated that Borja and the Society were secretly *alumbrados*, a charge that had been made against Ignatius during his own lifetime.⁸² These circumstances placed Borja in a delicate position upon assuming generalship of the Society. He needed to ensure the Society's enemies would not have sufficient means to denounce it before the Inquisition. Therefore, as Fernández

⁸²In 1557, the Dominican theologian Melchor Cano wrote to the confessor of Carlos V concerning Borja and the Society, saying: "Dico igitur et vere dico que estos son los alumbrados y dejados que el demonio tantas veces ha sembrado en la iglesia desde los gnósticos hasta ahora, que casi luego con la Iglesia comenzaron y, si es posible, ellos la han de acabar" (qtd. in Fernández 180). ("Therefore I say, and I really do mean, that these are the *alumbrados* and '*dejados*' that so often the devil has sown in the church, from the time of the gnostics until now, that almost began with the Church then and, if possible, will put an end to it now.") The *Autobiografía* mentions rumours of *alumbradismo* concerning Ignatius during his student days in Alcalá (VI, 58). The *alumbrados*, or illuminists, were a diffuse religious movement of men and women in sixteenth century Spain who claimed to have direct inspiration of the Holy Spirit. They were pursued as heretics by the Inquisition for their religious non-conformism. For more on the controversy and suspicions of *alumbradismo* that followed Loyola during his life, see Alastair Hamilton. *Heresy and Mysticism in Sixteenth-Century Spain: The Alumbrados*. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1992. 91-97 and Luis Fernández. "Iñigo de Loyola y los alumbrados," *Hispania Sacra*, 35 (1983), 585-680.

Martín argues, it was necessary to undertake a meticulous review of all of Ignatius' writings, particularly those dealing with his spirituality, preaching, private thoughts, friendships and connections in Spain (186-187). This review would include the *Autobiografía*, and ultimately lead to its replacement with a new work to be based on it, although without, of course, any of the more problematic aspects of his life that could be used against the Society.

The task of carrying out the review of Loyola's writings fell to a Jesuit from Toledo, Pedro de Ribadeneyra, who had first arrived in Rome at the tender age of thirteen, initially to serve as a page in the household of an Italian cardinal. There he met Ignatius, with whom he formed a quick and enduring bond. Shortly afterward, Ribadeneyra joined the Society, just prior to papal approval of the order in 1540. He would remain Loyola's protégé until the founder's death in 1556 and go on to serve the Society for seven decades as a priest, educator and administrator. He would also become a prolific author, publishing works in a variety of genres including political theory, devotional literature and translations of Latin texts (Bilinkoff 181). Among his best known writings are biographies of the Society's early leaders, including Loyola, Laínez, Borja and Alfonso Salmerón, as well as his compilation of saints' lives, published in 1599. He also wrote an autobiography entitled *Confessions*, modelled after Saint Augustine's classic memoir of the same title.

By 1567, it appears the decision had been made to finally confiscate existing copies of the *Autobiografía* and to initiate a new life story for Loyola. Borja had placed Ribadeneyra in charge of the Ignatian biography project and, in June of that year, Ribadeneyra wrote to Jerónimo Nadal regarding Gonçalves da Câmara's text:

Scrivo esto a V.R. 1.º por su consolación [...] Lo 4.º para que V.R. procure de executar lo que ya N.P [Francisco de Borja] ha mandado, y, a lo que creo, scripto a los provinciales, y es que recojan buenamente lo que scrivió el p. Luis González, o qualquiera otro scripto de la vida de Nuestro Padre, y lo tengan ellos y no permitan que se lea ni ande por las manos de los nuestros ni de otros, pues siendo cosa imperfecta, no conviene que estorbe o disminuya la fe de lo que más cumplidamente

se scrive. Y en esto se ha de usar diligencia y prudentia que V.R. entiende es menester, para que no se haga ruido, etc. (qtd. in Fernández Martín 173).⁸³

The work being more dutifully written at this time was of course Ribadeneyra's own *Vida de Ignacio de Loyola*. Borja would later write to Nadal that he believed Ribadeneyra's *Vida* would be "cosa de edificación y fruto" and was needed in order to "quitar toda diversidad y algunas cosas no tan bien examinadas" in the *Autobiografía* (qtd. in Fernández Martín 177, 174).⁸⁴ Whatever apprehension Nadal may have had about suppressing Loyola's memoir—a work he had been intimately involved with from the beginning—was soon overcome as the order to retire the *Autobiografía* was obediently carried out. The stage was now set for a new life story, one with the preconceived purpose of presenting the best possible image of Loyola to secure his legacy as the founder of a great religious order and to see him through the process of beatification and canonization (165).

Despite being based largely on Ignatius' own narration in the *Autobiografía*, Pedro de Ribadeneyra's *Vida de Ignacio de Loyola* exhibits significant differences in content, structure and style. Divided into four books that recount the founder's conversion, pilgrimages, studies, and years at the helm of the Society of Jesus,⁸⁵ the *Vida* is substantially longer than the *Autobiografía* and includes a great deal more than just Ignatius' life story. Frequent digressions narrate events related to the establishment of the Society and the exploits of its early heroes, including Francis Xavier and his legendary missionary efforts in Asia (IV, 206-214). The *Vida* thus combines personal biography and organizational history, providing the authorized version of the origins of the Society of Jesus. This stands in stark contrast to the intimate and comparatively disinterested nature of the *Autobiografía*, in effect one man's tale told to a close confidant. The *Vida* instead

⁸³ "I write this to Your Reverence, first for your consolation [...] and fourth, so that Your Reverence would endeavour to execute what Our Father [Francisco de Borja] has ordered, and, as I understand it, written to the provincials, that they collect whatever they can of what Father Luis González wrote, or any other writing of the life of Our Father, and that they keep it to themselves and not allow it to be read nor fall into the hands of our people or of others, since being an imperfect thing, it is better that it not obstruct or diminish faith in what is being more dutifully written. And in doing this diligence and prudence must be used which Your Reverence understands is necessary, in order not to create a disturbance, etc."

⁸⁴ "a thing of edification and fruit"; "to remove all diversity and a few things not so well examined".

⁸⁵ A fifth book itemizing Ignatius' virtues and miracles was added to later editions of the text, as the process for Ignatius' canonization approached. This book is commonly excluded by modern editors of the work, as in the case of the edition I cite, which reproduces the 1583 text.

communicates an institutional perspective on the life and times of the Society's founder and mythologizes him for posterity.

Ribadeneyra completed his text of Loyola's life in Latin in 1569. In 1572, *Vita Ignatii Loiolae* was published in Naples. The author later revised and expanded the text, translating it into Castilian and in 1583 publishing the work in Madrid as *Vida del P. Ignacio de Loyola, fundador de la Religión de la Compañía de Jesús*. Loyola's story was popularized with this edition and the circulation of the *Vida* subsequently grew. In the years that followed, Ribadeneyra continued to revise and add to the text, publishing several more editions that were translated into a number of different languages.⁸⁶

The success of Ribadeneyra's *Vida* has elicited praise both for the work and its author. The genre to which it belongs is clearly more hagiography than biography or history, yet the *Vida* demonstrates a modern sensibility which distinguishes it from earlier examples of the kind. In his dedication to his fellow members of the Society of Jesus, Ribadeneyra repeatedly emphasizes the importance of truth in historiography and affirms the faithfulness of his account (17). Ignatius after all was not an obscure saint from the distant past, but a man who many still living had known, for which it would be unwise to add, falsify or omit anything in his story (19). Ribadeneyra's desire for historical accuracy furthermore leads him to refer to original sources, documents and letters that he cites in order to establish the authority of his relation. As a narrator, Ribadeneyra endeavours to remain detached and impartial, preferring to write whenever possible in the third person, despite his own interactions with Ignatius and protagonism in certain events. And as Ignatius' official biographer, he acknowledges the importance of the text created by Luis Gonçalves da Câmara, who recorded Ignatius' story "with almost the same words as he had heard it". This original work he incorporates into the *Vida*, "all of it as it was written" (18), or so he claims.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Including German, French, Italian and Flemish. Federico Ortés, who studies Ribadeneyra's *Vida* extensively in *El triunfo de Don Quijote*, cites six Spanish editions, including that of 1583, published during Ribadeneyra's life time, all of them overseen by the author. The others appeared in 1584, 1586, 1594, 1595 and 1605, the year Part I of *Don Quixote* was published (47).

⁸⁷ "lo escribía casi con las mismas palabras que lo había oído; y todo esto tengo yo como entonces se escribió" (18).

For his apparently scientific approach to life writing, Ribadeneyra has been described as “the creator of modern hagiography” and the *Vida* regarded as a model of “Renaissance taste, extensive documentation, psychological analysis and classical style.”⁸⁸ Other scholars, however, have compared his work less favourably with the *Autobiografía* and drawn attention to certain distortions and omissions that belie his claims to historical accuracy and forthrightness. Luis Fernández Martín for his part observes that the *Vida* carefully sanitizes Ignatius’ story, leaving the reader with a very different impression than that made by the *Autobiografía*:

Lo negativo, lo peligroso, dadas las circunstancias del momento, lo que pudiera dar pie para alguna irreverencia hacia la venerable figura del Fundador se omitiría cuidadosamente. Era un criterio perfectamente explicable en aquel momento. Pero era distinto del que guió la narración efectuada por San Ignacio. En ambos casos con pleno fundamento histórico surge la figura de San Ignacio aureolada por las más sublimes y heroicas virtudes, pero su presentación emerge en una y en otra con muy diverso enfoque (177).⁸⁹

Whereas the *Autobiografía* emphasizes the role of God’s mercy in leading Ignatius out of his former life to become a saint, the *Vida* only profiles the effect of God’s grace in his life from the beginning of his conversion. The former, Fernández Martín argues, recalls the humble saintliness of the converted soul that is typical of St Augustine’s writings, while the latter shows God freeing Ignatius from danger and reinforcing his own will (178).

En Ribadeneira, los aspectos negativos de la juventud de Iñigo se abocetan rápidamente velados tras dos alusiones genéricas. La juventud de Iñigo apenas existe. Sólo se pone de relieve la fidelísima correspondencia de Iñigo a la gracia *desde el momento de su conversión* y el altísimo nivel de perfección alcanzado (178).⁹⁰

⁸⁸ These remarks by scholar Eusebio Rey, SJ, are quoted by Jodi Bilinkoff in “The Many “Lives” of Pedro de Ribadeneyra.” *Renaissance Quarterly* 52.1 (1999): 180-96, p.182.

⁸⁹ “The negative, the dangerous, given the circumstances of the moment, whatever could give rise to any irreverence toward the venerable figure of the Founder, would be carefully omitted. It was a perfectly understandable criterion in that moment. But it was different from that which guided the narration given by St Ignatius. In both cases with complete historical basis the figure of St Ignatius rises with an aura of the most sublime and heroic virtues, but his presentation emerges in one and the other with a very different focus.”

⁹⁰ “In Ribadeneyra, the negative aspects of Iñigo’s youth are rapidly sketched, veiled behind two generic allusions. His youth hardly exists. Only Iñigo’s absolutely faithful response to grace *from the moment of his conversion* and the very high level of perfection he achieves is highlighted.” The italics are Fernández Martín’s.

For a man enamoured with the writings of Augustine, so much so that he styled his own memoir after the saint's *Confessions*, it is curious that he would not explore the experience of Loyola's transformation further, particularly as it was originally narrated in the *Autobiografía*. The fact that he did not is for Fernández Martín an indication of the pressure Ribadeneyra must have faced to minimize this part of Ignatius' story and to focus on others more acceptable to the Society (179).

A much stronger critic of Ribadeneyra's *Vida de Ignacio de Loyola* is Federico Ortés, who views the work as a blatant manipulation of Loyola's story as it is told in the *Autobiografía*. Ortés maintains that the *Autobiografía* provides a more straightforward account of Loyola's encounters with the Inquisition and treatment at the hands of the Dominican order during his days as a roving mystic and university student. The injustice of their persecution, he argues, is more clearly conveyed in Loyola's own narrative. This is what precipitated the confiscation of the *Autobiografía* and the writing of Ribadeneyra's *Vida*, whose purpose, he contends, was to smooth over these disagreeable incidents and enable better relations with an important congregation of the Church.

En general, Ribadeneyra, aunque ofrece toda la información, la descarga de su fuerza dramática, de la agresividad y aversión del interrogador, transformado en un eclesiástico receloso ante el acoso de la herejía. La misión de Ribadeneyra es claramente justificar la actuación de los dominicos, que mientras en el Relato aparecen descaradamente como los malos, aquí están retratados como los cautos y buenos protectores del catolicismo.

En definitiva, lo más silenciado del Relato, su gran tabú aún en nuestros días, son los desafortunados encuentros de Loyola con la Inquisición y el protagonismo de los dominicos (33).⁹¹

In support of his view, Ortés cites the obsequious dedication to the Inquisitor General, Gaspar de Quiroga, included in the *Vida* and two laudatory letters Ribadeneyra managed to secure from the Dominican writer Fray Luis de Granada that were published in the 1586 edition (34-37). This, he concludes, is evidence of the Society's true intention in

⁹¹ "In general, although Ribadeneyra offers all of the information, he empties it of its dramatic force, of the aggressiveness and aversion of the interrogator, who is transformed into an ecclesiastic wary of the relentless pursuit of heresy. Ribadeneyra's mission is clearly to justify the performance of the Dominicans, who while in the *Autobiografía* appear blatantly to be the bad guys, are here portrayed as the cautious and benign protectors of Catholicism.

Ultimately, the thing most covered up in the *Autobiografía*, its great taboo still in our days, are Loyola's unfortunate encounters with the Inquisition and the protagonism of the Dominicans."

commissioning the *Vida* since it “anunciaba que la guerra contra los jesuitas había finalizado” (35)⁹² and that the much desired peace with its ecclesiastical rivals had been achieved.

Apart from condemning the *Vida* for distorting Ignatius’ story as it is told in the *Autobiografía*, Ortés heaps scorn on Ribadeneyra’s work as a model of historical accuracy and objectivity. He compares the *Vida* to the false chronicles of 16th and 17th century pseudo-historians known for inventing saints, miracles and legends, as in the example of Jerónimo Román de la Higuera, another Jesuit writer from Toledo whose work was debated by academics until well into the 18th century before being exposed as fraudulent (45). He critiques its triumphalist tone and excessive digressions in comparison to the *Autobiografía*’s simplicity and cites the criticism it received from members of the Society who wrote to Ribadeneyra to express their concern over the inaccuracy of certain events portrayed (41).⁹³ Finally, he ridicules the author’s pretentious and long-winded prose, a style he finds makes the *Vida* excessively dull and difficult to read (42).⁹⁴

These objections give Ortés reason to regard Ribadeneyra’s *Vida* as an essentially “false” history of Loyola and his *Autobiografía* as the “true” account of the founder. This dichotomy serves Ortés to compare Ribadeneyra with Cide Hamete Benengeli, the fictional chronicler of Don Quixote’s adventures in Cervantes’ novel (299). Benengeli, first introduced in chapter 9 of the *Quixote*, is characterized by Cervantes as a notoriously unreliable narrator. The parody Ortés detects in *Don Quixote* is therefore not so much of Loyola as it is of Ribadeneyra and the mendacious *Vida*, which he argues is the target of

⁹² “it announced that the war against the Jesuits had finished.”

⁹³ Ortés cites the existence of fifteen such letters in the *Fontes Narrativi* from members of the Society to Ribadeneyra, including a letter from Manoel Teixeira, a Portuguese Jesuit based in Goa, concerning the narration of Francis Xavier’s death in the *Vida*, which he quotes at length in *El triunfo de Don Quijote* (493-500).

⁹⁴ “Frente a la sobriedad del Relato choca, desde el principio, su tono acaramelado y humildemente pretencioso, y sus falso propósitos, pues desde la dedicatoria se promete que el libro será verdadero, breve y de peso. Tres promesas radicalmente incumplidas, tal como demuestra su prolijidad y otros detalles de literato engolado cuya retórica suena siempre vanidosa” (42). (“Compared to the sobriety of the *Autobiografía*, the *Vida*’s sugary sweet and humbly pretentious tone, and its false purposes, hits the reader from the very beginning, since in the dedication it is promised that the book will be truthful, brief and profound. Three radically unfulfilled promises, as demonstrated by its prolixity and other details supplied by a pompous writer whose rhetoric always sounds conceited”.)

Cervantes' satire from chapter 9 onward. The *Autobiografía*, on the other hand, corresponds with the more trustworthy early chapters of *Don Quixote* and conveys the true story of Ignatius of Loyola, a revolutionary figure who, he contends, was poised to radically reform the Catholic Church. The carefully crafted Loyola of the *Vida*, more amenable to the interests of the Society and its peers, is rejected by Ortés as a fundamentally flawed compromise intended to placate the critics of the Jesuits.⁹⁵

Leaving aside my disagreement with the finer points of Ortés' analysis,⁹⁶ it is clear that the conditions established by the Society of Jesus for Ignatius' new biography were admirably met by Pedro de Ribadeneyra in the *Vida de Ignacio de Loyola*. Unlike Ignatius' narrative, as originally recorded in his *Autobiografía*, the *Vida* superficially glosses over his wayward youth and carefully minimizes aspects of his story that may have reignited suspicions of heresy with regard to the *Spiritual Exercises* and his other activities. Furthermore, it put Ignatius firmly on the path to sainthood and provided a model for his followers to imitate.⁹⁷ These accomplishments helped protect the Society from its enemies

⁹⁵ “Ahora, por fin, quedaban claras las razones del secuestro y sustitución del Relato por la Vida que, como Ribadeneyra dice en la dedicatoria a sus hermanos, se escribió por encargo, con el mandato de realizar una biografía que aplacara definitivamente el ánimo hostil de los dominicos hacia la Compañía, todavía, como se ha visto, acosada en España por la Inquisición. En suma, la Compañía, para ganar su estabilidad, estaba siendo obligada a realizar un plan en el que se incluían una serie de acontecimientos dirigidos a quitarle históricamente la fuerza revolucionaria y crítica que la figura de Loyola le había proporcionado, sólo así conseguirían la paz deseada, y la beatificación (1609) y canonización (1622) de Loyola, en la que tanto dominicos como Inquisidores jugaban un papel decisivo” (34). (“Now, finally, the reasons for the seizure and replacement of the *Autobiografía* for the *Vida* had become clear: the *Vida*, which as Ribadeneyra says in the dedication to his brothers, was written by commission, with a mandate to realize a biography that would finally placate the the hostile stance of the Dominicans toward the Society, which was still, as has been seen, harrassed by the Inquisition in Spain. In sum, the Society, to gain stability, was obligated to follow a plan that included a series of events aimed at removing the historically revolutionary and critical force that the figure of Loyola had given it. Only in this manner would they achieve the desired peace and the beatification (1609) and canonization (1622) of Loyola, in which both the Dominicans and the Inquisitors played a decisive role.”

⁹⁶ Here I refer to his Romantic interpretation of Don Quixote as an authentic hero, whom he identifies with Loyola. I have discussed this in Part I.

⁹⁷ As Ribadeneyra writes, “así también nosotros, habiendo recebido de la mano de Dios, nuestro Señor, a nuestro padre Ignacio por guía y maestro, y por caudillo y capitán de esta milicia sagrada, debemos tomarle por espejo de nuestra vida y procurar con todas nuestras fuerzas de seguirle, de suerte que si por nuestra imperfección no pudiéremos sacar tan al vivo y tan al proprio el retrato de sus muchas y excelentes virtudes, a lo menos imitemos la sombra y rastro de ellas. Y por ventura para esto os será mi trabajo provechoso, y también gustoso y provechoso; pues el deseo de imitar hace que dé contento el oír contar lo que imitar se desea, y que sea tan gustoso el saberlo, como es el obrarlo provechoso” (17). (“so we, having received from the hand of God, our Lord, our Father Ignatius as a guide and teacher, and leader and captain of this sacred militia, should take him as a mirror for our lives and strive with all our strength to follow him, in such a fashion that, if because of our imperfection we are unable to bring to life such a clear portrait of his many and excellent virtues, we at least imitate the shadow and trace of them. And for this perhaps my work will be

and ultimately secured its place as the preeminent religious order of the Roman Catholic Church. Yet Ignatius' simple and forthright memoir, the *Autobiografía*, would nevertheless remain in the memory of those who had known of its existence.⁹⁸ Despite its seizure and replacement with the significantly different *Vida*, both versions of Ignatius' story share remarkable commonplaces, including the founder's enthusiasm for books of chivalry, his conversion and transformation, and imitation of famous saints whose hagiographies he read during his convalescence. These topics would provide abundant material for readers to associate him with the protagonist of an extraordinary comic novel to be published a few decades later.

Such is, in brief, our analysis of the eventful history of the *Autobiografía* and *Vida de Ignacio de Loyola*. These texts composed in the second half of the sixteenth century are intriguing for their fascinating subject matter, the complex and difficult circumstances in which they were written and read, the divergent motivations that led to their creation and their close similarities yet telling differences. What is perhaps more intriguing is that readers have repeatedly identified the *Autobiografía* and *Vida* as possible sources of inspiration for Cervantes' *Don Quixote*. Our next task is to review how this latter work came to be.

helpful, and also pleasing and profitable, for the desire to imitate makes one enjoy hearing about what one wishes to imitate, and it is as pleasing to know it as it is profitable to perform").

⁹⁸ Even after the publication of the *Vida* in Spanish in 1583, Jesuits continued to request copies of Ignatius' personal writings, including the *Autobiografía*. The Provincial for the Congregation of Castile of the Society of Jesus, who wrote to Rome with such a request in 1584, received the following reply from then Superior General Claudio Acquaviva: "Alabamos la devoción de la Congregación hacia N.P. Ignacio pero, por lo que hace a lo que pide, está ya en manos de todos su VIDA con cuanto había de comunicable sobre él" (qtd. in Fernández Martín 188). ("We praise the devotion of the Congregation toward Our Father Ignatius but, as for what is being requested, his VIDA is already in the hands of all, which contains everything there is to say about him").

3. The Genesis of *Don Quixote*

El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de La Mancha, published in 1605 when Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra was fifty-eight years old, is the manifest product of a life rich in experience, a superior imagination and a long period of reflection and elaboration. Scholars have studied *Don Quixote*'s origins in great depth and shed light on innumerable influences at play in this quintessential work of Spanish Golden Age literature. However, the influences that concern us are those that may explain the recurring phenomenon of reader associations between Don Quixote and St Ignatius of Loyola. The following sketch of Cervantes' life and review of *Don Quixote*'s origins are intended therefore to focus on circumstances which may suggest a possible connection to the *Autobiografía* and *Vida de Ignacio de Loyola*. With that said, we will also consider the main challenge to the argument that *Don Quixote* is a parody of Loyola, a hypothesis which asserts the novel parodies Cervantes' contemporary and literary rival, Félix Lope de Vega.

3.1 Cervantes' Familiarity with Loyola and the Society of Jesus

The life of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra reveals intriguing details that suggest his personal familiarity with the story of Ignatius of Loyola and the Society of Jesus. Cervantes was born in Alcalá de Henares in 1547,⁹⁹ the fourth of seven children. His

⁹⁹ Alcalá de Henares was an important centre of Ignatian activity twenty years before Cervantes' birth. Ignatius travelled there in 1526 to attend university. While there, he begged for alms in the streets to support himself and made friends with the Eguía brothers: Diego, a priest, and Miguel, owner of a successful printing business. Miguel was the first to publish Erasmus' *Enchiridion militis christiani* (*Handbook of a Christian Knight*) in Spain. Ignatius likely became acquainted with Erasmus' writings through this relationship, although he is said to have preferred Thomas à Kempis' *Imitatio Christi*, which he mistakenly attributed to Jean Gerson, as his devotional reading. (See Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmus y España*, p.213n). In Alcalá, Ignatius also carried on his ministry of street preaching and, together with his companions, administered his *Spiritual Exercises* to a growing number of followers, including many women and children. As this was an unusual activity for a layperson at the time (Ignatius and his companions were as yet unaffiliated with any religious order, despite going barefoot and dressing in grey tunics similar to the Franciscans), suspicions were raised that they might be *alumbrados* or even reformers influenced by Martin Luther. Two inquisitors and a representative of the Archbishop of Toledo were sent to investigate the matter. Ignatius and his companions were eventually absolved of any wrongdoing and their teaching found to be acceptable, but they were instructed to dye their clothes so as to not be confused with members of a religious order. Sometime later Ignatius was investigated again, and this time imprisoned, for the disappearance of a woman and her daughter who had met with him previously. He remained in jail for forty-two days until the pair returned from a pilgrimage and confirmed his innocence. In June of 1527, Ignatius departed from Alcalá with his remaining companions and travelled to Salamanca to continue his studies. It is unclear whether any of these events came

father, Rodrigo de Cervantes, an itinerant barber-surgeon, would relocate his family often during his youth to where business was more promising and debts less pressing. In 1551 the family moved to Valladolid; not long afterward, in 1553, Rodrigo established his practice in Córdoba, the place of his birth. It is not known whether his children joined him at the time, but scholars have long speculated that Miguel studied at the Santa Catalina school founded there by the Society of Jesus that same year. This conjecture is repeated in most biographies of Cervantes¹⁰⁰ and remains a part of city's folklore to this day.¹⁰¹

Did Cervantes commence his grammar studies as a pupil of the Jesuits in Córdoba? Did he begin to learn Latin by translating the works of classical authors and was he first initiated into the principles of rhetoric by these skilled pedagogues? Was his admiration for the theatre awakened by the student plays organized at Santa Catalina? What is more, did he have occasion to become acquainted with the life of Ignatius of Loyola? Were Miguel and his classmates entertained with stories of the founder of the Society of Jesus, perhaps read from early copies the *Autobiografía*? So little is known about Cervantes' life during this time that nothing may be said for certain. However, his later writings give researchers reason to infer his familiarity with Jesuit education. Cervantes' short story, *El coloquio de los perros*, which recounts the picaresque adventures of two stray dogs through a diverse tableau of Spanish society, contains a detailed description of Jesuit teaching. It is evidence for some that Cervantes had first-hand knowledge of their methods and has been construed as either praising or subtly mocking the renowned educators, depending on how the author's sense of irony is perceived.¹⁰²

to the knowledge of Cervantes and his family, but their notoriety would have lived on in the memory of residents of Alcalá for years afterward. See the *Autobiografía*, Chapter VI, paragraphs 58-63.

¹⁰⁰ See for example Jean Canavaggio. *Cervantes*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1990, p.34; Cristóbal Zaragoza. *Cervantes: Vida y Semblanza*. Madrid: Biblioteca Mondadori, 1991, pp.60-61; and Krzysztof Sliwa. *Vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*. Barcelona: Kassel: Reichenberger, 2006, pp.248-249.

¹⁰¹ In 2004 I took an evening walking tour of Córdoba in which actors represented famous scions of this Andalusian city, including the medieval Jewish philosopher Maimonides and Cervantes. The actor who played Cervantes recalled attending "the Jesuits' school for two years."

¹⁰² Bruce W. Wardhopper points out that the general intent of the *Dialogue of the Dogs* is to convey a satirical view of the shortcomings of Spanish society. He shows that the two dogs, Berganza and Cipión, make it their business to denounce hypocrisy while at the same time attempting to avoid calumny. Before praising Jesuit

If it was not in Córdoba that Cervantes first became acquainted with the Jesuits, it may have been in Seville. Rodrigo first appears there as a manager of rental housing in 1564. Miguel was seventeen at time and, as has been suggested, may have continued his studies in one of the Society of Jesus' schools, either Santa María de Jesús or San Hermenegildo. Seville was after all the setting for Berganza's illustration of Jesuit education in *El coloquio de los perros*. Could this have been the place where Cervantes had the opportunity to read Loyola's *Autobiografía*? Copies of this work circulated among Jesuit missions at the time. Again, such questions must remain speculative.

What is known about Cervantes' education is that he studied under Juan López de Hoyos at the Estudio de la Villa, a public preparatory school in Madrid, after his family moved to the Spanish capital in 1566. López de Hoyos was the vicar of the parish of San Andrés and a humanist of Erasmian persuasion. He became rector of the Estudio in 1568, the same year in which Philip II's third wife, Elizabeth of Valois, died at the age of twenty-two. López authored the official account of the funeral and included four poems dedicated to the deceased queen by Miguel, whom he described as "nuestro caro y amado discípulo" (qtd. in Riquer XVIII).¹⁰³ These were Cervantes' first published verses. By the time they had passed through the printing press, however, their young author was already in Rome. The likely reason for Cervantes' sudden departure from Madrid: a warrant for his arrest, issued in September of 1569, for wounding one Antonio de Sigura in a duel. No further information on this incident has come to light, but for evading arrest Cervantes was

education, Berganza is admonished by Cipión for maligning the people he speaks about. Berganza promises to bite his tongue should he be tempted to slander anyone further, and then launches into his praise of Jesuit pedagogy. He underscores "how they scolded [the students] gently, encouraged them with rewards and gently and tolerantly bore with them". He also admires the highly visual way in which the Jesuit teachers "depicted the ugliness and horror of vice and portrayed the beauty of virtue, so that, hating the one and loving the other, they would attain the end for which they were created" (Cervantes Saavedra, *Exemplary Stories*, 264). For Wardropper, Berganza, beyond a shadow of doubt, "has overcompensated" (188). Ruth El Saffar for her part detects "a deep rancour lurk[ing] against the Jesuits in Berganza's praise" and suggests that the Jesuits are portrayed in Berganza's narrative as "too powerful, [...] too determined" and "too attentive to worldly influences" (qtd. in Wardropper 187-188). See Bruce W. Wardropper, "Cervantes and Education", *Cervantes and the Renaissance. Papers of the Pomona College Cervantes Symposium, November 16-18, 1978*, Ed. Michael D. McGaha, Easton, Pa: Juan de la Cuesta, 1980, pp.178-19 and Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. *Exemplary Stories*. Tran. Lesley Lipson. Oxford; New York: Oxford UP, 2008, p.264. Ernest A. Siciliano arrives at a similar conclusion regarding the *Coloquio* and suggests that Cervantes is being ironic in his praise of the Jesuits. See *The Jesuits in the Quijote and Other Essays*. Barcelona: Hispam, 1974, p.28-31.

¹⁰³ Our "well beloved pupil" (qtd. in Cannavaggio 44).

sentenced to having his right hand cut off and ten years' banishment from the realm (Cannavaggio 46).

In Rome, Cervantes entered the service of a twenty-three year-old Neapolitan prelate, Giulio Acquaviva d'Aragona. Acquaviva had served in Spain as the pope's ambassador to Felipe II the year before and in May of 1570 was named a cardinal deacon of the Church. A remarkable fact of Cervantes' employment with the cardinal is that Giulio's uncle was none other than Claudio Acquaviva, Provincial Superior of Naples and Rome and future Superior General of the Society of Jesus.¹⁰⁴ Claudio was three years older than Giulio and doubtless maintained contact with his nephew. What possibilities would Cervantes have had then to observe and interact with Jesuits during his time in Rome? He was roughly the same age as his master, and it is possible that he was admitted into his confidences from time to time, but his position could hardly have been one of close friend. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to assume that during his eighteen months in Rome Cervantes had occasion to familiarize himself with the Society of Jesus and perhaps even some of its leading figures. While there, did he perhaps also come across a copy of Ignatius' *Autobiografía*? Or were unpublished drafts of the *Vita Ignatii Loiolae*, completed in 1569, making the rounds? Did he learn about Ignatius' *Spiritual Exercises*, as central as their practice was to the Society? Was he introduced to them by a Jesuit acquaintance of the cardinal's?¹⁰⁵ Such questions, like the rest of his life during this period, must remain part of the mystery of his time in Rome.

Cervantes' service as chamberlain to Cardinal Giulio Acquaviva was short-lived. As his biographer Jean Canavaggio suggests, Cervantes' attitude might well be summarized by the words of the protagonist of his short story, *El licenciado Vidriera*: "I

¹⁰⁴ Following the death of Everard Mercurian in 1580, Claudio Acquaviva was elected as the fifth Superior General of the Society of Jesus in 1581 at the age of 37, the youngest General ever to hold the position. He is often referred to as the order's second founder and considered to be one of its greatest leaders.

¹⁰⁵ Frédéric Conrod is convinced that Cervantes' experiences in Rome led to his familiarity with the life of Loyola and the *Spiritual Exercises*: "The aesthetics of the Roman Baroque will serve the agenda of the Spanish Crown of Felipe II and his successors. It is in this context of symbiosis and constant exchange that Cervantes is going to get acquainted with Rome, his late compatriot Ignatius of Loyola, and the visual imperialism deriving from his works. The author of *Don Quixote* was in contact with the first generation of Jesuits at many points in his life, and is therefore familiar with the functioning of the spiritual exercises" (12).

am not suitable for palaces,' says Master Glass, 'because I have a conscience and don't know how to flatter'" (qtd. in Canavaggio 50). Whatever hopes he may have had for this opportunity, and whatever the circumstances of his departure, Cervantes chose a life of military service following his time with the cardinal. Leaving Rome, he travelled to Naples to enlist as a soldier in the Spanish Navy Marines. On October 7, 1571, he participated in the Battle of Lepanto in which the Holy League defeated the naval forces of the Ottoman Turks.¹⁰⁶ Cervantes was proud of his service; he fought bravely and suffered wounds that caused him to lose the use of his left hand, a disability which would earn him the nickname *El manco de Lepanto*.¹⁰⁷ Following his recovery, Cervantes continued his career as a soldier, participating in naval expeditions to Navarino and Corfu in 1572 and witnessing the fall of Tunis to the Turks in 1574. While not on military missions, he travelled widely in Italy, absorbing Italian Renaissance culture, including the art, literature and poetry of the period, influences that would appear later in his published works.¹⁰⁸

Having redeemed himself through his service to his country, Cervantes left Naples in 1575 to return to Spain. However, as his vessel approached the Catalan coast, it was intercepted by Algerian corsairs. A bloody fight ensued in which Cervantes, together with other surviving passengers and crew, was taken captive and transported to North Africa to be held for ransom. He spent the next five years there in the slave prisons of Algeria, attempting to escape on several occasions, though unsuccessfully. These difficult experiences would inspire two plays, *Los tratos de Argel* and *Los baños de Argel*, and are seen reflected in "The Captive's Tale", an interpolated novel included in Part I of *Don Quixote*. Finally, in 1580, his family, together with the help of Trinitarian monks specialized in redeeming Christian captives, paid his ransom and secured his release.

Cervantes' subsequent years in Spain were a time of personal, professional and artistic disappointment. In an effort to remake his life, the retired soldier solicited a post in the Spanish government of the West Indies, but was turned down. He had a few poems

¹⁰⁶ Cervantes would later describe this experience in the prologue to his *Novelas ejemplares* as "the most noble and memorable event that past centuries have seen or future generations can ever hope to witness" (3).

¹⁰⁷ The one-handed man of Lepanto.

¹⁰⁸ For a discussion of these influences, see Fernando Cervantes. "Cervantes in Italy: Christian Humanism and the Visual Impact of Renaissance Rome." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 66.3 (2005): 325-50.

published in minor collections, but it was not enough to support himself or to repay the debts his family had incurred to free him from captivity. While living in Madrid, an affair with the wife of a tavern keeper resulted in the birth of a daughter, Isabel, whom he recognized as his. In 1584 he married Catalina de Salazar y Palacios in Esquivias, near Toledo, but the marriage was unhappy and produced no children. In 1585 his pastoral novel *La Galatea* was published, but to little fanfare. He later turned to work as an itinerant tax collector and purchasing agent for the Spanish Armada in Andalusia. Twice he was excommunicated for fulfilling his duty of requisitioning wheat that belonged to the Church. This work and his visits to various towns and villages in southern Spain would bring him into contact with individuals from all levels of society, experiences that would furnish rich material for his literary works. These duties, moreover, would lead him into considerable adversity, including imprisonment on at least two occasions. It is during one of these bleak moments that, according to the author, *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de La Mancha* was born.

3.2 The *Quixote*

Y así ¿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? (I, Prólogo, 11-12)¹⁰⁹

As he writes in the Prologue to Part I, Cervantes first conceived of the idea for *Don Quixote* while in jail. Scholars have debated when this might have taken place since, apart from his captivity in North Africa, Cervantes was jailed on at least two and possibly three occasions in Andalusia between 1592 and 1602.¹¹⁰ Whichever one it was, what concerns us

¹⁰⁹ “And so what could my barren and poorly cultivated wits beget but the history of a child who is dry, withered, capricious, and filled with inconstant thoughts never imagined by anyone else, which is just what one would expect of a person begotten in a prison, where every discomfort has its place and every mournful sound makes its home?” (I, Prologue, 3)

¹¹⁰ Each of Cervantes’ incarcerations appears to be the result of unfortunate circumstances and not any malfeasance on his part. The first instance was in the Andalusian town of Castro del Río, for the illegal sale of wheat. The officials who falsely implicated him in their scheme, however, were soon prosecuted and he was set free. The second occurred in 1597 as the result of his inability to produce a large sum in back taxes that he had been commissioned to collect, a misfortune that befell him because of the fraudulent activity of towns where he had been sent to collect the taxes owing and the failure of the bank in which he had deposited the amount he had collected so far. This led to a longer confinement in the Royal Prison of Seville, most likely

is the nature of the work that took shape during this time and the sources that are likely to have inspired it.

We have already discussed readers' identification of the *Autobiografía* and *Vida* as sources for Cervantes' parody in *Don Quixote*. However, for many years *cervantistas* have presented evidence supporting the hypothesis that the *Quixote* was inspired by an anonymous theatrical interlude, the *Entremés de los romances*, a comedic work written to entertain audiences between acts at playhouses of the era.¹¹¹ Parallels between this interlude and the opening chapters of *Don Quixote* were first discovered by Adolfo de Castro in 1874.¹¹² Since then, numerous scholars have studied the work and advanced a variety of arguments with regard to when and by whom it may have been written.¹¹³ While some debate continues, consensus has steadily grown around the similarities between the *Entremés* and chapters 4, 5 and 7 of *Don Quixote*, to the point where it is now seen more or less conclusively as the inspiration for Cervantes' novel. What is more, some *cervantistas* have argued that the incorporation of burlesque ballad poetry parodying the popular dramatist Lope de Vega in the *Entremés* implies a similar purpose for *Don Quixote*.

The *Entremés de los romances* was first published in 1611 in the *Tercera parte de las comedias de Lope de Vega y otros autores con sus loas y entremeses*, leading some to believe that it was inspired by Cervantes' novel, published six years earlier, and not the

until April of 1598. It appears that the Treasury pursued him again in 1601 for the 80,000 *maravedís* they believed he owed them, for which he may have done a further stint in the Sevillian prison. Geoffrey Stagg has supported the idea that it was in Castro del Río that Cervantes began writing the *Quixote*. See Geoffrey Stagg. "Castro del Río ¿cuna del "Quijote"?" *Clavileño* 36. noviembre-diciembre (1955): 1-11. Others, including Jean Canavaggio and Antonio Rey Hazas think it is unlikely that he began writing the *Quixote* there due to the short length of his stay. These and other scholars favour the Royal Prison of Seville in 1597-98 or 1602 as the more likely place of origin of *Don Quixote*. See Canavaggio 177-178 and Antonio Rey Hazas. "Estudio del *Entremés de Los Romances*." *Revista de Estudios Cervantinos* No. 1 Junio-Julio 2007 (2007): 1-57, p.6.

¹¹¹ "Entremés de Los Romances. Edición de Daniel Eisenberg y Geoffrey Stagg." *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 22.2 (2002): 151-174.

¹¹² See Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. *Varias obras inéditas de Cervantes, sacadas de códices de la Biblioteca Colombina, con nuevas ilustraciones sobre la vida del autor y el Quijote*. Ed. Adolfo de Castro. Madrid: A. de Carlos é Hijo, 1874.

¹¹³ Geoffrey Stagg provides a comprehensive history of the scholarship on this subject until 2002 in "Don Quijote and the "Entremés de los romances": A Retrospective." *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 22.2 (2002): 129-150.

other way around.¹¹⁴ Others, however, including Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Geoffrey Stagg and Antonio Rey Hazas, have argued the ballad verses included in the *Entremés*, together with its historical references and the topicality of theatrical comedy, indicate that the work was written sometime between 1591 and 1597 and possibly circulated in printed loose-leaf form prior to being published.¹¹⁵ No information has been found regarding any performance of the *Entremés*.

The majority of the 31 ballads included in the *Entremés* were published in a poetry collection, the *Flor de varios y nuevos romances, primera, segunda y tercera* in Valencia in 1593. Nearly half of these are *romances moriscos*, a popular genre which recalled Moorish Spain in exaggerated style, depicting unrealistic loves, heroes and adventures similar to those found in books of chivalry. As Stagg observes, Lope de Vega was a famous and prolific author of *romances moriscos*, “who, especially in the 1580s, chronicled in Moorish dress his own disorderly life and love-affairs” (137). Rey Hazas indicates that Lope was even accused of being a *morisco* himself for his infatuation with the genre (44) and suggests that he was well known in literary circles for being mad enough to think himself the hero of his own ballads (57). His bitter rival, Luis de Góngora, with whom he traded literary barbs and reproaches, unmercifully lampooned Lope’s most popular poems, including his ballad “Ensíllenme el potro rucio”, which appears parodied in the *Entremés*.¹¹⁶ The anti-Lope nature of these verses, and the plot of the *Entremés*, in which the protagonist, Bartolo, a recently married labourer, goes mad from reading *romances* and, resolving to imitate their heroes, abandons his wife to set sail with the Spanish Armada “a matar el Draque / y a prender la reina”,¹¹⁷ closely mirroring Lope’s abandonment of his own bride of three weeks, Isabel de Alderete y Urbina, to participate in the disastrous

¹¹⁴ Stagg cites Adolfo de Castro (1874), Armando Cotarelo y Valledor (1915), Emilio Cotarelo y Mori (1920), Francisco Rodríguez Marín (1928), Rudolph Schevill (1928), Luis Astrana Marín (1956) and Luis Andrés Murillo (1986) as defending a date for the *Entremés de los romances* that is subsequent to the publication of *Don Quixote*, thus vindicating Cervantes’ originality as author of the story (139-143).

¹¹⁵ Menéndez Pidal defends a date of 1591, Stagg 1592 and Rey Hazas between 1593 and 1597, or shortly thereafter.

¹¹⁶ The title of this ballad translated into English is “Saddle me the gray colt”. In Góngora’s version, “potro” is substituted humorously for “asno” or ass. The *Entremés*, while conserving the verses of Góngora’s parody, does not make this substitution and preserves the original title of the poem, perhaps to maintain a greater identification with Lope, as Rey Hazas suggests (42). See lines 31-48 in the *Entremés* for Góngora’s parody of “Ensíllenme el potro rucio.”

¹¹⁷ “to kill [Sir Francis] Drake / and capture the Queen [Elizabeth I]” (lines 138-139).

expedition of Spain's Invincible Armada against England in 1588, have led critics to conclude that the anonymous interlude is a satire of Lope de Vega.

In his 2007 study of the *Entremés*, Rey Hazas hazards an informed guess as to the identity of its author. He reasons that it had to have been someone who knew *Romancero* poetry well, someone who was an enemy of Lope de Vega, an admirer of Góngora and a friend of Cervantes. That person he identifies as Gabriel Lobo Lasso de la Vega, a fierce critic of Lope, friend of Cervantes and author of ballad poetry whose own *Manojuelo de romances* was published in 1601 (26). Lasso de la Vega is suspected also of being Donoso, the pseudonymous poet in the preliminary pages to Part I of *Don Quixote* who dedicates verses to Sancho Panza and Rocinante.¹¹⁸ Cervantes' relationship with this writer, Rey Hazas argues, is likely to have provided him with the inspiration to write his own parody of Lope's histrionic enthusiasm for *romances moriscos*.¹¹⁹ The *Entremés de los romances*, he contends, therefore provided Cervantes with the basic blueprint for *Don Quixote*, as similarities between the two works seem to suggest. Stagg, in his retrospective study, neatly summarizes the parallelisms between the *Entremés* and chapters 4, 5 and 7 of *Don Quixote*:

Bartolo and Don Quijote both (1) go mad from reading ballads/novels of chivalry; (2) dress up in armor; (3) go forth ready to fight; (4) have a hostile encounter; (5) are beaten with their own lances; (6) are left stretched out on the ground; (7) are unable to rise; (8) blame their misfortunes on their mounts; (9) think they are Valdovinos and recall lines of the "Marqués de Mantua" ballads; (10) are taken home and en route imagine themselves to be figures from the *romances moriscos*; (11) are put to bed and go to sleep; (12) wake up with minds inflamed with incidents from other ballads; (13) interrupt the wedding/scrutiny with their shouts. Also, in each work, a character curses the ballads/novels of chivalry.

¹¹⁸ See the poem "Del Donoso, poeta entreverado, a Sancho Panza y Rocinante" in Martín de Riquer's edition of the *Quixote*, 26-27, and the editor's accompanying note.

¹¹⁹ Rey Hazas writes: "Había, pues, una serie de similitudes literarias entre [Lasso de la Vega and Cervantes], que confluyeron de manera muy particular y sobre todo en la denuncia de los heterónimos moriscos de Lope de Vega, dado que el Fénix llegó a identificarse con ellos, con esos caballeros ficticios, nobles, enamorados e idealizados de sus romances, a través de los cuales nos contó sus [sic] vida amorosa con Elena Osorio, y por medio de los cuales enloqueció, verdaderamente, al confundir su vida real con la de sus inventados héroes moriscos" (27). ("There was, therefore, a series of literary similarities between [Lasso de la Vega and Cervantes] that came together in a very particular way and, above all, in the denunciation of Lope de Vega's morisco pseudonyms, given that the Phoenix came to identify with them, with those fictitious, noble, amorous and idealized knights of his ballads, through which he told us of his love life with Elena Osorio, and through which he became mad, truly, by confusing his real life with those of his invented morisco heroes").

Yet other specific parallels may be established. In the *entremés*, Bartolo, returning home, recites a *centón* of first lines of eighteen ballads, a review if you will of the literature that has sent him mad; in the novel, in the scrutiny of the library, we have a review of the literature that has sent the *hidalgo* mad; if the interlude ends with the chorus “¡Fuego, fuego!” the scrutiny ends with the burning of the books. Members of Bartolo’s family go in search of him and bring him home; in later developments in the novel, close friends of Don Quijote go in search of him and bring him home. Finally, Bandurrio’s remark, “Pues metámosle acostar, / que el loco durmiendo amansa,”¹²⁰ and Antonio’s comment “Pues como él duerma, el sentido / volverá a cobrar sin falta”¹²¹ (*Colección*, I, 161, col.2), foreshadow the end of Part II of the novel. (133-134)

The similarities of the *Entremés* to Don Quijote’s first sally and the hasty division of the novel’s opening chapters further suggest to Rey Hazas that Cervantes began his work as a short story, along the lines of other stories he had written previously.¹²² This work would have narrated Don Quijote’s initial solo adventure and concluded with the scrutiny of his library and burning of his books of chivalry, mirroring elements of the *Entremés* plot which ends, interestingly, with the chorus “¡Fuego, fuego!”¹²³ What is more, Rey Hazas

¹²⁰ “Let’s put him to bed then / sleeping calms the madman down”.

¹²¹ “While he sleeps, his sanity / will come back without fail”.

¹²² “Es muy probable, en consecuencia,” Rey Hazas asserts, “que el mencionado entremés influyera directamente en la génesis del *Quijote* y, particularmente, en la primera salida del *Ingenioso hidalgo*, cuya estructura es la de una novela corta evidente, la de una hipotética “novela ejemplar” (como *El cautivo*, *Rinconete y Cortadillo* o *El celoso extremeño*, obras anteriores al *Quijote* que demuestran la dedicación cervantina a tales menesteres por esas fechas) [...] Es obvio que Cervantes la escribió primero de un tirón, como una novela corta, sin pensar en dividirla, y que la dividió después, cuando se decidió a proseguir el *Quijote* como un libro extenso; y lo hizo, además, aceleradamente, sin detenerse a hacerlo con precisión ni dedicarle mucho tiempo, cortando el texto por donde le pareció bien, sin mayores problemas ni distinguos” (7-8). (“It is very likely, consequently, that the mentioned interlude directly influenced the genesis of the *Quijote* and, particularly, the first sally of the *Ingenioso hidalgo*, the structure of which is that of an obvious short novel, a hypothetical ‘exemplary story’ (like *El cautivo*, *Rinconete y Cortadillo* o *El celoso extremeño*, works written prior to the *Quijote* which show Cervantes’ dedication to such activities at the time) [...] It is obvious that Cervantes wrote [the first part of *Don Quijote* Part I] in one go, as a short story, without thinking of dividing it into chapters, and that he divided it later, when he decided to continue the *Quijote* as a more extensive work; and he did it, furthermore, quickly, without pausing to compose it with precision or giving it much time, cutting the text wherever he thought best, without much care or distinction”).

¹²³ Rey Hazas adds: “Si a esto unimos que la novelita relata la primera salida y el primer regreso a casa del hidalgo manchego, que el héroe va solo en ella, sin la compañía de Sancho, y que, en consonancia con el hecho de que su locura se debe a la lectura de los libros de caballerías, la novelita se cierra, coherentemente, con el conocido escrutinio y castigo al fuego de estos libros, y, posiblemente, según pensaba mi maestro, Juan Manuel Rozas, con la siguiente y sentenciosa frase, perfecto colofón de una hipotética novela ejemplar: ‘Aquella noche quemó y abrasó el ama cuantos libros había en el corral y en toda la casa, y tales debieron de arder que merecían guardarse en perpetuos archivos; mas no lo permitió suerte y la pereza del escrutinador; y así, se cumplió el refrán en ellos de que pagan a las veces justos por pecadores (I, 7).’”

(“If to this we add that the short story relates the first sally and first arrival home of the Manchegan hidalgo, that the hero goes alone, without the company of Sancho, and that, in accordance with the fact that his madness is due to the reading of books of chivalry, the short story closes, coherently, with the famous scrutiny and fiery punishment of these books, and, possibly, according to my professor, Juan Manuel Rozas, with the following sententious phrase, the perfect culmination of a hypothetical exemplary short story:

argues, such a short story could have circulated in manuscript or even printed form prior to the publication of the full-length novel in 1605, as references to the character of Don Quixote by Lope de Vega and Francisco López de Úbeda in 1604 would seem to imply.¹²⁴ Given that the *Entremés de los romances* was known to be a parody of Lope de Vega, ridiculing the writer for identifying himself with the chivalrous heroes of his *morisco* ballads, and that the beginning of *Don Quixote* closely imitates its structure, Rey Hazas concludes that the rivalry between Cervantes and Lope de Vega was the principal motive behind the origin of the novel, which, he affirms, may be regarded as a continuation of the droll literary assault on Lope de Vega that began with Góngora's ballad verses and the *Entremés*.¹²⁵

'That night the housekeeper burned and consigned to the flames all the books that were in the corral and in the house, and some must have been in the fire that should have been preserved in perpetual archives; but there destiny, and the sloth of the examiner, did not permit this, and so, as the proverb says, at times the just must pay for sinners (I, 7)'').

¹²⁴ Lope made the following disparaging remark about *Don Quixote* in a letter dated August 14, 1604, which appears to show that he may have read an early version of the work: "De poetas, no digo: buen siglo es éste. Muchos están en ciérne para el año que viene, pero ninguno tan malo como Cervantes ni tan necio que alabe a *Don Quijote*" (qtd. in Rey Hazas 9). ("Of poets, I don't say: this is a good time. Many are in the making for next year, but none is as bad as Cervantes nor so foolish as to praise *Don Quijote*"). Alternatively the remark may refer to the fact that Cervantes had solicited laudatory poems from other writers for his novel, a request that went unfulfilled; hence his own comic verses in the preliminary pages of *Don Quixote* which satirized this literary convention, one which Lope was famous for ascribing to in his works. López de Úbeda, for his part, includes Don Quixote in a list of literary characters referenced by the protagonist of his novel, *La pícaro Justina*, printed toward the end of 1604. In *versos de cabo rato*, Justina declares "Soy la rein- de Picardí, / Más que la Rud- conoci-, / Más famo- que doña Oli-, / Que Don Quijo- y Lazari-, / Que Alfarach- y Celesti-" (qtd. in Rey Hazas 10).

¹²⁵ Rey Hazas crowns his argument with an anonymous ballad from the *Romancero General* of 1600 which, with its veiled references to Lope and his turbulent love affairs reminiscent of *morisco* ballads in their extravagance, confirms, he says, the soundness of his hypothesis: "Una vez sois moro Adulce, / que está en la prisión quejoso, / porque le dejó Celinda, / y es que os dio *Filis* del codo. / [*Filis* was the name Lope gave in his ballads to his lover Elena Osorio, who later left him] Otras veces os mostráis / Bravonel o Maniloro, / y otras veces sois Azarque / o Muza, valiente moro. / Otras veces Reduán. / Os pido que os contentéis / con tener un nombre solo, / no deis causa que se diga, / Belardo, que estáis ya loco" (qtd. in Rey Hazas 56). ("Now you're the Moor Adulce, / who's in prisión complaining, / because Celinda left him, / and it is that *Filis* gave you the elbow. / Other times you show yourself / to be Bravonel or Maniloro, / and still others you are Azarque / or Muza, the brave Moor. / Other times Reduán. / I ask that you content yourself / with having one name only, / and you don't give people reason to say, / Belardo, you're crazy already"). The *cervantista* goes on to write that "El romance confirma definitivamente la hipótesis, porque demuestra que para todos los conocedores del romancero nuevo Lope de Vega estaba loco por sus numerosos y diferentes heterónimos moriscos, loco por los romances moriscos, loco por celos, loco, en fin, porque llegó a identificarse con sus idealizados y caballerescos héroes moriscos. Cervantes, por tanto, sabedor de la identificación burlesca ya realizada por el citado entremés y conocedor del romancero y de sus entresijos, una vez desatada su guerra con Lope en 1602, se decidió a seguir la mediación de Góngora y su degradación del potro en asno, aunque a través del *Entremés de los romances*, así avalado y confirmado, a lo que creo, como modelo fundamental de la novelita corta que empezó siendo el *Quijote* y, en consecuencia, como clave de la génesis de la inmortal obra cervantina" (56-57). ("The ballad confirms the hypothesis definitively, because it shows that for all connoisseurs of new ballad poetry Lope de Vega was mad for his numerous different *morisco* pseudonyms,

The evidence of parallelisms between *Don Quixote* and the *Entremés de los romances*, a work written before Cervantes' novel and possibly by a close friend, is undeniably strong. Despite the protests of some scholars reluctant to concede that Cervantes might have borrowed so much from another work to write his incomparable masterpiece,¹²⁶ the hypothesis that Antonio Rey Hazas advances, ably supported by his research into the historical circumstances of the texts, is compelling and, in his view, conclusive. Its only weakness perhaps is that the lunacy of Bartolo is ascribed to his excessive reading of ballad poetry and not books of chivalry, the source of Don Quixote's madness. If *Don Quixote* is a continuation of the literary parody of Lope de Vega in the *Entremés*, it is curious that Cervantes would shift the focus from ballad poetry to books of chivalry as the catalyst for Don Quixote's eccentric imitations of fictional heroes. Nevertheless, it must be said that in almost all respects, Rey Hazas presents a persuasive case for understanding the origin of *Don Quixote* as a satire of Cervantes' literary rival, Félix Lope de Vega.

Where does this leave reader associations of St Ignatius of Loyola and Don Quixote, which for centuries have supported the idea that the novel is a parody of the founder of the Society of Jesus? Was Cervantes thinking of Lope or of Loyola in his Andalusian prison cell when the idea for *Don Quixote* first came to him? The case for Lope is strong; however, the case for Loyola, whose own story finds remarkable parallelisms in the same chapters apparently inspired by the *Entremés de los romances*, is similarly compelling. Is it possible that Cervantes read the *Autobiografía* of Ignatius of Loyola, or Pedro de Ribadeneyra's *Vida de Ignacio de Loyola*? Throughout a lifetime of experiences with Jesuits and the Society of Jesus, did the man who, in Part I of *Don Quixote*, described

mad for morisco ballads, mad with jealousy, mad, in the end, because he came to identify himself with his idealized and chivalrous morisco heroes. Cervantes, therefore, aware of the burlesque identification already made in the cited interlude and being a connoisseur of ballad poetry who was familiar with the scene, decided, once his war with Lope had begun in 1602, to follow the lead of Góngora and his degradation of the colt into an ass, although through the *Entremés de los romances*, in what I believe to be the confirmed and well supported fundamental model of the short story which initiated the *Quixote* and, consequently, is the key to the genesis of the immortal Cervantine work").

¹²⁶ See note 114.

himself as “aficionado a leer, aunque sean los papeles rotos de las calles” (I, 9, 101-102)¹²⁷ ever become familiar with these texts? And if he did read them, did they have any role in inspiring his classic novel? For this we must proceed to our analysis of the narrative, substantive and thematic parallelisms in *Don Quixote*, the *Autobiografía* and *Vida*.

¹²⁷ “very fond of reading, even torn papers in the streets” (I, 9, 67).

Part III. Narrative, Substantive and Thematic Parallelisms in *Don Quixote*, the *Autobiografía* and *Vida*

Let the reader regard it as the skirmish before the battle. It will be my drift to show how to wound rather than to inflict deep gashes. If in any instance mirth be excited, this will be quite as much as the subject deserves. There are many things which deserve refutation in such a way as to have no gravity expended on them. Vain and silly topics are met with especial fitness by laughter. Even the truth may indulge in ridicule, because it is jubilant; it may play with its enemies, because it is fearless. Only we must take care that its laughter be not unseemly, and so itself be laughed at; but wherever its mirth is decent, there it is a duty to indulge it.

Tertullian, *Against the Valentinians*

1. Narrative Parallelisms in *Don Quixote*, the *Autobiografía* and *Vida*

Readers throughout the centuries have associated Don Quixote de La Mancha and St Ignatius of Loyola. Their associations have been based on a series of notable parallelisms found in Cervantes's novel, Ignatius's memoir and Pedro de Ribadeneyra's biography, *Vida de Ignacio de Loyola*. In the third part of this study, we will examine these parallelisms in order to determine whether they constitute evidence of an intentional parody of Loyola, as has been asserted by numerous readers of the texts.

In 1777, the Reverend John Bowle, in his own commentary on the similarities he discovered between Don Quixote and St Ignatius, remarked that “[i]n forming parallels, matters may possibly be carried too far” (138). Bowle's note of caution serves as sound advice to all who would examine that which is indeed common to both figures. To avoid any such overstatement, we will focus on only the most relevant textual parallelisms that have been identified by readers throughout the ages. These fall broadly into three categories: 1) narrative, which we will examine now; 2) substantive, or character; and 3) thematic, which we will examine later.

The narrative parallelisms that join the stories of Don Quixote and St Ignatius correspond most closely with the basic commonplaces of Alonso Quijano's transformation into the *ingenioso hidalgo* of La Mancha and his early adventures in Part I of the novel. In the majority of cases these are not sequential facsimiles of events in Ignatius' life story as recounted in the *Autobiografía* and *Vida*, but rather evocations of fundamental episodes in his transition from worldly man of arms to humble pilgrim and aspiring saint. Many of the episodes are informed by typical commonplaces of chivalric romances, a genre which Ignatius greatly enjoyed, and therefore may be regarded as coincidental to Cervantes' parody of books of chivalry. However, when juxtaposed with key events in the adventures of Don Quixote, the humour and ironic nature of the parallelisms becomes increasingly clear. While it is evident that *Don Quixote*, with the great variety of literary topics it surveys, is much more than a parody of any single person, theme, or thing, it is in the

emergence of the protagonist's delirious chivalrous persona that we find the most elemental similarities between Don Quixote and Ignatius of Loyola, and the greatest support for the interpretation of the novel as an intentional parody of the founder of the Society of Jesus.

1.1 Emergence, Chivalry Books and Mimesis

Readers have observed parallelisms between Don Quixote and Ignatius from the very beginning of their histories,¹²⁸ particularly in the elliptical manner in which both are introduced. In the opening scene of the *Autobiografía*, Ignatius appears suddenly as a soldier in the midst of a battle, with only an oblique reference to his formative years:

Hasta los veintiséis años de su edad¹²⁹ fue hombre dado a las vanidades del mundo, y principalmente se deleitaba en ejercicio de armas, con un grande y vano deseo de ganar honra. Y así, estando en una fortaleza que los franceses combatían... (I, 1, 58)¹³⁰

Similarly, the famous first sentence of *Don Quixote* indicates a certain reluctance on the part of the narrator to supply details of the protagonist's past:

En un lugar de la Mancha, de cuyo nombre no quiero acordarme... (I, 1, 31)¹³¹

¹²⁸ It is worthy of note that Cervantes presents *Don Quixote* as a "true history" based on documents he has discovered in the archives of La Mancha, a parodic play on the chivalric romance convention of presenting fictional stories as historical chronicles of knights and their heroic exploits. For more on this, see Bruce W. Wardropper. "'Don Quixote': Story or History?" *Modern Philology* 63.1 (1965): 1-11.

¹²⁹ The reference to Ignatius' age at the beginning of the *Autobiografía* appears erroneous when compared to what scholars have determined his age was at the time of his participation in the defense of Pamplona in May, 1521. Ignatius was born in 1491, which would have made him thirty years old at the time. Luis Fernández Martín ascribes this error to a *lapsus verbi* on the part of Ignatius who, in referring to his age, was likely recalling the moment when he left the home of his patron Juan Velázquez de Cuéllar in Arévalo at age 26 to pursue a military career with the Duke of Nájera (176). The intervening years of military service in Navarra, and his early life as a youth in Castile, have furthermore been elided with the removal of the first chapter of the *Autobiografía*, as discussed above in Part II.

¹³⁰ "Up to his twenty-sixth year he was a man given to worldly vanities, and having a vain and overpowering desire to gain renown, he found special delight in the exercise of arms. Thus he was in a fortress under attack by the French..." (I, 1, 7).

¹³¹ "Somewhere in La Mancha, in a place whose name I do not care to remember..." (I, 1, 19) Riquer notes that the line *En un lugar de la Mancha* first appeared in a ballad that opened an anonymous *Ensaladilla* published in Luis Medina's *Flores del Parnaso* in 1596 and was later published in the *Romancero general* in 1600, indicating that Cervantes may have drawn this verse from either of these sources. The words *de cuyo nombre no quiero acordarme* mean, according to Riquer, simply "whose name I do not remember" (note 1, page 32). Américo Castro on the other hand has said that these words mean "*no conviene en este caso acordarse*", or "it is better in this case not to remember" (qtd. in Ortés 68). Translation mine.

As Federico Ortés points out, we know nothing of Don Quixote's background (68).¹³² He is introduced as an older country gentleman, approximately fifty years of age,¹³³ of rather modest means and background, whose name the narrator is not entirely sure of.¹³⁴ Most striking about the initial description, however, is his great passion for books of chivalry. Indeed, the *hidalgo* was known for spending "his times of leisure—which meant most of the year—reading books of chivalry with so much devotion and enthusiasm that he forgot almost completely about the hunt and the administration of his estate" (I, 1, 20).¹³⁵ It was an obsession with such a hold on him that "he spent his nights reading from dusk till dawn and his days reading from sunrise to sunset, and so with too little sleep and too much reading his brains dried up, causing him to lose his mind" (I, 1, 21).¹³⁶ Ignatius' own enthusiasm for books of chivalry is revealed early on in the *Autobiografía*. Following his recovery from a series of agonizing surgeries to repair his shattered leg and remove the remaining bone that protruded from his limb, the crippled soldier seeks a familiar way to entertain himself. "Y porque era muy dado a leer libros falsos y mundanos, que suelen llamar de caballerías, sintiéndose bueno, pidió que le diesen algunos dellos para pasar el tiempo" (I, 5, 60).¹³⁷ Such books, however, were unavailable in the Loyola family home. Instead, he had to content himself with a *Vita Christi* and a book on the lives of the saints. Despite what might have been his disappointment at not being provided with his preferred

¹³² Ortés also cites Unamuno who, in his *La vida de don Quijote y Sancho*, observed: "Nada sabemos del nacimiento de don Quijote, nada de su infancia y juventud, ni de cómo se fraguara el ánimo del Caballero de la Fe, del que nos hace con su locura cuerdos. Nada sabemos de sus padres, linaje y abolengo" (qtd. In Ortés 68). ("We know nothing of Don Quixote's birth, nothing of his childhood or youth, or how the spirit of the Knight of Faith was forged which, with its madness, makes us sane. We know nothing of his parents, lineage or ancestry").

¹³³ Don Quixote is therefore about the same age in 1605 as Ignatius' *Autobiografía*, which Gonçalves da Câmara completed fifty years before in 1555 (Ortés 72).

¹³⁴ Following his conceit of *Don Quixote* being a true story whose sources he has discovered in the annals of La Mancha, Cervantes reports vaguely that some historians said the *hidalgo*'s name was Quexada or Quesada, or, as he guesses, Quijana. It is not until the final chapter of Part II of the novel that the character reveals his name to be Alonso Quijano (II, 74). See Riquer's commentary I, 1, 31-32.

¹³⁵ "los ratos que estaba ocioso -que eran los más del año-, se daba a leer libros de caballerías con tanta afición y gusto, que olvidó casi de todo punto el ejercicio de la caza, y aun la administración de su hacienda" (I, 1, 34).

¹³⁶ "se enfrascó tanto en su lectura, que se le pasaban las noches leyendo de claro en claro, y los días de turbio en turbio; y así, del poco dormir y del mucho leer se le secó el cerebro, de manera que vino a perder el juicio" (I, 1, 35).

¹³⁷ "Since he was an avid reader of books of worldly fiction, commonly called chivalrous romances, and since he was feeling quite well, he asked for some such books to pass the time" (I, 5, 12). Tylenda here uses the term "chivalrous romances" for "libros de caballerías". A more correct English translation of this genre would be "chivalric romances", which, in addition to "books of chivalry", is the expression I have used throughout this thesis.

reading material, Ignatius began to peruse these devotional works and “grew somewhat fond of what he found therein” (I, 6, 12-13).¹³⁸ He alternated between pondering the inspirational stories he devoured and, at other times, the worldly thoughts that occupied his mind. Before long his reflection would lead him to consider an ambitious plan, one we will return to in a moment.

The lure and memory of chivalric romances, and the customs and habits of their heroes, however, would remain with Ignatius even after his recovery and departure from the family home. Don Quixote’s fantasy had been “filled with everything he had read in his books, enchantments as well as combats, battles, challenges, wounds, courtings, loves, torments, and other impossible foolishness”¹³⁹ (I, 1, 21); similarly, Ignatius, as he travelled on the road to Montserrat, continued

pensando, como siempre solía, en las hazañas que había de hacer por amor de Dios. Y como tenía todo el entendimiento lleno de aquellas cosas, *Amadís de Gaula* y de semejantes libros, veníanle algunas cosas al pensamiento semejantes a aquéllas; y así se determinó de velar sus armas toda una noche, sin sentarse ni acostarse, mas a ratos en pie y a ratos de rodillas, delante el altar de Nuestra Señora de Monserrate, adonde tenía desteterminado [sic] dejar sus vestidos y vestirse las armas de Cristo (II, 17, 70).¹⁴⁰

We will come to Ignatius’ vigil of arms at the shrine of the Virgin of Montserrat in a moment. His explicit reference to *Amadís de Gaula*, however, the most famous and widely read chivalric romance, puts him in good company with Don Quixote.¹⁴¹ Amadís in many ways is Don Quixote’s greatest hero, the knight after whom he fashions himself and

¹³⁸ “algún tanto se aficionaba a lo que allí había escrito” (I, 6, 61).

¹³⁹ “Llenósele la fantasía de todo aquello que leía en los libros, así de encantamientos como de pendencias, batallas, desafíos, heridas, requiebros, amores, tormentas y disparates imposibles” (I, 1, 35).

¹⁴⁰ “thinking, as he usually did, of the achievements he was going to perform for the love of God. As his thoughts were fully occupied with exploits, such as he read in *Amadís de Gaula* and other like books, similar thoughts also came to mind. He therefore determined to keep a night’s vigil over his arms; he would neither sit nor lie down, but would stand and kneel before the altar of Our Lady of Montserrat, where he had decided to set aside the garments he was wearing and clothe himself in the livery of Christ” (II, 17, 25-26).

¹⁴¹ The *Cuatro libros del esforzado y virtuoso caballero Amadís, hijo del rey Perión de Gaula y de la reina Elisena*, the full title of Garcí Rodríguez de Montalvo’s immensely popular work published in 1508, was a literary phenomenon with over twenty editions printed in the sixteenth century and a number of distinguished readers, including Carlos V of Spain, Francis I of France and St Teresa of Ávila, in addition to Ignatius. For an analysis of the influence of *Amadís de Gaula* on Loyola, see Rogelio García Mateo’s article cited above, “Ignacio de Loyola y el mundo caballeresco”. For a scholarly edition of the four books of *Amadís de Gaula*, see Garcí Rodríguez de Montalvo. *Amadís de Gaula*. Ed. Juan Bautista Avallé-Arce. Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1991.

aspires to become like. Amadís was not content, for instance, with being called Amadís plainly; he added his kingdom and realm—Gaul—to his name in order to give it greater distinction. For this reason Don Quixote adds his own somewhat less illustrious domain, La Mancha, to his (I, 1). Amadís is the authority Don Quixote turns to most often in matters of knight errantry, and is the hero after whom he models his behaviour on numerous adventures, including the comically insane acts of penance he performs for his lady Dulcinea in the Sierra Morena mountains (I, 23-29). What is more, the book *Amadís de Gaula* is one of the few books of chivalry that are saved from the bonfire in the scrutiny of Don Quixote's library. It is, in the barber's estimation, and by implication, Cervantes', "the best of all the books of this kind ever written, and as a unique example of the art, it should be pardoned" (I, 6, 46).¹⁴² In Don Quixote's own derailed view, Amadís is the greatest of all knights who ever lived, notwithstanding the canon of Toledo's attempt to dissuade him from the witless belief that Amadís and his descendents were somehow real life heroes (I, 49).

In spite of the enduring influence of fictional heroes like Amadís of Gaul on his imagination, Ignatius' reading of the lives of the saints would provide him with new models to imitate in the course of his religious conversion. The memories of his former life as a vain and brazen soldier, a courtier who dreamt of serving a certain lady of great distinction, continued to pass before his mind. However, these musings were now interspersed with holier thoughts, ones which would bring about a radical change within him and an overwhelming desire to attempt a new way of life:

Todavía nuestro Señor le socorría, haciendo que sucediesen a estos pensamientos otros, que nacían de las cosas que leía. Porque, leyendo la vida de nuestro Señor y de los santos, se paraba a pensar, razonando consigo: -¿Qué sería, si yo hiciese esto que hizo San Francisco, y esto que hizo Santo Domingo?- Y así discurría por muchas cosas que hallaba buenas, proponiéndose siempre a sí mismo cosas dificultosas y graves, las cuales cuando proponía, le parecía hallar en sí facilidad de ponerlas en obra. Mas todo su discurso era decir consigo: -Santo Domingo hizo esto; pues yo lo tengo de hacer. San Francisco hizo esto; pues yo lo tengo de hacer.- Duraban también estos pensamientos buen vado, y después de interpuestas otras cosas, sucedían los del mundo arriba dichos, y en ellos también se paraba grande espacio; y esta sucesión de pensamientos tan diversos le duró harto tiempo, deteniéndose siempre en el pensamiento que tornaba: o

¹⁴² "el mejor de todos los libros que de este género se han compuesto; y así, como a único en su arte, se debe perdonar" (I, 6, 71).

fuese de aquellas hazañas mundanas que deseaba hacer, o destas otras de Dios que se le ofrecían a la fantasía, hasta tanto que de cansado lo dejaba, y atendía a otras cosas. (I, 7, 62).¹⁴³

Ignatius' mantra, "Saint Dominic did this, so I have to do it too. Saint Francis did this, so I have to do it too", is a powerful and unambiguous commitment to a mimetic enterprise that practically leaps from the page with quixotic ambition. As his thoughts of replicating the holy feats of Saints Francis and Dominic gradually displace the profane deeds that once filled his imagination, the recuperating Ignatius experiences mounting joy and consolation:

Había todavía esta diferencia: que cuando pensaba en aquello del mundo, se deleitaba mucho; mas cuando después de cansado lo dejaba, hallábase seco y descontento; y cuando en ir a Jerusalén descalzo y en no comer sino hierbas, y en hacer todos los demás rigores que veía haber hecho los santos, no solamente se consolaba cuando estaba en los tales pensamientos, mas, aun después de dejado, quedaba contento y alegre. Mas no miraba en ello, ni se paraba a ponderar esta diferencia, hasta en tanto que una vez se le abrieron un poco los ojos, y empezó a maravillarse desta diversidad, y a hacer reflexión sobre ella, cogiendo por experiencia que de unos pensamientos quedaba triste y de otros alegre, y poco a poco viniendo a conocer la diversidad de los espíritus que se agitaban, el uno del demonio y el otro de Dios (I, 8, 62-63).¹⁴⁴

Ignatius' discernment in these meditations, an ability he would later develop into his *Spiritual Exercises*, leads him to reflect on his past life. He is now ready for a change and resolved to do whatever is necessary to put into practice his newfound spiritual ideal:

¹⁴³ "Our Lord, nevertheless, came to his aid, bringing it about that these thoughts were followed by others arising from his reading. While reading the life of our Lord and those of the saints he used to pause and meditate, reasoning with himself: "What if I were to do as Saint Francis did, or to do what Saint Dominic did?" Thus in his thoughts he dwelt on many good deeds, always suggesting to himself great and difficult ones, but as soon as he considered doing them, they all appeared easy of performance. Throughout these thoughts he used to say to himself: "Saint Dominic did this, so I have to do it too. Saint Francis did this, so I have to do it too." These thoughts lasted a long time, but after other thoughts had taken their place, the above-mentioned worldly ones returned to him and he dwelt on them for quite some length. This succession of such diverse thoughts — of worldly exploits that he desired to accomplish, or those of God that came to his imagination — stayed with him for a long time as he turned them over in his mind, and when he grew weary of them he set them aside to think of other matters" (I, 7, 13-14).

¹⁴⁴ "There was this difference, however. When he thought of worldly matters he found much delight, but after growing weary and dismissing them he found that he was dry and unhappy. But when he thought of going barefoot to Jerusalem and of eating nothing but vegetables and of imitating the saints in all the austerities they performed, he not only found consolation in these thoughts but even after they had left him he remained happy and joyful. He did not consider nor did he stop to examine this difference until one day his eyes were partially opened and he began to wonder at this difference and to reflect upon it. From experience he knew that some thoughts left him sad while others made him happy and little by little he came to perceive the different spirits that were moving him; one coming from the devil, the other coming from God" (I, 8, 14-15).

Y cobrada no poca lumbre de aquesta lección, comenzó a pensar más de veras en su vida pasada, y en cuánta necesidad tenía de hacer penitencia della. Y aquí se le ofrecían los deseos de imitar los santos, no mirando más circunstancias que prometerse así con la gracia de Dios de hacerlo como ellos lo habían hecho. Mas todo lo que deseaba de hacer, luego como sanase, era la ida de Jerusalén, como arriba es dicho, con tantas disciplinas y tantas abstinencias, cuantas de un ánimo generoso, encendido de Dios, suele desear hacer” (I, 9, 63).¹⁴⁵

Alonso Quijano in similar fashion comes to much the same conclusion upon considering the fictional heroes of knight errantry. Whereas Ignatius chooses the subjects of his recent reading, Saints Francis and Dominic, as his models to imitate, the transformation of the Manchegan hidalgo into Don Quixote is based on his admiration for the knights of literary fantasy: Amadís de Gaula, Bernardo del Carpio and Reinaldos de Montalbán. His decision to imitate them, coming in a fit of madness, is as ridiculous as it is pretentious and, as a result, is particularly funny:

En efecto, rematado ya su juicio, vino a dar en el más extraño pensamiento que jamás dio loco en el mundo, y fue que le pareció conveniente y necesario, así para el aumento de su honra como para el servicio de su república, hacerse caballero andante, y irse por todo el mundo con sus armas y caballo a buscar las aventuras y ejercitarse en todo aquello que él había leído que los caballeros andantes se ejercitaban, deshaciendo todo género de agravio, y poniéndose en ocasiones y peligros donde, acabándolos, cobrase eterno nombre y fama (I, 1, 36).¹⁴⁶

It is not difficult to see how readers over the centuries have drawn the comparison between Don Quixote and his decision to pursue a career as a knight, amusing as it is in its imbecility, and Ignatius’ own decision to pursue the life of a saint. It is an ambitious desire for Ignatius, perhaps fitting in its grandeur as a replacement for his dreams of glory won on the battlefield, now no longer viable given his injuries. Pierre Quesnel, writing in 1736, imagined Ignatius comparing the relative merits of knight errantry and spiritual chivalry,

¹⁴⁵ “He gained not a little light from this lesson and he began to think more seriously about his past life and how greatly he needed to do penance for it. It was at this time that the desire to imitate the saints came to him, and without giving any consideration to his present circumstances, he promised to do, with the God’s grace, what they had done. His greatest desire, after regaining his health, was to go to Jerusalem, as previously stated, and to observe the fasts and to practice the discipline as any generous soul on fire with God is accustomed to do” (I, 9, 15).

¹⁴⁶ “The truth is that when his mind was completely gone, he had the strangest thought any lunatic in the world ever had, which was that it seemed reasonable and necessary to him, both for the sake of his honor and as a service to the nation, to become a knight errant and travel the world with his armor and his horse to seek adventures and engage in everything he had read that knights errant engaged in, righting all manner of wrongs and, by seizing the opportunity and placing himself in danger and ending those wrongs, winning eternal renown and everlasting fame” (I, 1, 21).

and opting for the more everlasting benefits of the latter.¹⁴⁷ The worthiness of Ignatius' plan, at any rate, is confirmed by an appearance of the Virgin and Infant Jesus, a vision which affords him great spiritual reassurance. He feels regret for his past sins and, as he tells Luis Gonçalves da Câmara in 1553, from that point onward "he never again consented, not even in the least matter, to the motions of the flesh" (I, 10, 16).¹⁴⁸ The vision and his inner changes, he concludes, have come from God; however, he does not yet dare speak of them with others. Nevertheless, his brother and all those around him begin to notice that he is not quite the same.

As he recovers, Ignatius returns more intensely to his reading and begins to speak with others about the things of God. He enjoys reading the *Vita Christi* and *Flos Sanctorum* so much that he takes great care to write down salient passages in a notebook, copying the words of Christ in red and the Virgin's in blue. After further considering a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, what he might do when he returns, and the life of constant penance he plans to lead, Ignatius finds himself well enough to rise from his bed and begin preparations for his departure. His family, however, by now suspicious of the changes they have observed in him, are alarmed at the prospect of Ignatius pursuing a life of religious self-abnegation. His older brother, Martín García de Loyola, takes it upon himself to try to dissuade the determined pilgrim.

El hermano le llevó a una cámara y después a otra, y con muchas admiraciones le empieza a rogar que no se eche a perder; y que mire cuánta esperanza tiene dél la gente, y cuánto puede valer, y otras palabras semejantes, todas a intento de apartarle del buen deseo que tenía. Mas la respuesta fue de manera que, sin apartarse de la verdad, porque dello tenía ya grande escrúpulo, se descabulló del hermano (I, 12, 66).¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷ "But what have these paladins gained as the reward of all their glorious labours, so boasted of in the annals of chivalry? Empty glory, which they enjoyed but a moment! Glory, which will not perhaps reach to future generations; which, however splendid, and however diffused even to the extremities of the earth, will last only to the end of time. Histories, brass, and marble, at most, will preserve their memory among men; but these illustrious monuments will perish with the world, and this glory will perish with them; but the glory of the saints will eternally endure. What then can I do better, concluded he, than to fight like them under the standards of spiritual chivalry, since it has so many advantages over the temporal?" (Quesnel 10-11).

¹⁴⁸ "nunca más tuvo ni un mínimo consenso en cosas de carne" (I, 10, 64).

¹⁴⁹ "His brother led him from room to room and with much love for him pleaded with him not to throw his life away, but to acknowledge the great hopes people had placed in him, and to see what he could make of himself. These and other similar arguments were all directed to dissuade him from his good desire, but without departing from the truth, for he was now very scrupulous about that, he answered in a way that enabled him to leave his brother" (I, 12, 19).

Ribadeneyra's *Vida* includes a more embellished account of Martín's protests:

Olió el negocio Martín García de Loyola, su hermano mayor, y diole mala espina; y, llamando aparte a Ignacio en un aposento, comenzó con todo el artificio y buen término que supo, a pedirle y rogarle muy ahincadamente que mirase bien lo que hacía, y no se echase a perder a sí y a los suyos; mas que considerase qué bien entablado tenía su negocio, y cuánto camino tenía andado para alcanzar honra y provecho, y que sobre tales principios y tales cimientos podría edificar cualquiera grande obra; que las esperanzas ciertas de su valor e industria a todos prometían todas las cosas. Dice: «En vos, hermano mío, son grandes el ingenio, el juicio, el ánimo, la nobleza y favor y cabida con los príncipes, la buena voluntad que os tiene toda esta comarca, el uso y experiencia de las cosas de la guerra, el aviso y prudencia, vuestra edad, que está agora en la flor de su juventud, y una expectación increíble, fundada en esas cosas que he dicho que todos tienen de vos. Pues, ¿y cómo queréis vos, por un antojo vuestro, engañar nuestras esperanzas tan macizas y verdaderas, y dejarnos burlados a todos, despojar y desposeer nuestra casa de los trofeos de vuestros trabajos se le han de seguir? Yo en una sola cosa os hago ventaja, que es en haber nacido primero que vos, y soy vuestro hermano mayor; pero en todo lo demás yo reconozco que váis adelante. Mirad (yo os ruego, hermano mío, más querido que mi vida) lo que hacéis, y no os arrojéis a cosa que no sólo quite lo que de vos esperamos, sino también amancille nuestro linaje con perpetua infamia y deshonra» (27-28).¹⁵⁰

While the historicity of the Martín's speech, recorded seemingly verbatim by Ribadeneyra, is doubtful, the tenor of the elder brother's plea is clear: Loyola's family thought he was mad for wanting to embark on a life of religious austerity. It was not the sort of life they wanted for a member of their own, least of all one who had previously enjoyed the favour and patronage of Castilian nobility. The determination of Ignatius, however, was such that he would not be persuaded. His saintly aspirations would not be thwarted.

¹⁵⁰ "His older brother, Martín García de Loyola, caught wind of this business, which gave him a bad feeling; and, calling Ignatius to one side in a chamber, he began with all the artifice and rhetorical force he could muster to implore and ardently beseech him to look closely at what he was doing, and not let himself and his family go to waste; that he consider how well in fact he had planned this business, and how far he had gone already to achieve honour and success, and on what principles and foundations he could build any great work; that the certain hope of his hardwork and worth promised everyone great things. He says: «You, my brother, have great wit, judgement, courage, nobility and grace, and favor with princes, the goodwill that everyone in this region has toward you, experience with the things of war, prudence and notice, your age, which is now in the flower of youth, and an incredible anticipation for those things which I've told you everyone sees in you. So, why on a whim of yours do you want to dash our hopes, as solid and true as they are, and let us all be fooled, to dispossess and deprive our home of the trophies your works will surely bring? In one thing only I have an advantage over you, and that is having been born before you, that I am your older brother; but in everything else I recognize that you surpass me. Look (I beseech you, my brother, dearer than my life) at what you're doing, and don't throw away something that not only robs us of the hopes we have for you, but also stains our lineage with perpetual infamy and dishonour»").

The parallelism between the Loyola family confrontation and the consternation of Don Quixote's household at the prospect of his second sally in chapter 7 has been drawn by both Miguel de Unamuno (40) and Marco Corradini (14). Don Quixote's housekeeper has by this time incinerated most of his books of chivalry following the scrutiny of his library, which has been walled up to prevent him from returning to his ruinous habit. His niece has joined in on the effort, telling her uncle that an enchanter has made his library disappear, a story which Don Quixote readily buys. She tries to reason with him further, arguing against his plan to seek out the culprit and engage in more chivalrous adventures, but she meets with little success:

Pero ¿quién le mete a vuestra merced, señor tío, en esas pependencias? ¿No será mejor estarse pacífico en su casa y no irse por el mundo a buscar pan de trastrigo, sin considerar que muchos van por lana y vuelven tresquilados?
 -¡Oh sobrina mía -respondió don Quijote-, y cuán mal que estás en la cuenta! Primero que a mí me tresquilen tendré peladas y quitadas las barbas a cuantos imaginaren tocarme en la punta de un solo cabello (I, 7, 85)¹⁵¹

Neither the arguments of Loyola's older brother nor Don Quixote's niece would persuade either of the two committed idealists to abandon their plans to follow in the footsteps of their heroes. The manner in which Ignatius went about assuming the role of pilgrim and aspiring saint, paralleled by Don Quixote's own efforts to emulate the knights of chivalric romances, is the subject of the next section.

1.2 Transformation and First Adventures

At the beginning of the second chapter of *Don Quixote*, after Alonso Quijano has assumed his new identity, given his ancient nag a fitting name, Rocinante, (every great hero must have a suitable name for his horse—Alexander had Bucephalus, El Cid had Babieca),¹⁵² and found a rustic peasant girl, Aldonza Lorenzo from El Toboso, to be his

¹⁵¹ ““But, Señor Uncle, who has involved your grace in those disputes? Wouldn't it be better to stay peacefully in your house and not wander around the world searching for bread made from something better than wheat, never stopping to think that many people go looking for wool and come back shorn?”

‘Oh, my dear niece,’ replied Don Quixote, ‘how little you understand! Before I am shorn I shall have plucked and removed the beard of any man who imagines he can touch even a single hair of mine’” (I, 7, 55).

¹⁵² *Rocín* in Spanish means “nag”; *ante* means “before” in the sense of both time and space (Grossman, note 10, page 22). The name Bucephalus referred to the enormous size of Alexander's horse's head. Babieca may have been so named for being a gift horse presented to El Cid by a barbarian.

lady Dulcinea, he is now ready to sally forth on his first adventure. Hardly able to contain his excitement, he sets out early one morning without telling anyone his plan, although he soon realizes his investiture as a knight is not yet complete:

Hechas, pues, estas preparaciones, no quiso aguardar más tiempo a poner en efeto su pensamiento, apretándose a ello a falta que él pensaba que hacía en el mundo su tardanza, según eran los agravios que pensaba deshacer, tuertos que enderezar, sinrazones que emendar, y abusos que mejorar, y deudas que satisfacer. Y así, sin dar parte a persona alguna de su intención, y sin que nadie le viese, una mañana, antes del día, que era uno de los calurosos del mes de julio, se armó de todas sus armas, subió sobre Rocinante, puesta su mal compuesta celada, embrazó su adarga, tomó su lanza, y por la puerta falsa de un corral salió al campo, con grandísimo contento y alborozo de ver con cuánta facilidad había dado principio a su buen deseo. Mas apenas se vio en el campo, cuando le asaltó un pensamiento terrible, y tal, que por poco le hiciera dejar la comenzada empresa; y fue que le vino a la memoria que no era armado caballero, y que, conforme a ley de caballería, ni podía ni debía tomar armas con ningún caballero; y puesto que lo fuera, había de llevar armas blancas, como novel caballero, sin empresa en el escudo, hasta que por su esfuerzo la ganase. Estos pensamientos le hicieron titubear en su propósito; mas, pudiendo más su locura que otra razón alguna, propuso de hacerse armar caballero del primero que topase, a imitación de otros muchos que así lo hicieron, según él había leído en los libros que tal le tenían. [...] y con esto se quietó y prosiguió su camino, sin llevar otro que aquel que su caballo quería, creyendo que en aquello consistía la fuerza de las aventuras (I, 2, 40-42).¹⁵³

Don Quixote's determination to become a knight according to the law of chivalry will bring him to his first comic misadventure at the inn, a setting he imagines to be a castle. There, in the inn's courtyard, the aspiring hero holds a night-long vigil over his arms in preparation for a dubbing ceremony to be conducted by the innkeeper, a crude man who Don Quixote takes to be the governor of the castle.¹⁵⁴ The vigil, however, is interrupted by

¹⁵³ "And so, having completed these preparations, he did not wish to wait any longer to put his thoughts into effect, impelled by the great need in the world that he believed was caused by his delay, for there were evils to undo, wrongs to right, injustices to correct, abuses to ameliorate, and offenses to rectify. And one morning before dawn on a hot day in July, without informing a single person of his intentions, and without anyone seeing him, he armed himself with all his armour and mounted Rocinante, wearing his poorly constructed helmet, and he grasped his shield and took up his lance and through the side door of a corral he rode out into the countryside with great joy and delight at seeing how easily he had given a beginning to his virtuous desire. But as soon as he found himself in the countryside he was assailed by a thought so terrible it almost made him abandon the enterprise he had barely begun; he recalled that he had not been dubbed a knight, and according to the law of chivalry, he could not and must not take up arms against any knight; since this was the case, he would have to bear blank arms, like a novice knight without a device on his shield, until he had earned one through his own efforts. These thoughts made him waver in his purpose; but, his madness being stronger than any other faculty, he resolved to have himself dubbed a knight by the first person he met, in imitation of many others who had done the same, as he had read in the books that had brought him to this state. [...] he immediately grew serene and continued on his way, following only the path his horse wished to take, believing that the virtue of his adventures lay in doing this" (I, 22, 24-25).

¹⁵⁴ A knight's vigil over his arms was a commonplace of chivalric romance literature and normally conducted with great religious fervour and gravity. See Riquer's commentary I, 3, 48.

a mule driver who attempts to remove Don Quixote's armour from the trough which had been serving as his altar in order to water his animals. This throws Don Quixote into a violent rage. Commending himself to Dulcinea, he attacks the mule driver, who is joined by several companions in returning the assault on Don Quixote. The ensuing mêlée aggravates the innkeeper so much that he decides to cut Don Quixote's vigil short and make him a knight right then and there. The burlesque ceremony is carried out with the assistance of two ladies of easy virtue, women whom Don Quixote imagines to be chaste damsels, who gird him with his sword and fasten his spurs. The whole spectacle ends quickly so that the mad knight may be encouraged to leave the inn and pursue his adventures elsewhere.

Ignatius' vigil of arms at the shrine of Our Lady of Montserrat was, as we have seen, inspired by the same books of chivalry that motivated Don Quixote's farcical vigil at the inn. Having taken leave of his family, collected the pay owed to him for his services to the Duke of Nájera, and used it to settle his debts, with just enough left over to purchase a sackcloth garment and pilgrim's staff, Ignatius sets out on a mule from his Basque homeland and travels several hundred kilometres across the mountainous northern region of Spain to visit a Marian shrine located near Barcelona. Along the way he has a tense encounter with a Moor who fails to understand Our Lady's perpetual virginity, an episode reminiscent of one of Don Quixote's adventures that we shall return to in a moment. At any rate, when he arrives in Montserrat, his "thoughts fully occupied with exploits, such as he read in *Amadís de Gaula* and other like books" (II, 17, 26), he offers a prayer at the shrine and seeks out a confessor to make his confession in writing, a process which lasts three days. Afterwards, he arranges "with his confessor to leave his mule behind and to hang his sword and dagger at our Lady's altar in the church. The confessor was the first person to whom he revealed his plans, for up to now he had never told them to any confessor" (II, 17, 26).¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁵ "y concertó con el confesor que mandase recoger la mula, y que la espada y el puñal colgase en la iglesia en el altar de Nuestra Señora. Y éste fue el primer hombre a quien descubrió su determinación, porque hasta entonces a ningún confesor lo había descubierto" (II, 17, 71).

Ignatius' transformation into a humble pilgrim now almost complete, he seeks to rid himself of the last vestiges of his worldly life. "On the eve of our Lady's feast in March, in the year 1522, he went at night, as secretly as he could, to a poor man and, removing all his clothing, he gave it to the poor man and dressed himself in the garment he so desired to wear, and went to kneel before our Lady's altar. He spent the entire night there, sometimes on his knees, sometimes standing erect, with his pilgrim's staff in hand" (II, 18, 26-27). Ignatius' vigil transpires in greater tranquility than Don Quixote's; however, both aspirants conclude their devotions and leave their places of contemplation at a similar time. The innkeeper, "in order to get him out of the inn, [...] and without asking him to pay for the cost of his lodging," since he had no money anyways, allows Don Quixote "to leave at an early hour" (I, 3, 35).¹⁵⁶ Indeed, "It must have been dawn when Don Quixote left the inn so contented, so high-spirited, so jubilant at having been dubbed a knight that his joy almost burst the cinches of his horse" (I, 14, 35).¹⁵⁷ Ignatius, for his part, leaves Montserrat at dawn to continue his journey: "At break of day he departed so as not to be recognized, and he took not the main road that led directly to Barcelona, on which he could meet many who knew and respected him, but a detour to a town called Manresa, where he decided he would remain for several days in a hospital and jot down a few items in the book which he guardedly carried with him and which afforded him much consolation" (II, 18, 27).¹⁵⁸

Don Quixote's request that the innkeeper make him a knight, their conference regarding matters of chivalry, discussion of his intentions to pursue a life of knight errantry, and his vigil of arms have been regarded by readers as analogous to Ignatius' consultation with his confessor, disclosure of his plans to become a saint, and vigil of arms before the altar of Our Lady of Montserrat.¹⁵⁹ Until this time, neither has completely shared their

¹⁵⁶ "ir a la buen hora" (I, 3, 55).

¹⁵⁷ "La del alba sería cuando don Quijote salió de la venta tan contento, tan gallardo, tan alborozado por verse ya armado caballero, que el gozo le reventaba por las cinchas del caballo" (I, 4, 55-56). This line opens chapter 4 of the novel; the one quoted immediately above ends chapter 3.

¹⁵⁸ "Y en amaneciendo se partió por no ser conocido, y se fue, no el camino derecho de Barcelona, donde hallaría muchos que le conociesen, mas desviándose a un pueblo, que se dice Manresa, donde determinaba estar en un hospital algunos días, y también notar algunas cosas en su libro, que llevaba él muy guardado, y con que iba muy consolado" (II, 18, 71-73).

¹⁵⁹ See the *Bibliothèque universelle et historique* article p.110, Bowle pp.136-137; Corradini pp.17-19; and Ortés p.128. Unamuno, commenting on the episode, asks: "Y aquella vela de armas, ¿no os recuerda la del caballero andante de Cristo, la de Íñigo de Loyola? También Íñigo, la víspera de la Navidad de 1522, veló sus

intentions with anyone. Both, however, are now accommodated by their chosen interlocutors, albeit in different ways. Cervantes' depiction of his character's transformation into a pseudo-knight is naturally laden with irony; regardless of where he thinks he is, Don Quixote holds his vigil and is dubbed a knight in a corral next to a prosaic country inn (the innkeeper, humouring his guest, has told him that he may hold his vigil here in lieu of the castle's chapel which, he says, is under construction). The ceremony itself is a caricature of the investitures of knights presented in books of chivalry, and includes the participation of two prostitutes who arm Don Quixote with his sword and spurs, a detail which for Unamuno recalls Loyola's ministry to the prostitutes of Rome, as recounted by Ribadeneira in the *Vida*.¹⁶⁰ In short, the episode humorously depicts a rite similar to what Ignatius recounts having performed in the *Autobiografía*. Yet Ignatius, whose vigil before the Black Madonna indeed takes place in a sanctuary, does not report any similar ironic treatment from his hosts. Even so, he is no less earnest in his desire to realize his chivalrous and spiritual ideals. His idealism, we soon discover, leads to an unfortunate unintended consequence, a common effect of Don Quixote's attempts to live according to the code of chivalry.

armas ante el altar de Nuestra Señora de Monserrate" (32). ("And that vigil of arms, ¿does it not remind you of the vigil of the knight errant of Christ, that of Íñigo de Loyola? Íñigo also, just before Christmas 1522, stood vigil over his arms before the altar of Our Lady of Montserrat").

¹⁶⁰ Unamuno, in commenting Ignatius' refusal to allow women to become members of the Society of Jesus, recalls the regard with which he held women: "Íñigo de Loyola no quiso que su Compañía tuviese nunca cargo de mujeres bajo de su obediencia (Rivadeneira, lib. III, cap. XIV), y cuando doña Isabel de Rossell pretendió formar comunidad de mujeres bajo la obediencia de la Compañía, logró Loyola que el papa Pablo III, en letras apostólicas de 20 de mayo de 1547, la eximiera de tal carga, pues 'a esta mínima Compañía —decíale Íñigo— no conviene tener cargo especial de dueñas con voto de obediencia'. Y no es que despreciara a la mujer, pues la honró en lo que es tenido por más bajo y más vil de ella, porque si Don Quijote se hizo armar caballero ciñéndole espada y calzándole espuela dos mozas del partido, Íñigo de Loyola acompañaba él mismo en persona, por medio de la ciudad de Roma, a las 'mujercillas públicas perdidas' para ir a colocarlas 'en el monasterio de Santa María o en casa de alguna señora honesta y honrada, donde fuesen instruídas en toda virtud'. (Rivadeneira, libro III. Cap. IX.)" (57). ("Íñigo de Loyola refused to allow his Society to admit women under its obedience (Rivadeneira, lib. III, cap. XIV), and when doña Isabel de Rossell intended to form a community of women under the obedience of the Society, Loyola succeeded in having Pope Paul III, in an apostolic letter dated May 20, 1547, remove her from such a responsibility, since 'it was better for this small Society —said Íñigo— not to have special responsibility for ladies under a vow of obedience'. And it isn't because he looked down on women, since he honoured them in what is understood to be their lowest and most vile form, because if Don Quixote had himself armed a knight with two girls on the game who girded his sword and fastened his spurs, Íñigo de Loyola himself accompanied in person, through the city of Rome the 'lost little public women' to place them 'in the monastery of Santa María or in the home of some honest and honourable woman, where they might be instructed in all virtue'. (Rivadeneira, libro III. Cap. IX.)").

Upon his early morning departure from Montserrat following the vigil, Ignatius is overtaken by a man who questions him about the beggar who had received his clothes:

Y yendo ya una legua de Monserrate, le alcanzó un hombre, que venía con mucha priesa en pos dél, y le preguntó si había el dado unos vestidos a un pobre, como el pobre decía; y respondiendo que sí, le saltaron las lágrimas de los ojos, de compasión del pobre a quien había dado los vestidos; de compasión, porque entendió que lo vejaban, pensando que los había hurtado (II, 18, 73).¹⁶¹

Thinking, perhaps, that he was doing the man a favour, Ignatius secretly paid the beggar a visit to give him his fine clothing, garments more appropriately suited to a nobleman. This act of charity, however, lands the man in jail on suspicion of theft. Ribadeneyra's account of the incident heightens the emotional reversal Ignatius experiences upon hearing the news. Like Don Quixote who leaves the inn delighted with himself for being dubbed a knight, Ignatius is extremely pleased to be walking along in his new habit as a pilgrim; yet he soon finds himself in tears after discovering that he is responsible for the beggar's incarceration:

Apenas había andado una legua de Monserrate, yendo tan gozoso con su nueva librea, que no cabía en sí de placer, cuando a deshora se siente llamar de un hombre que a más de andar le seguía. Éste le preguntó si era verdad que él hubiese dado sus vestidos ricos a un pobre que así lo juraba, y la justicia, pensando que los había hurtado, le había echado en la cárcel; lo cual como Ignacio oyese, demudándose todo y perdiendo la voz, no se pudo contener de lágrimas, diciendo entre sí: «¡Ay de ti, pecador, que aún no sabes ni puedes hacer bien a tu prójimo sin hacerle daño y afrenta!» Mas, por librar de este peligro al que sin culpa y sin merecerlo estaba en él, en fin, confesó que le había dado aquellos vestidos. Y aunque le preguntaron quién era, de dónde venía y cómo se llamaba, a nada de esto respondió, pareciéndole que no hacía al caso para librar al inocente (I, 5, 32).¹⁶²

¹⁶¹ “After he had traveled about a league from Montserrat, a man who had been pursuing him caught up with him and asked if he had given some clothing to a certain poor man as the poor man claimed. As he answered that he had done so, tears of compassion rolled from his eyes in [sic] behalf of the man to whom he had given his clothes— tears of compassion because he realized that the man was now being suspected of having stolen them” (II, 18, 27).

¹⁶² “He had hardly travelled a league from Montserrat, walking along so overjoyed with his new livery that he was beside himself with pleasure, when out of the blue he heard the call of a man who was hurrying to catch up with him. The man asked if it was true that he had given his luxurious clothes to a poor man who had claimed as such, and the authorities, thinking that he had stolen them, had thrown the man in jail; as he heard this, Ignatius was crestfallen; he lost his voice and, unable to contain his tears, said to himself: «Woe to you, sinner, who still doesn't know how to do good to your neighbour without hurting and offending him!» But, in order to deliver the man from this danger in which without fault and without deserving it he found himself, in the end he confessed to having given him those clothes. And although they asked him who he was, where he came from and what his name was, he responded to none of this, it seeming to him that that such information was unnecessary to redeem the innocent.”

Despite his compassion for the injustice visited upon the beggar, it is unclear whether Ignatius' responses have any effect on his freedom. He refuses to tell the man his name or any other personal information, preferring instead to maintain his anonymity as a pilgrim, lest his identity be discovered and news of his activities become more widely known. Ignatius thus passes from this unfortunate incident on to the next stage of his narrative, his penance and spiritual practices in Manresa.

The episode of Ignatius' attempt to help a person in need, only to have it backfire in spectacular fashion, shares a distinct parallel with Don Quixote's first chivalrous adventure after leaving the inn. As he rides through the Manchegan countryside, he hears the pitiful cries of someone suffering in pain. Drawing near, he discovers a boy tied to a tree being whipped by his master. Seeing an opportunity to right a wrong and defend the helpless, Don Quixote raises his lance to threaten the farmer and demand an end to the whipping. Frightened, the farmer tries to explain that he is punishing his servant, Andrés, for his poor management of his flock; he loses a sheep each day, either to the boy's carelessness or, he implies, to his stealing. When the farmer carries out the punishment, however, Andrés says it is only because his master does not want to pay his wages, an accusation the farmer denies. Enraged by the farmer calling Andrés a liar in his presence, Don Quixote orders the man, on pain of death, to release the boy from his punishment and pay his wages in full. The farmer, however, has no money with him; he asks Don Quixote if he may return to his house with Andrés and pay him there. Andrés, alarmed by this suggestion, protests; he doesn't trust the man. Don Quixote, however, reassures him that his master's word as a knight will ensure his compliance. But he isn't a knight, Andrés tells him; he's Juan Haduldo, the rich man from Quintanar. Don Quixote, oblivious to this fact, trusts Haduldo's promise to pay and departs satisfied that his authority as a knight has ensured justice has prevailed:

Y si queréis saber quién os manda esto, para quedar con más veras obligado a cumplirlo, sabed que yo soy el valeroso don Quijote de la Mancha, el desfacedor de agravios y sinrazones, y a Dios quedad, y no se os parta de las mientes lo prometido y jurado, so pena de la pena pronunciada.

Y en diciendo esto, picó a su Rocinante, y en breve espacio se apartó dellos. Seguóle el labrador con los ojos, y cuando vio que había traspuesto del bosque y que ya no parecía, volvióse a su criado Andrés y djíole:

-Venid acá, hijo mío; que os quiero pagar lo que os debo, como aquel deshacedor de agravios me dejó mandado.

-Eso juro yo -dijo Andrés-; y ¡cómo que andará vuestra merced acertado en cumplir el mandamiento de aquel buen caballero, que mil años viva; que, según es de valeroso y de buen juez, vive Roque, que si no me paga, que vuelva y ejecute lo que dijo!

-También lo juro yo -dijo el labrador-; pero, por lo mucho que os quiero, quiero acrecentar la deuda por acrecentar la paga.

Y asiéndole del brazo le tornó a atar a la encina, donde le dio tantos azotes, que le dejó por muerto.

-Llamad, señor Andrés, ahora -decía el labrador- al deshacedor de agravios; veréis cómo no deface aqueste. Aunque creo que no está acabado de hacer, porque me viene gana de desollaros vivo, como vos temíades.

Pero, al fin, le desató y le dio licencia que fuese a buscar su juez, para que ejecutase la pronunciada sentencia. Andrés se partió algo mohíno, jurando de ir a buscar al valeroso don Quijote de la Mancha y contalle punto por punto lo que había pasado, y que se lo había de pagar con las setenas. Pero con todo esto, él se partió llorando y su amo se quedó riendo.

Y desta manera deshizo el agravio el valeroso don Quijote; el cual, contentísimo de lo sucedido, pareciéndole que había dado felicísimo y alto principio a sus caballerías, con gran satisfacción de sí mismo iba caminando hacia su aldea, diciendo a media voz:

-Bien te puedes llamar dichosa sobre cuantas hoy viven en la tierra, ¡oh sobre las bellas bella Dulcinea del Toboso!, pues te cupo en suerte tener sujeto y rendido a toda tu voluntad e talante a un tan valiente y tan nombrado caballero, como lo es y será don Quijote de la Mancha, el cual, como todo el mundo sabe, ayer rescibió la orden de caballería, y hoy ha desfecho el mayor tuerto y agravio que formó la sinrazón y cometió la crueldad: hoy quitó el látigo de la mano a aquel despiadado enemigo que tan sin ocasión vapulaba a aquel delicado infante. (I, 4, 59-60).¹⁶³

¹⁶³ ““And if you wish to know who commands you to do this, so that you have an even greater obligation to comply, know that I am the valiant Don Quixote de La Mancha, the righter of wrongs and injustices, and now go with God, and do not even think of deviating from what you have promised and sworn, under penalty of the penalty I have indicated to you.”

And having said this, he spurred Rocinante and soon left them behind. The farmer followed him with his eyes, and when he saw that he had crossed the wood and disappeared from view, he turned to his servant Andrés and said:

‘Come here, my son; I want to pay you what I owe you, as that righter of wrongs has ordered me to do.’

‘I swear,’ said Andrés, ‘that your grace better do the right thing and obey the commands of that good knight, may he live a thousand years, for, as he’s a valiant man and a fair judge, heaven be praised, if you don’t pay me he’ll come back and do what he said!’

‘I swear, too,’ said the farmer, ‘but because I love you so much, I want to increase the debt so I can increase the payment.’

And seizing him by the arm, he tied the boy to the oak tree again and gave him so many lashes that he left him half-dead.

‘Now, Señor Andrés,’ said the farmer, ‘you can call the righter of wrongs; you’ll see how he can’t undo this one. Though I don’t think it’s over yet, because I feel like skinning you alive, just as you feared.’

But at last he untied him and gave him permission to go in search of his judge so that he could carry out the sentence. Andrés left in a fairly gloomy frame of mind, swearing he would find the valiant Don Quixote of La Mancha and tell him, point by point, what had happened, and that his master would have to pay a fine and damages. Even so, the boy left weeping and his master stayed behind to laugh.

In this way the valiant Don Quixote righted a wrong, and exceedingly pleased with what had occurred, for it seemed to him that he had given a happy and noble beginning to his chivalric adventures, he was very satisfied with himself as he rode to his village, saying in a quiet voice:

The unfortunate result of Don Quixote's rescue of Andrés, an intervention which, in the end, only increases the severity of his punishment, is of the same order as the beggar's imprisonment in Montserrat after receiving Loyola's gift of clothing. Both the anonymous reviewer in the *Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review* and Federico Ortés have observed the parallelism, although the irony of Don Quixote's failure to actually help Andrés appears to have been lost on Ortés (175-177). Don Quixote's arrogance in presupposing that he has liberated Andrés from undue harm, when he has done anything but, is what lends a comedic flair to the incident. He is delusional and proceeds according to an idealistic understanding of the code of chivalry without paying heed to the consequences of his actions. As a parody of the chivalric convention of rescuing those in need, it is similar to his liberation of the galley slaves in chapter 22, criminals who later pelt him mercilessly with rocks for his efforts. The humorous unintended consequences of this later adventure have likewise been compared to Ignatius' attempt to improve the lot of the beggar in Montserrat (Anonymous 325).

Following what he considers to be his first great triumph as a knight, Don Quixote's next adventure will involve defending the honour of his lady Dulcinea. Before this occurs, however, Don Quixote arrives at a crossroads:

y luego se le vino a la imaginación las encrucejadas donde los caballeros andantes se ponían a pensar cuál camino de aquéllos tomarían, y, por imitarlos, estuvo un rato quedo; y al cabo de haberlo muy bien pensado, soltó la rienda a Rocinante, dejando a la voluntad del rocín la suya, el cual siguió su primer intentó, que fue el irse camino de su caballeriza (I, 4, 60-61).¹⁶⁴

'Well mayest thou call thyself the most fortunate of ladies in the world today, O most beauteous of all the beauteous, Dulcinea of Toboso! For it is thy portion to have as vassal and servant to thy entire will and disposition so valiant and renowned a knight as Don Quixote of La Mancha is and will be, for he, as all men know, received the order of chivalry yesterday and today he has righted the greatest wrong and injustice that iniquity e'er devised and cruelty e'er committed: today he removed the whip from the hand of a merciless enemy who, without reason, did flog that delicate child.'" (I, 4, 37-38).

¹⁶⁴ "and immediately there came to his imagination the crossroads where knights errant would begin to ponder which of those roads they would follow, and in order to imitate them, he remained motionless for a time, and after having thought very carefully, he loosened the reins and subjected his will to Rocinante's, and the horse pursued his initial intent, which was to head back to his own stall" (I, 4, 39).

Ignatius, in much the same way, will allow his mule to choose his own path, in keeping with the chivalric convention, after his encounter with the Moor on the road to Montserrat. But before we consider their exchange, we return to Don Quixote who, having followed Rocinante's lead a couple of miles down the road, comes across a group of Toledan merchants on their way to Murcia to buy silk. Inflamed with his recent success, Don Quixote interrupts their progress to demand that they pay homage to his patroness:

[...] levantó don Quijote la voz, y con ademán arrogante dijo:

-Todo el mundo se tenga, si todo el mundo no confiesa que no hay en el mundo toda doncella más hermosa que la emperatriz de la Mancha, la sin par Dulcinea del Toboso (I, 4, 61).¹⁶⁵

Puzzled by this strange figure and his extraordinary demand, the merchants stop, recognizing immediately that he is insane:

[...] y uno dellos, que era un poco burlón y muy mucho discreto, le dijo:

-Señor caballero, nosotros no conocemos quién sea esa buena señora que decís; mostrádnosla: que si ella fuere de tanta hermosura como significáis, de buena gana y sin apremio alguno confesaremos la verdad que por parte vuestra nos es pedida (I, 4, 61).¹⁶⁶

With an eye to entertaining his companions and finding out just how crazy Don Quixote really is, the merchant requests proof of Dulcinea's beauty before he will accept the validity of his claim. The knight however rebuffs his request, citing his obligation to trust him at his word:

-Si os la mostrara -replicó don Quijote-, ¿qué hiciérades vosotros en confesar una verdad tan notoria? La importancia está en que sin verla lo habéis de creer, confesar, afirmar, jurar y defender; donde no, conmigo sois en batalla, gente descomunal y soberbia. Que, ahora vengáis uno a uno, como pide la orden de caballería, ora todos juntos, como es costumbre y mala usanza de los de vuestra ralea, aquí os aguardo y espero, confiado en la razón que de mi parte tengo (I, 4, 61).¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁵ “[...] Don Quixote raised his voice and, in an imperious manner, he said:

‘Halt, all of you, unless all of you confess that in the entire world there is no damsel more beautiful than the empress of La Mancha, the peerless Dulcinea of Toboso’” (I, 4, 39).

¹⁶⁶ “[...] and one of them, who was something of a jokester and clever in the extreme, said:

‘Señor Knight, we do not know this good lady you have mentioned; show her to us, for if she is as beautiful as you say, we will gladly and freely confess the truth you ask of us’ (I, 4, 39).

¹⁶⁷ “‘If I were to show her to you,’ replied Don Quixote, ‘where would the virtue be in your confessing so obvious a truth? The significance lies in not seeing her and believing, confessing, affirming, swearing, and defending that truth; if you do not, you must do battle with me, audacious and arrogant people. And whether

The conversation between Don Quixote and the merchant continues. Attempting to reason with him, the merchant implores Don Quixote to at least show his party a picture of Dulcinea, however modest it might be, and they will confess her beauty. What is more, he says, “even if her portrait shows us that she is blind in one eye and that blood and brimstone flow from the other, despite all that, to please your grace, we will praise her in everything you might wish” (I, 4, 40).¹⁶⁸ The merchant’s mocking suggestion sends Don Quixote into a furious rage:

-No le mana, canalla infame -respondió don Quijote, encendido en cólera-; no le mana, digo eso que decís; sino ámbar y algalia entre algodones; y no es tuerta ni corcovada sino más derecha que un huso de Guadarrama. Pero ¡vosotros pagaréis la grande blasfemia que habéis dicho contra tamaña beldad como es la de mi señora! (I, 4, 62).¹⁶⁹

Don Quixote’s ensuing charge toward the insolent merchant ends with Rocinante tripping and falling, and in the process dumping Don Quixote on the ground. One of the muledrivers accompanying the merchants takes Don Quixote’s lance, breaks it into pieces and proceeds to beat him while the mad knight continues to denounce his foes’ wickedness. Finally, when he is so thoroughly beaten and bruised that he cannot get up, the merchants move on and Don Quixote is left to lie on the ground, imagining himself to be different heroes of various chivalrous ballads he recites in his delirium. Eventually, one of his neighbours, Pedro Alonso, discovers the wounded knight and collects him, taking him home to recover from his injuries. Thus ends Don Quixote’s first sally.

Don Quixote’s encounter with the Toledan merchants and amusing defence of his lady Dulcinea have been equated by readers with Ignatius’ encounter with the Moor and his

you come one by one, as the order of chivalry demands, or all at once, in the vicious manner of those of your ilk, here I am, ready and waiting for you, certain of the rightness of my claim” (I, 4, 39-40).

¹⁶⁸ “aunque su retrato nos muestre que es tuerta de un ojo y que del otro le mana bermellón y piedra azufre, con todo eso, por complacer a vuestra merced, diremos en su favor todo lo que quisiere” (I, 4, 62).

¹⁶⁹ “‘Nothing flows from her, vile rabble,’ replied Don Quixote, burning with rage. ‘Nothing flows from her, I say, but amber and delicate musk; and she is not blind or humpbacked but as upright as a peak of the Guadarramas. But you will pay for how you have blasphemed against beauty as extraordinary as that of my lady!’” (I, 4, 40).

defence of the Virgin Mary on his journey to Montserrat.¹⁷⁰ Ignatius' *Autobiografía* gives the following account of their meeting:

Pues, yendo por su camino, le alcanzó un moro, caballero en un mulo; y yendo hablando los dos, vinieron a hablar en Nuestra Señora; y el moro decía que bien le parecía a él la Virgen haber concebido sin hombre; mas el parir quedando virgen no lo podía creer, dando para esto las causas naturales que a él se le ofrecían. La cual opinión, por muchas razones que le dio el peregrino, no pudo deshacer. Y así el moro se adelantó con tanta priesa, que le perdió de vista, quedando pensando en lo que había pasado con el moro. Y en esto le vinieron unas mociones que hacían en su ánimo descontentamiento, pareciéndole que no había hecho su deber, y también le causan indignación contra el moro, pareciéndole que había hecho mal en consentir que un moro dijese tales cosas de Nuestra Señora, y que era obligado volver por su honra. Y así le venían deseos de ir a buscar el moro y darle de puñaladas por lo que había dicho; y perseverando mucho en el combate de deseos, a la fin quedó dubio, sin saber lo que era obligado hacer. El moro, que se había adelantado, le había dicho que se iba a un lugar que estaba un poco adelante en su mismo camino, muy junto del camino real, mas no que pasase el camino real por el lugar (II, 15, 69).¹⁷¹

Like Don Quixote who is affronted by the Toledan merchants' refusal to accept on faith the incomparable beauty of Dulcinea, Ignatius cannot tolerate the impudent Moor's denial of his Lady's virginity. Ribadeneyra for his part relates a stronger condemnation of the Muslim traveller's position and depicts a valiant Ignatius prepared to leap to the defence of the Virgin:

Iba, pues, Ignacio su camino, como dijimos, hacia Monserrate, y topó acaso con un moro de los que en aquel tiempo aún quedaban en España, en los reinos de Valencia y Aragón. Comenzaron a andar juntos y a trabar plática, y de una en otra vinieron a tratar de la virginidad y pureza de la gloriosísima Virgen nuestra Señora. Concedía el moro que esta bienaventurada Señora había sido virgen antes del parto y en el parto, porque así convenía a la grandeza y majestad de su Hijo. Pero decía que no había sido así después del parto, y traía razones falsas y aparentes para probarlo, las cuales deshacía Ignacio, procurando con todas su fuerzas de desengañar al moro y traerle al

¹⁷⁰ See Bowle 137; Unamuno 37; Corradini 14-16; and Ortés 179-185.

¹⁷¹ "As he continued on his way a Moor riding on a mule caught up with him, and in their conversation they began to speak about our Lady. The Moor said that it certainly seemed to him that the Virgin had conceived without the aid of man, but he could not believe that in giving birth she remained a virgin. To substantiate his opinion, he offered the natural reasons that occurred to him. Though the pilgrim countered with many arguments he could not alter the Moor's opinion. The Moor then went on ahead in great haste so that he lost sight of him; being left behind, he reflected on what took place between him and the Moor. Various emotions welled up in him and he became disturbed in soul, thinking that he had failed to do what he should have done. Filled with anger against the Moor and thinking that he had done wrong in allowing the Moor to utter such things about our Lady, he concluded that he was obliged to restore her honor. He now desired to search out the Moor and strike him with his dagger for all that he had said. This conflict in his desires remained with him for some time, but in the end he was still uncertain for he did not know what was required of him. The Moor, who had gone on ahead, had told him that he was going to a place a little farther on the same route, near the royal highway but that the highway did not pass through the place" (II, 15, 22-24).

conocimiento de esta verdad, pero no lo pudo acabar con él; antes, se fue adelante el moro, dejando solo a Ignacio, muy dudoso y perplejo en lo que había de hacer. Porque no sabía si la fe que profesaba y la piedad cristiana le obligaba a darse prisa tras el moro y alcanzarle y darle de puñaladas por el atrevimiento y osadía que había tenido de hablar tan desvergonzadamente en desacato de la bienaventurada siempre Virgen sin mancilla. Y no es maravilla que un hombre acostumbrado a las armas y a mirar en puntillos de honra que, pareciendo verdadera, es falsa y, como tal, engaña a muchos, tuviese por afrenta suya y caso de menos valer, que un enemigo de nuestra santa fe se atreviese a hablar en su presencia en deshonor de nuestra soberana Señora” (I, 3, 29).¹⁷²

Although he tries, like Don Quixote, to reason with his interlocutor, providing arguments in support of the Catholic dogma, Ignatius is no closer to securing a confession of the Virgin’s unblemished chastity from the Moor than Don Quixote is of making the Toledan merchants confess the unsurpassed good looks of Dulcinea. This, he finds, is infuriating and awakens in him a desire to seek bloody revenge. However, unlike Don Quixote’s rash decision to attack the mocking merchant, Ignatius resorts to the aforementioned chivalrous commonplace of allowing his mount to choose his direction:

Y así, después de examinar lo que sería bueno hacer, no hallando cosa cierta a que se determinase, se determinó en esto, scilicet, de dejar ir a la mula con la rienda suelta hasta el lugar donde se dividían los caminos; y que si la mula fuese por el camino de la villa, él buscaría el moro y le daría de puñaladas; y si no fuese hacia la villa, sino por el camino real, dejarlo quedar. Y haciéndolo así, quiso Nuestro Señor que, aunque la villa estaba poco más de treinta o cuarenta pasos, y el camino que a ella iba era muy ancho y muy bueno, la mula tomó el camino real, y dejó el de la villa (*Autobiografía*, II, 16, 69).¹⁷³

¹⁷² “Ignacio, then, was on his way, as we said, to Montserrat, when he ran into a Moor, one of those who in that time still remained in Spain, in the kingdoms of Valencia and Aragon. They began to ride together and struck up a conversation that in one way or another came to the virginity and purity of the glorious Virgin Our Lady. The Moor conceded that this blessed Lady had been a virgin before and during the birth, because it suited the greatness and majesty of her Son. But he said that she hadn’t been a virgin after His birth, and put forward false and specious reasons to prove it, which Ignatius demolished, trying with all his might to disabuse the Moor and bring him into the knowledge of this truth, although to no avail; then the Moor went ahead, leaving Ignatius alone, very doubtful and perplexed about what he should do next. For he did not know if the faith he professed and Christian piety obliged him to chase after the Moor and stab him for the audacity and boldness of dreaming to speak so shamelessly in contempt of the blessed and ever immaculate Virgin. And no wonder that a man accustomed to weapons and defending points of honour, seeing something presented as true, when it is false, and as such liable to deceive many, took this to be an affront and an insult, that an enemy of our holy faith dared to speak in his presence in dishonour of our sovereign Lady.”

¹⁷³ “Tired of trying to figure out what would be the good thing to do, and unable to come to any definite decision, he determined on the following, namely, to give the mule free rein and to let it go by itself to the point where the roads met. If the mule took the road to the village, he would then search out the Moor and use his dagger on him; if the mule took the highway and not the village road, he would then let the Moor go scot-free. And he did just as he decided. Our Lord brought it about that though the village was little more than thirty or forty paces away and the road leading to it was quite wide and in good condition, the mule chose the highway and disregarded the village road” (*Autobiography*, II, 16, 24).

The mule's decision to follow the highway and not the path into the village after the Moor will take Ignatius on to Montserrat where he will hold his vigil and complete his transformation into a pilgrim and aspiring saint. As Unamuno would later observe in *La vida de Don Quijote y Sancho*, “ved cómo se debe la Compañía de Jesus a la inspiración de una caballería” (37).¹⁷⁴

Ignatius' confrontation with the Moor concludes our examination of narrative parallelisms in the transformation and first adventures of Don Quixote and Ignatius of Loyola. From his vigil of arms inspired by the reading of chivalric romances and his relished first steps on the pilgrim's path, to his abortive attempts to help the needy and defend the honour of his Lady, the first episodes of Loyola's journey toward founding the Society of Jesus, as recounted in his *Autobiografía* and *Vida*, find burlesque parallels in notably similar episodes narrated in the first chapters of *Don Quixote*. Next, we will examine a parallelism between these works which transcends the narrative account of Don Quixote's and Loyola's adventures.

1.3 A Metafictional Parallelism

In his study of the parallelisms between Ignatius and Don Quixote, Federico Ortés argues that Cervantes in chapter 5 of the *Quixote* returns to the beginning of Loyola's *Autobiografía*, that is to say Ignatius' wounding in Pamplona and convalescence at the family home in Guipúzcoa, for the source of his parody (186). In chapter 5 of *Don Quixote*, the badly beaten hidalgo is collected by his neighbour Pedro Alonso and returned to his hamlet to be cared for by his concerned housekeeper and niece, and ever-present neighbours, the priest and barber. Indeed, when he arrives, Don Quixote's household is up in arms at his disappearance and worried about his deranged pursuit of adventures. The housekeeper, whose first words to Don Quixote seem to recall in a sly way Ignatius' condition upon returning from Pamplona, laments her master's madness and condemns the books that have brought him to it:

¹⁷⁴ “see how the Society of Jesus owes itself to the inspiration of a mount.”

–¡Mirá, en hora maza –dijo a este punto el ama–, si me decía a mí bien mi corazón del pie que cojeaba mi señor! Suba vuestra merced en buen hora, que, sin que venga esa hurgada, le sabremos aquí curar. ¡Malditos, digo sean otra vez y otras ciento estos libros de caballerías, que tal han parado a vuestra merced! (I, 5, 68-69)¹⁷⁵

The English translation cited below for the expression *si me decía a mí bien mi corazón del pie que cojeaba mi señor* (literally, my heart well told me which foot my lord was limping on), does not quite do justice to what may be construed as a subtle play on words, an impish allusion to the lameness of Ignatius' right leg from the French cannonball that smashed through it in Pamplona. In effect, the limp or *cojera* that Ignatius would suffer for the remainder of his life constitutes an important basis for the formation of substantive parallelisms with Don Quixote, a point we will examine later.

Leaving aside the housekeeper's suggestive remark, what transpires in chapters 5 to 7 of *Don Quixote* runs in large part parallel to what he have reviewed already in terms of Ignatius' convalescence, decision to go out into the world and imitate the saints and the resistance he faces from members of his family. The one exception is the scrutiny of Don Quixote's library in which various popular works of fiction, books of chivalry mostly, are reviewed by the priest and barber and either preserved for having some artistic merit or condemned to the bonfire. Ortés has attempted to equate this censorship of Don Quixote's library with chapter VI of Loyola's *Autobiografía*, in which the pilgrim is investigated by the Inquisition during his student days in Alcalá for his spiritual activities among the city's laity (209-224). This association, however, seems tenuous at best. The scrutiny of the library, rather, affords Cervantes the opportunity to comment freely on the kind of literature that dries up Don Quixote's brain and makes him go crazy, and also to evaluate the merit of individual authors. It is, as Martín de Riquer has observed, pure literary criticism,¹⁷⁶ and, moreover, shows Cervantes' proclivity for introducing metafictional touches to his work. One of the last books to be reviewed at the

¹⁷⁵ “‘Look, all of you,’ said the housekeeper, ‘in what an evil hour my heart knew exactly what was wrong with my master. Your grace can go up and rest easy, because without that gander woman coming here, we’ll know how you to cure you. And I say that these books of chivalry should be cursed another hundred times for bringing your grace to such a pass!’” (I, 5, 44).

¹⁷⁶ See Riquer's commentary in I, 6, 69-70.

end of chapter 6 is none other than *La Galatea*, by Miguel de Cervantes. As the priest says:

Muchos años ha que es grande amigo mío ese Cervantes, y sé que es más versado en desdichas que en versos. Su libro tiene algo de buena invención; propone algo, y no concluye nada: es menester esperar la segunda parte que promete; quizá con la emienda alcanzará del todo la misericordia que ahora se le niega; y entre tanto que esto se ve, tenedle recluso en vuestra posada, señor compadre (I, 6, 81).¹⁷⁷

Cervantes' next personal intervention in *Don Quixote* will come toward the end of chapter 8, as Don Quixote finds himself in the midst of a heated battle. Having met his squire, Sancho Panza, and with him launched a second sally in chapter 7, Don Quixote proceeds to his famous adventure with the windmills. A little worse for wear after this incident, Don Quixote and Sancho continue on their journey and share in some amusing conversation. Don Quixote is a bit put out that the same enchanter who apparently stole his books and whisked away his library has now had the temerity to change the giants he attempted to do battle with into windmills at the last moment; Sancho for his part marvels at his master's delusions and reveals his partiality for the comforts of food and drink and a life lived free of pain, not an attitude particularly in tune with the order of chivalry. They sleep under the stars that night and the next day, travelling along the road to Puerto Lápice, they happen across two Benedictine monks riding on mules with sunshades and masks to protect their eyes from the dust. Behind them a carriage follows carrying a Basque lady to Seville where her husband is preparing to take up a post in the Indies. Thinking the friars are enchanters who have captured a princess in the carriage, Don Quixote rushes to the lady's aid. After knocking one of the friars off his mule and scaring the other away, Don Quixote addresses the lady and begins to extol the virtues of his Dulcinea, eventually asking the rescued princess to travel to El Toboso to proclaim how he has bravely secured her liberty. Listening to these absurdities and growing impatient with the delay, a Basque squire in the lady's retinue confronts Don Quixote and in rough Castilian threatens him with swift death if he doesn't get out of the way. The altercation that follows, however, is interrupted at its climax, with Don Quixote's sword raised

¹⁷⁷ "This Cervantes has been a good friend of mine for many years, and I know that he is better versed in misfortunes than verses. His book has a certain creativity; it proposes something and concludes nothing. We have to wait for the second part he has promised; perhaps with that addition it will achieve the mercy denied to it now; in the meantime, keep it locked away in your house, my friend" (I, 6, 52).

above his head and the Basque prepared to counter; the narrator intervenes here to say that the history he has been reading ends abruptly, and that the “second author”, that is, Cervantes, has had to go in search of its conclusion:

Pero está el daño de todo esto que en este punto y término deja pendiente el autor desta historia esta batalla, disculpándose que no halló más escrito, destas hazañas de don Quijote, de las que deja referidas. Bien es verdad que el segundo autor desta obra no quiso creer que tan curiosa historia estuviese entregada a las leyes del olvido, ni que hubiesen sido tan poco curiosos los ingenios de la Mancha, que no tuviesen en sus archivos o en sus escritorios algunos papeles que deste famoso caballero tratasen; y así, con esta imaginación, no se desesperó de hallar el fin desta apacible historia, el cual, siéndole el cielo favorable, le halló del modo que se contará en la segunda parte (I, 8, 97).¹⁷⁸

Cervantes divided the *Quixote* of 1605 into four parts. The end of the first part comes at the end of chapter 8, in the midst of Don Quixote’s battle with the Basque squire. The second part begins in chapter 9, and recounts Cervantes’ visit to the Alcaná market in Toledo where he discovers an Arabic manuscript which he has translated into Castilian for him by a Morisco merchant. This artifice introduces Cide Hamete Benengeli,¹⁷⁹ a fictional historian who is revealed to be the author of the missing text of Don Quixote’s adventures. Benengeli, an Arab Muslim, is described by Cervantes as an untrustworthy narrator, “since the people of that nation are very prone to telling falsehoods” (I, 9, 68).¹⁸⁰ He thus becomes a target of mockery throughout the rest of the novel.

¹⁷⁸ “But the difficulty in all this is that at this very point and juncture, the author of the history leaves the battle pending, apologizing because he found nothing else written about the feats of Don Quixote other than what he has already recounted. It is certainly true that the second author of this work did not want to believe that so curious a history would be subjected to the laws of oblivion, or that the great minds of La Mancha possessed so little interest that they did not have in their archives or writing tables a few pages that dealt with this famous knight; and so, with this thought in mind, he did not despair of finding the conclusion to this gentle history, which, with heaven’s help, he discovered in the manner that will be revealed in part two” (I, 8, 64-65).

¹⁷⁹ Benengeli’s name is a humorous play on words recalling the fondness of Spanish Moors for eggplant. This group formed a significant part of Toledo’s population until their expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula in the late 15th and early 16th centuries. Many of their converted descendants however continued to live in Toledo. *Benengeli* is Arabic for *berenjena*, or “eggplant” in Spanish. See Grossman’s note no. 6, in I, 9, 67 and Riquer’s note 11 in I, 9, 102. Alternatively, an Arabic scholar at the Universidad Complutense has argued that the name Cide Hamete Benengli contains the principal roots of the name Miguel de Cervantes translated into Arabic. See Mahmud Sobh. “¿Quién fue Cide Hamete Benengeli?” *Babelia* 9, *El País*, December 30, 2005.

¹⁸⁰ “siendo muy propio de los de aquella nación ser mentirosos” (I, 9, 103).

This meta-fictional intervention in the text and interruption of the story's action is for Federico Ortés reminiscent of the circumstances surrounding the composition of Loyola's *Autobiografía*. In chapter 8 of the *Autobiografía*, the narrative is interrupted midstream; Gonçalves da Câmara, we remember, had to leave Rome for Portugal and could not find an amanuensis to transcribe in Spanish the remainder of the notes he had taken of Ignatius' narration. He later had these notes transcribed in Italian while waiting for his ship in Genoa. The text of the *Autobiografía*, as we have it today, resumes in this language in the middle of chapter 8. Ortés, however, citing sources that substantiate the circulation of only the Spanish portion of Gonçalves da Câmara's manuscript,¹⁸¹ hypothesizes that it could have been one of these incomplete versions that Cervantes may have used as a model for *Don Quixote* (296). This would parallel Cervantes' abrupt termination of the account of Don Quixote's battle with the Basque in chapter 8 and relation of his hunt for the continuation of the story in Toledo. Ortés argues further that the text which Cervantes turned to for the continuation of Ignatius' story, and thus the source of his parody throughout the rest of the novel, was none other than *Vida de Ignacio de Loyola* by Toledan author and historian, Pedro de Ribadeneira. Indeed, as we have seen, the Society of Jesus had by the late 1560s removed Ignatius' *Autobiografía* from circulation, for which copies with the final three chapters in Italian would have been difficult to obtain. Therefore, when Cervantes resumes Don Quixote's battle with the

¹⁸¹ Ortés cites Carmen Artal's commentary in her 1973 edition of *El relato del peregrino*: "El 23 de octubre de 1555, Cámara abandona Roma para regresar a Portugal, acompañado de Nadal y Ribadeneira que se dirigen a España y Flandes, con un manuscrito español-italiano. Ya entonces corrían algunas copias de la primera parte redactada en Roma. Una segunda copia, en su versión completa español-italiano, la llevaba Nadal; y una tercera, en su parte más extensa redactada en castellano, estaba en manos de Ribadeneira" (qtd. in Ortés 22). ("On the 23rd of October, 1555, Cámara leaves Rome to return to Portugal, accompanied by Nadal and Ribadeneira who are headed to Spain and Flanders, with a Spanish-Italian manuscript. By then a few copies of the first part drafted in Rome were already circulating. A second copy, in its complete Spanish-Italian version, was carried by Nadal; and a third, in its most extensive part drafted in Castilian, was in Ribadeneira's hands"). Ortés also cites a commentary concerning the same issue which is included in the Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos edition of Loyola's *Obras completas*: "Sabemos, con todo, por el testimonio del P. Ribadeneira en el proceso compulsorial de Madrid de 1606, que se hicieron copias de la *Autobiografía* antes de que el P. Cámara saliese de Roma el 23 de Octubre de 1555, y que San Ignacio mandó se diese una de ellas al mismo P. Ribadeneira. Siendo esto así no parece improbable que San Ignacio viese el escrito del P. Cámara. No aparecen, con todo, indicios de que lo corrigiese o revisase" (qtd. in Ortés 22). ("We know, after all, by Father Ribadeneira's testimony in the compulsory process of Madrid in 1606, that copies of the *Autobiografía* were made before Father Cámara left Rome on the 23rd of October, 1555, and that St Ignatius ordered one of these to be given to the same Father Ribadeneira. This being so, it does not seem unlikely that St Ignatius saw Father Cámara's work. There do not appear, in the final analysis, to be any indications that he corrected or revised it").

Basque in chapter 9 of the novel, it is, as Ortés contends, with Ribadeneyra's *Vida* as the backdrop, a work which Cervantes humorously lampoons via the conceit of his discovery of Benengeli's manuscript (296). An untrustworthy historian because of his propensity to tell lies, Benengeli is assumed to have provided too little rather than too much historical information in his account of Don Quixote's adventures and fallen short in his praise for the venerable knight, observations that may be ironic jests directed toward the verbose and fawning Ribadeneyra. As an involved reader of Don Quixote's adventures, truth and historical accuracy are of great concern for Cervantes, "for no history is bad if it is true" (I, 9, 68),¹⁸² and one must therefore proceed with caution in reading Benengeli's text, another perceived witticism coming at the expense of Ribadeneyra, an author who bends over backward to defend the truth and accuracy of his account. As Cervantes writes regarding Benengeli's work:

Y así me parece a mí, pues cuando pudiera y debiera estender la pluma en las alabanzas de tan buen caballero, parece que de industria las pasa en silencio; cosa mal hecha y peor pensada, habiendo y debiendo ser los historiadores puntuales, verdaderos y no nada apasionados, y que ni el interés ni el miedo, el rancor ni la afición, no les hagan torcer del camino de la verdad, cuya madre es la historia, émula del tiempo, depósito de las acciones, testigo de lo pasado, ejemplo y aviso de lo presente, advertencia de lo por venir. En ésta sé que se hallará todo lo que se acertare a desear en la más apacible; y si algo bueno en ella faltare, para mí tengo que fue por culpa del galgo de su autor, antes que por falta del sujeto (I, 9, 103).¹⁸³

The hypothesis positing Cervantes' interruption of Don Quixote's adventures and introduction of an untrustworthy historian to continue the narrative as a parallelism of the disruption in chapter 8 of Ignatius' *Autobiografía* and replacement of it with Ribadeneyra's hagiography is not without its problems. It rests primarily on the corresponding numerical order of the chapters in *Don Quixote* and the *Autobiografía* as opposed to their content; chapters 4 to 8 of the *Autobiografía* narrate Ignatius' pilgrimage to Jerusalem, grammar school education in Barcelona, travels and university experiences

¹⁸² "que ninguna es mala como sea verdadera" (I, 9, 103).

¹⁸³ "So it appears to me, for when he could and should have wielded his pen to praise the virtues of so good a knight, it seems he intentionally passes over them in silence; this is something badly done and poorly thought out, since historians must and ought to be exact, truthful, and absolutely free of passions, for neither interest, fear, rancor, nor affection should make them deviate from the path of the truth, whose mother is history, the rival of time, repository of great deeds, witness to the past, example and adviser to the present, and forewarning to the future. In this account I know there will be everything that could be rightly desired in the most pleasant history, and if something of value is missing from it, in my opinion the fault lies with the dog who was its author rather than with any defect in its subject" (I, 9, 68-69).

in Alcalá, Salamanca and Paris, episodes that have little bearing on chapters 4 to 8 of *Don Quixote*. It may therefore be a coincidence that the narrative interruption in *Don Quixote* occurs in chapter 8 as it does in Ignatius' *Autobiografía*. Furthermore, the introduction of a fictional historian or a chronicle translated from another language that recounts the exploits of a famous knight was a literary device common to chivalric romances.¹⁸⁴ Cervantes may well have been following this tradition to mock it and not necessarily to make a witty reference to Ribadeneyra.

Yet the circumstances of this hypothetical parallelism are such that they cannot fail to intrigue the reader: the coincidence of chapters; the interruption of the narrative and its continuation with a text found in Toledo, the birthplace of Ignatius' hagiographer; the characterization of Benengeli as an equivocator and Cervantes' ironic critique of his work not being sufficiently protracted and admiring, qualities which Ribadeneyra's work evidently does not lack in; and Cervantes' eloquent speech illustrating the importance of truth in writing history and his dismissal of the dubious author as a "dog" who is responsible for any omissions or faults in the text, criticism which appears to undermine Ribadeneyra's claims to historical accuracy in the *Vida* and point to his distortions of Ignatius' story. Could these circumstances signify Cervantes' intention to make fun of the *Autobiografía*'s suppression and its replacement with the *Vida* via a meta-fictional parallelism in *Don Quixote* parodying the writing of St Ignatius of Loyola's story? While this question cannot be answered with any degree of certainty, taken in context with the other narrative parallelisms we have reviewed, including those yet to come, and the substantive and thematic parallelisms we will examine later, I do not think the possibility can be ruled out.

There is one last detail in this episode in chapters 8 and 9 of *Don Quixote* that calls to mind the person of Ignatius of Loyola. Whether he is intended to represent someone or not, Don Quixote's opponent in these chapters is Basque. So was, of course, Ignatius. This servant of the noble lady on her way to Seville, while not much is said of him, is oddly reminiscent of the young Ignatius or, for that matter, the Ignatius we find on

¹⁸⁴ See Riquer's commentary in I, 9, 99-100.

the road to Montserrat: impulsive, proud and quick to consider violence as a method for solving conflicts. In chapter 9, after Cervantes has discovered Benengeli's manuscript text and had it translated into Spanish, he describes a picture included with the volume that depicts the battle between Don Quixote and the Basque. In the picture, beneath the Basque, there is an interesting inscription:

Estaba en el primero cartapacio pintada muy a natural la batalla de don Quijote con el vizcaíno, puestos en la mesma postura que la historia cuenta, levantadas las espadas, el uno cubierto de su rodela, el otro de la almohada, y la mula del vizcaíno tan al vivo, que estaba mostrando ser de alquiler a tiro de ballesta. Tenía a los pies escrito el vizcaíno un título que decía: *Don Sancho de Azpetia*, que, sin duda, debía de ser su nombre (I, 9, 103).¹⁸⁵

The Basque, Don Sancho, appears to be from *Azpetia*, an archaic form of Azpeitia, the municipality in the province of Guipúzcoa where, as it so happens, Ignatius was born. What significance, if any, this detail may have is open to interpretation. But the author's decision to include it is worthy of note and, when read by those familiar with the life of Loyola, brings him readily to mind.

1.4 Remaining Adventures

The remaining adventures of Don Quixote for which readers have identified narrative parallelisms in Ignatius' story are dispersed throughout the remainder of Cervantes' novel. After the battle with the Basque, which ends in a famous victory for Don Quixote, Sancho and his master have a series of experiences that in one way or other parody typical adventures found in books of chivalry. By the time their wanderings have led them to the Sierra Morena mountains in chapter 23, Don Quixote begins to think of the romantic feats he wishes to perform for his lady Dulcinea:

Así como don Quijote entró por aquellas montañas, se le alegró el corazón, pareciéndole aquellos lugares acomodados para las aventuras que buscaba.

¹⁸⁵ "In the first notebook there was a very realistic depiction of the battle of Don Quixote with the Basque, both in the postures recounted in the history, their swords raised, one covered by his round shield, the other by his pillow, and the Basque's mule so lifelike that at the distance of a crossbow shot one could see that it was a mule for hire. At the mule's feet was a caption that read: *Don Sancho de Azpetia*, which, no doubt, was the Basque's name" (I, 9, 68).

Reduciánsele a la memoria los maravillosos acaecimientos que en semejantes soledades y asperezas habían sucedido a caballeros andantes. Iba pensando en estas cosas, tan embebecido y trasportado en ellas, que de ninguna otra se acordaba (I, 23, 232).¹⁸⁶

Inspired by this remote setting and the examples of his chivalrous heroes, as well as the lovelorn Cardenio, whose pitiful story of unrequited love takes up much of chapters 23, 24 and 27, Don Quixote decides he must imitate the penances and outrageous acts of madness performed by enamoured knights since, as he understands it, “the knight errant who most closely imitates Amadís will be closest to attaining chivalric perfection” (I, 23, 193).¹⁸⁷ Sancho, not quite understanding what noble lady has scorned Don Quixote or in what way his Dulcinea has been unfaithful to him, asks his master what reason he has for doing such things. Don Quixote explains:

-Ahí está el punto -respondió don Quijote-, y ésa es la fineza de mi negocio; que volverse loco un caballero andante con causa, ni grado ni gracias: el toque está desatinar sin ocasión y dar a entender a mi dama que, si en seco hago esto, ¿qué hiciera en mojado? Cuanto más, que harta ocasión tengo en la larga ausencia que he hecho de la siempre señora mía Dulcinea del Toboso; que, como ya oíste decir a aquel pastor de marras, Ambrosio, quien está ausente, todos los males tiene y teme. Así que, Sancho amigo, no gastes tiempo en aconsejarme que deje tan rara, tan felice y tan no vista imitación. Loco soy, loco he de ser hasta tanto que tú vuelvas con la respuesta de una carta que contigo pienso enviar a mi señora Dulcinea; y si fuere tal cual a mi fe se le debe, acabarse ha mi sandez y mi penitencia; y si fuere al contrario, seré loco de veras, y, siéndolo, no sentiré nada. Ansí que, de cualquiera manera que responda, saldré del conflicto y trabajo en que me dejares, gozando el bien que me trujeres, por cuerdo, o no sintiendo el mal que me aportares, por loco (I, 25, 256).¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁶ “As soon as Don Quixote entered those mountains his heart filled with joy, for it was a landscape that seemed suited to the adventures he was seeking. What he recalled were the marvelous events that had befallen knights errant in similarly desolate and wild places. He rode along, thinking of these things, so enthralled and transported that he thought of nothing else” (I, 23, 174).

¹⁸⁷ “que el caballero andante que más le imitare estará más cerca de alcanzar la perfección de la caballería” (I, 25, 254).

¹⁸⁸ “‘Therein lies the virtue,’ responded Don Quixote, ‘and the excellence of my enterprise, for a knight errant deserves neither glory nor thanks if he goes mad for a reason. The great achievement is to lose one’s reason for no reason, and to let my lady know that if I can do this without cause, what should I not do if there were cause? Moreover, I have more than enough reason because of my long absence from her who is forever my lady, Dulcinea of Toboso; as you heard the shepherd Ambrosio say, all ills are suffered and feared by one who is absent. And so, friend Sancho, do not waste time advising me to abandon so rare, so felicitous, so extraordinary an imitation. Mad I am and mad I shall remain until you return with the reply to a letter which I intend to send with you to my lady Dulcinea; if it is such as my fidelity warrants, my madness and my penance will come to an end; if it is not, I shall truly go mad and not feel anything. Therefore, no matter her reply, I shall emerge from the struggle and travail in which you leave me, taking pleasure as a sane man in the good news you bring, or, as a madman, not suffering on account of the bad news you bear’” (I, 25, 194).

As Don Quixote says, and Martín de Riquer confirms, knights undoing themselves in insane acts of penance in the wilderness, either out of amorous desperation or to atone for their sins, or indeed for any other reason, was a commonplace of chivalrous fiction.¹⁸⁹ It is perhaps not surprising that this feature of books of chivalry should also be contemplated by Ignatius while he rides toward Montserrat on his mule, his mind imbued “with exploits, such as he read in *Amadís de Gaula* and other like books” (II, 17, 26).¹⁹⁰ Just prior to his encounter with the Moor, we meet Ignatius in the *Autobiografía* meditating on the great acts of penance he plans to perform:

Y en este camino le acaeció una cosa que será bueno escribirse, para que se entienda cómo nuestro Señor se había con esta ánima que aún estaba ciega, aunque con grandes deseos de servirle en todo lo que conociese; y así determinaba de hacer grandes penitencias, no teniendo ya tanto ojo a satisfacer por sus pecados, sino agradar y aplacer a Dios. Y así, cuando se acordaba de hacer alguna penitencia que hicieron los Santos, proponía de hacer la misma y aún más. Y en estos pensamientos tenía toda su consolación, no mirando a cosa ninguna interior, ni sabiendo qué cosa era humildad, ni caridad, ni paciencia, ni discreción para reglar ni medir estas virtudes, sino toda su intención era hacer destas obras grandes exteriores, porque así las habían hecho los santos para gloria de Dios, sin mirar otra ninguna más particular circunstancia (II, 14, 68).¹⁹¹

Ignatius’ intention to practice these austerities, like Don Quixote’s, stems from an overwhelming desire to win honour and glory. He plans not only to imitate the saints, but to surpass them with acts of penance to rival their own. These are works of an external nature, not particularly indicative of any spiritual motivation. Nevertheless, according Ribadeneyra’s version of events in the *Vida*, it is through his approach to imitating the

¹⁸⁹ Riquer observes: “Ello es un frecuente tópico de la novela caballeresca, en la que a veces el caballero, desesperado por desdenes amorosos o por cualquier motivo, se retira a la soledad de los bosques, donde no tan sólo se entrega a la oración, ayuno y disciplina (penitencia), sino también a cierta furia demencial, que le lleva a cometer toda clase de desatinos” (commentary, I, 25, 250). (“It is a frequent topic of the chivalrous novel, in which sometimes the knight, despairing because of his lover’s disdain or for any other reason, retires to the solitude of the forest, where he not only devotes himself to prayer, fasting and discipline (penitence), but also to a certain demented fury, which leads him to committ all kinds of berserk actions”). Riquer goes on to cite a number of examples from chivalrous novels, including *Amadís de Gaula* (commentary, I, 25, 250-251).

¹⁹⁰ “lleno de aquellas cosas, *Amadís de Gaula* y de semejante libros” (II, 17, 70).

¹⁹¹ “Something happened as he was on his way and it will be good to record it so that others may understand how our Lord dealt with that soul, still blind but filled with ardent desires to follow Him in every way he knew. Thus he decided to practice great penances, not with the view of satisfying for his sins but to please and appease God. Whenever he made up his mind to do a certain penance that the saints had done, he was determined not only to do the same, but even more. All his consolation derived from these thoughts; he never considered anything about the interior life, nor did he know what humility was or charity, or patience, or that discretion was the rule and measure of these virtues. His only intention, not having any other reason in mind, was to perform these important external actions because the saints had performed them for the glory of God” (II, 14, 21-22).

saints that Ignatius achieves the holy perfection he was looking for, a view echoed by Don Quixote's belief that chivalric perfection may be achieved by more closely imitating the excesses of Amadís:

Y para que entendamos por qué pasos y por qué como escalones llevaba Dios a este su siervo y le hacía subir a la perfección, es de saber que en este tiempo ni él sabía, ni tenía cuidado de saber, qué sea caridad, qué humildad, qué paciencia, qué quiere decir desprecio de sí, cuál sea la propiedad y naturaleza de cada una de las virtudes, qué partes y oficio y límites tiene la templanza, qué pide la razón y prudencia espiritual y divina. A ninguna de estas cosas paraba mientes, sino que abrasado y aferrado con lo que entonces le parecía mejor y más a propósito de su estado presente, ponía todo su cuidado y conato en hacer cosas grandes y muy dificultosas para afligir su cuerpo con asperezas y castigos. Y esto no por otra razón sino porque los santos que él había tomado por su dechado y ejemplo habían echado por este camino; porque ya desde entonces comenzaba nuestro Señor a plantar en el corazón de Ignacio un vivo y ardentísimo deseo de buscar y procurar en todas sus cosas lo que fuese a los ojos de su Majestad más agradable; que éste fue como su blasón siempre, y como el ánima y vida de todas sus obras: *A mayor gloria divina*. Pero ya en estas penitencias que hacía había subido un escalón más, porque en ellas no miraba, como antes, tanto a sus pecados cuanto al deseo que tenía de agradar a Dios. Porque, aunque era verdad que tenía grande aborrecimiento de sus pecados pasados, pero en las penitencias que hacía para satisfacer por ellos, estaba ya su corazón tan inflamado y abrasado de un vehementísimo deseo de agradar a Dios que no tenía cuenta tanto con los mismos pecados, ni se acordaba de ellos, como de la gloria y honra de Dios, cuya injuria quería vengar haciendo penitencia en ellos” (I, 3, 28-29).¹⁹²

When Ignatius arrives in Manresa, after defending the Virgin's honour against the Moor, and holding his vigil of arms at the shrine in Montserrat, he sets about performing the penances he envisioned while on his journey. This includes a regimen of fasting and self-denial that would bring about startling changes in his once proud appearance:

¹⁹² “So we understand by what stages and steps God lead his servant and made him ascend to perfection, it should be known that during this time he neither knew, nor had an inclination to know, what is love, humility, patience, nor what it means to disdain self, which is the property and nature of each of these virtues, what are the aspects, experience and limits of temperance, what is required by reason and divine spiritual prudence. None of these things mattered to him; rather, impassioned and determined to do what seemed best and most appropriate for him at the time, he put all his care and efforts into doing great and difficult things to afflict his body with austerities and punishments. And this for no other reason than the saints he had taken as his model and example had gone down this path; because even at that moment our Lord began to plant in the heart of Ignatius a lively and ardent desire to seek and accomplish in everything that he did what was most enjoyable in the eyes of his Majesty; and this was his blazon always, the soul and life of all his works: *To the greater glory of God*. But with the penances he performed he ascended to another level, because in doing them he did not look, as before, so much at his sins as at his desire to please God. For while it was true that he had great hatred for his past sins, in the penances he performed to atone for them his heart was already so inflamed and burning with a vehement desire to please God that he did not have these same sins in mind, nor did he remember them, as much as he thought of the glory and honour of God, whose insult he wanted to avenge by performing this penance”).

Y él demandaba en Manresa limosna cada día. No comía carne, ni bebía vino, aunque se lo diesen. Los domingos no ayunaba, y, si le daban un poco de vino, lo bebía. Y porque había sido muy curioso de curar cabello, que en aquel tiempo se acostumbraba, y él lo tenía bueno, se determinó dejarlo andar así, según su naturaleza, sin peinarlo ni cortarlo, ni cubrirlo con alguna cosa, de noche ni de día. Y por la misma causa dejaba crecer las uñas de los pies y de las manos, porque también en esto había sido curioso (III, 19, 74).¹⁹³

We have already observed John Bowle's association of this incident with Don Quixote's similar abandonment of his personal hygiene in the Sierra Morena.¹⁹⁴ Bowle's association comes by way of Ribadeneyra, who in the *Vida* reports Ignatius' decision to distain his appearance:

Mas porque en peinar y curar el cabello y ataviar su persona había sido en el siglo muy curioso, para que el desprecio de esto igualase a la demasía que en preciarse de ello había tenido, de día y de noche trujo siempre la cabeza descubierta, y el cabello (que, como entonces se usaba, por tenerle rubio y muy hermoso le había dejado de crecer) traíale desgreñado y por peinar. Y con el menosprecio de sí dejó crecer las uñas y barba (I, 5, 32).¹⁹⁵

In chapter 31 of *Don Quixote*, when Sancho has returned from his embassy to Dulcinea, Don Quixote is anxious to learn what she has asked about him. Unfortunately for the Knight of the Sorrowful Countenance,¹⁹⁶ she didn't ask about him at all, but Sancho does report what he told her about Don Quixote's penances on her behalf in the mountains:

¹⁹³ “While in Manresa he begged alms every day. He ate no meat, nor did he drink wine, though both were offered him. On Sundays, he did not fast, and if someone gave him wine, he drank it. And because he had been quite meticulous in caring for his hair, which was according to the fashion of the day — and he had a good crop of hair — he decided to let it grow naturally without combing, cutting, or covering it with anything either during the day or night. For the same reason he let the nails of his feet and hands grow since he had also been overly neat with regard to them” (III, 19, 28-29).

¹⁹⁴ See above I, 1.5, 20.

¹⁹⁵ “But, because he had once been very fastidious about styling his hair and dressing fashionably, in order that his disdain for this attention would equal the excessive pride he had taken in his appearance, he went bareheaded always, by day and by night, and his hair (which, as was then the custom, he allowed to grow long since it was blond and very handsome) was dishelved and uncombed. And with contempt for himself he allowed his nails and beard to grow”.

¹⁹⁶ *Caballero de la Triste Figura*, the jocose name Sancho gives his master in Chapter 19 of the novel because, as he says, “verdaderamente tiene vuestra merced la más mala figura, de poco acá, que jamás he visto; y débelo de haber causado, o ya el cansancio deste combate, o la falta de las muelas y dientes” (I, 19, 189). (“the truth is that your grace has the sorriest looking face I’ve seen recently, and it must be on account of your weariness after this battle, or the molars and teeth you’ve lost” I, 19, 139).

-Ella no me preguntó nada -dijo Sancho-; mas yo le dije de la manera que, por su servicio, quedaba haciendo penitencia, desnudo de la cintura arriba, metido entre estas sierras como si fuera salvaje, durmiendo en el suelo, sin comer pan a manteles ni sin peinarse la barba, llorando y maldiciendo su fortuna (I, 31, 330).¹⁹⁷

Ignatius' program of prayer and devotions in Manresa is similarly intense. During this period he experiences a series of mystical visions and suffers temptations and scruples which make for a very active, if somewhat tormented, spiritual life:

A este tiempo estaba el dicho en una camarilla que le habían dado los dominicanos en su monasterio, y perseveraba en sus siete horas de oración de rodillas, levantándose a media noche continuamente, y en todos los más ejercicios ya dichos; mas en todos ellos no hallaba ningún remedio para su escrúpulos, siendo pasados muchos meses que le atormentaban; y una vez, de muy atribulado dellos, se puso en oración, con el fervor de la cual comenzó a dar gritos a Dios vocalmente, diciendo: -Socórreme, Señor, que no hallo ningún remedio en los hombres, ni en ninguna criatura; que, si yo pensase de poderlo hallar, ningún trabajo me sería grande. Muéstrame tú Señor, dónde lo halle; que aunque sea menester ir en pos de un perrillo para que me dé el remedio, yo lo haré (*Autobiografía*, III, 23, 77-78).¹⁹⁸

When Don Quixote commences his penance in the Sierra Morena, his mind also turns to prayer, but because his hero Amadís has set the example for him:

Ea, pues, manos a la obra: venid a mi memoria, cosas de Amadís, y enseñadme por dónde tengo de comenzar a imitaros. Mas ya sé que lo más que él hizo fue rezar y encomendarse a Dios; pero ¿qué haré de rosario, que no le tengo?

En esto le vino al pensamiento cómo le haría, y fue que rasgó una gran tira de las faldas de la camisa, que andaban colgando, y dióle once ñudos, el uno más gordo que los demás, y esto le sirvió de rosario el tiempo que allí estuvo, donde rezó un millón de avemarías. Y lo que le fatigaba mucho era no hallar por allí otro ermitaño que le confesase y con quien consolarse. Y así, se entretenía paseándose por el pradecillo, escribiendo y grabando por las cortezas de los árboles y por la menuda arena muchos

¹⁹⁷ “‘She didn’t ask me anything,’ said Sancho. ‘But I told her how your grace, to serve her, was doing penance, naked from the waist up, here in this sierra like a savage, sleeping on the ground, not eating your bread from a cloth or combing your beard, crying and cursing your fate’” (I, 31, 259).

¹⁹⁸ “‘At this time he was living in a small room that the Dominicans had given him in their monastery, and there he kept to his custom of praying seven hours a day on his knees, of rising every midnight, and of performing all the other exercises previously mentioned. In all this he found no cure for his scruples; they had now been tormenting him for several months. Once, being very disturbed because of them, he set himself to pray and with great fervor he cried aloud to God, saying: ‘Help me, Lord, for I find no remedy among men, nor in any creature. No task would be too irksome for me if I thought I could get help. Lord, show me where I may get it, and even if I have to follow after a little puppy to get the remedy I need, I will do it’” (III, 23, 32-33).

versos, todos acomodados a su tristeza, y algunos en alabanza de Dulcinea (I, 26, 270).¹⁹⁹

It is worthy of note that Don Quixote's reference to the rosary and prayer in this passage, ending with the phrase "donde rezó un millón de avemarías", was censured in Juan de la Cuesta's second edition of *Don Quixote* published in 1605 and in subsequent editions of the novel.²⁰⁰ In the context of Don Quixote's comedic imitation of chivalrous devotions, this was a remark apparently too facetious to be tolerated.

Ignatius's spiritual suffering and fanatical penances in Manresa, however, were a serious matter and required the intervention of his Dominican confessor to help him overcome his scruples. The confessor at one point orders Ignatius to stop confessing anything more from his past (III, 23) and when the pilgrim tells him that he has gone an entire week without putting anything in his mouth, orders him to end his fasting at once (III, 25), instructions which Ignatius dutifully complies with. Gradually, with the help of this direction, the inexperienced penitent acquires greater peace and stability in his devotions.

As has been noted, Ignatius throughout this process received mystical visions and experiences that gave him either great spiritual consolation or distress, whether it was in the hospital he first stayed in when he arrived in Manresa, or later in his room with the Dominicans, at Mass in town or on the steps of the monastery. These visions and experiences included resplendent serpents with many eyes, accusatory voices that reproached him for his sins, the Holy Trinity, the elevated body of Jesus Christ and the creation of the world. They were a diverse range of phenomena that tested his resolve, provided him comfort and understanding in times of need, and formed the basis of his

¹⁹⁹ "Well, then, to work: let the actions of Amadís come to mind and show me where I must begin to imitate them. I already know that for the most part he prayed and commended himself to God, but what shall I use for a rosary, since I do not have one"

Then he thought of what he could do, and he tore a long strip from his shirttails and tied eleven knots in it, one larger than the rest, and this served as his rosary during the time he was there, when he said a million Ave Marías. He was greatly troubled at not finding a hermit nearby who would hear his confession and console him, and so he spent his time walking through the meadow, writing and scratching on the tree trunks and in the fine sand many verses, all of them suited to his sorrow and some of them praising Dulcinea" (I, 26, 206).

²⁰⁰ See Riquer's notes 2 and 3 in I, 26, 270-271.

training in spiritual discernment. In his *Autobiografía*, Ignatius remembers the revelations he experienced on one occasion in the countryside, just outside of Manresa:

Una vez iba por su devoción a una iglesia que estaba poco más de una milla de Manresa, que creo yo que se llama San Pablo, y el camino va junto al río; y yendo así en sus devociones, se sentó un poco con la cara hacia el río, el cual iba hondo. Y estando allí sentado, se le empezaron a abrir los ojos del entendimiento y conociendo muchas cosas, tanto de cosas espirituales como de cosas de la fe y letras; y esto con una ilustración tan grande, que le parecían todas las cosas nuevas. Y no se puede declarar los particulares que entendió entonces, aunque fueron muchos, sino que recibió una grande claridad en el entendimiento; de manera que en todo el discurso de su vida, hasta pasados sesenta y dos años, coligiendo todas cuantas ayudas haya tenido de Dios, y todas cuantas cosas ha sabido, aunque las ayunte todas en uno, no le parece haber alcanzado tanto como de aquella vez sola

31. Y después que esto duró un buen rato, se fue a hincar de rodillas a una cruz que estaba allí cerca, a dar gracias a Dios; y allí le apareció aquella visión que muchas veces le aparecía y nunca la había conocido, es a saber, aquella cosa que arriba se dijo que le parecía muy hermosa, con muchos ojos. Mas bien vio, estando delante de la cruz que no tenía aquella cosa tan hermosa color como solía; y tuvo un muy claro conocimiento, con grande asenso de la voluntad, que aquél era el demonio; así después muchas veces por mucho tiempo le solía aparecer, y él, a modo de menosprecio, lo desechaba con un bordón que solía traer en la mano (III, 30-31, 82-83).²⁰¹

Ignatius experienced this famous illumination beside the Cardoner river, not far from where he was staying in Manresa. Although it remains unmentioned in both the *Autobiografía* and *Vida*, anecdotal reports for centuries have suggested that Ignatius experienced many of his visions in a cave in the hills outside Manresa.²⁰² In fact, this is now a widely accepted part of Ignatius' legend in Manresa, and the cave where he is said

²⁰¹ “He was on his way, out of devotion, to a church a little more than a mile from Manresa, which I think was called Saint Paul. The road followed the path of the river and he was taken up with his devotions; he sat down for a while facing the river flowing far below him. As he sat there the eyes of his understanding were opened and though he saw no vision he understood and perceived many things, numerous spiritual things as well as matters touching on faith and learning, and this was with an elucidation so bright that all these things seemed new to him. He cannot expound in detail what he then understood, for they were many things, but he can state that he received such a lucidity in understanding that during the course of his entire life — now having passed his sixty-second year — if he were to gather all the helps he received from God and everything he knew, and add them together, he does not think they would add up to all that he received on that one occasion.

31. And after this lasted for some time, he went to kneel before a cross, which was near that place, to give thanks to God, and there that vision appeared to him — the one that had appeared many times before and which he had never understood — that is, the object described earlier which seemed most beautiful to him, with its many eyes. Kneeling before the cross he noticed that the object was without the beautiful color it usually had, and he distinctly understood, and felt the firm agreement of his will, that that was the evil spirit. Many times later it continued to appear to him, but as a mark of his disdain for it he drove it away with the pilgrim's staff he always had in his hand” (III, 30-31, 38-39).

²⁰² The testimony of two witnesses provided during Ignatius' canonization process corroborated his visits to the cave overlooking the Cardoner River. See the editors' comments in the Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos edition of the *Autobiografía*, note 10, p.72.

to have had his visions is today a popular destination for tourists and pilgrims.²⁰³ Whether apocryphal or not, the legend of Ignatius' visions in the Cueva de Manresa has given readers of *Don Quixote* reason to associate him with the Manchegan knight on the basis of another of his famous adventures.

In chapter 22 of the second part of Cervantes' novel, Don Quixote has an opportunity to visit the Cueva de Montesinos in La Mancha, a place whose wonders he has heard of and is keen to see for himself. With a long length of rope, Sancho and the licentiate, who accompanies the pair during this adventure, lower Don Quixote down into the cave. A short while later, they pull him up and find that he is fast asleep. With some effort, they manage to wake him and discover that he has an incredible story to tell.

While he was in the cave, Don Quixote recalls a profound sleep coming over him. When he awoke, he found that he was in another world, in the midst of a beautiful meadow facing a royal palace. Here he was met by Montesinos, a character from Spanish ballad poetry inspired by the legends of Charlemagne.²⁰⁴ Montesinos and other characters from books of chivalry were also there, all enchanted, that is to say held captive in this fantasy world, by the evil French enchanter Merlin. Word of Don Quixote's fame had reached Montesinos, who for many years had been longing for the knight to visit him so he that could tell the world of their imprisonment. Time for Don Quixote in the cave passes quickly; once he is returned to the surface, he feels as if he has been gone for three days, although it has only been, according to Sancho, little more than an hour.

Sancho at first shows a willingness to believe his master's story. The questions both he and the licentiate then ask Don Quixote seem to recall aspects of Ignatius' ascetic experience in Manresa:

²⁰³ In 1603 a chapel was built above the Cave of Manresa and dedicated to St Ignatius of Antioch, with the hope of later changing its name to Loyola. In 1767 the church of the Holy Cave was built and dedicated to Loyola. See Joan Segarra Pijuan, SJ. *Manresa y San Ignacio de Loyola*. 2^a ed. en castellano. Manresa: Ajuntament de Manresa, 1991. For more on the Cave of Manresa as an Ignatian pilgrimage and tourist destination see www.covamanresa.cat.

²⁰⁴ See Grossman's note 4 in II, 22, 606.

-Verdad debe de decir mi señor -dijo Sancho-; que como todas las cosas que le han sucedido son por encantamento, quizá lo que a nosotros nos parece un hora, debe de parecer allá tres días con sus noches.

-Así será -respondió don Quijote.

-Y ¿ha comido vuestra merced en todo este tiempo, señor mío -preguntó el primo.

-No me he desayunado de bocado -respondió don Quijote-, ni aun he tenido hambre, ni por pensamiento.

-Y los encantados, ¿comen? -dijo el primo.

-No comen -respondió don Quijote-, ni tienen escrementos mayores; aunque es opinión que les crecen las uñas, las barbas y los cabellos.

-Y ¿duermen por ventura los encantados, señor? -preguntó Sancho.

-No, por cierto, -respondió don Quijote-; a lo menos, en estos tres días que yo he estado con ellos, ninguno ha pegado el ojo, ni yo tampoco (II, 23, 733-734).²⁰⁵

Indeed, the questions asked by Sancho and the licenciante prompt responses from Don Quixote that are uncannily similar to aspects of Ignatius' penances in Manresa, whether his fasting ("toda la semana perseveró sin meter en la boca ninguna cosa" *Autobiografía*, III, 25, 78,²⁰⁶ Don Quixote: "No me he desayunado de un bocado"),²⁰⁷ allowing his hair, beard and fingernails to grow, or even the sleepless nights he passed as a result of his custom of rising at midnight to pray. At any rate, Sancho ultimately finds Don Quixote's story of his time in the Cueva de Montesinos to be unbelievable, although not because he thinks he is lying, but rather because he thinks *his master* has been enchanted. Don Quixote admits the possibility, but refuses to accept it; his confirmation that the experience was real comes from having seen Dulcinea among the enchanted ladies down in the cave. Sancho understands then that Don Quixote is out of his mind; he himself was responsible for the so-called enchantment of Dulcinea, in which he hoodwinked Don Quixote into believing that his lady had been transformed into a field labourer by some

²⁰⁵ "My master must be telling the truth," said Sancho. "Since all the things that have happened to him have been by enchantment, maybe what seems like an hour to us seems like three days and nights down there."

"That must be so," responded Don Quixote.

"And, Señor, has your grace eaten in all this time?" asked the cousin.

"Not a mouthful has broken my fast," responded Don Quixote, "nor did the thought of hunger even enter my mind."

"Do the enchanted eat?" said the cousin.

"They do not eat," responded Don Quixote, "nor do they have excretory wastes, although some believe that their nails, beards, and hair all grow."

"And by any chance do they sleep, Señor?" asked Sancho.

"No, certainly not," responded Don Quixote. "At least, in the three days I have been with them not one of them closed an eye, and neither did I" (II, 23, 610).

²⁰⁶ "He went an entire week without putting anything in his mouth" (III, 25, 33).

²⁰⁷ "Not a mouthful has broken my fast."

powerful sorcerer (II, 10). In the end, the Arab historian himself, Cide Hamete Benengeli, intervenes to cast doubt on the authenticity of Don Quixote's story:

Dice el que tradujo esta grande historia del original, de la que escribió su primer autor Cide Hamete Benengeli, que llegando al capítulo de la aventura de la cueva de Montesinos, en el margen dél estaban escritas de mano del mesmo Hamete estas mismas razones:

«No me puedo dar a entender, ni me puedo persuadir, que al valeroso don Quijote le pasase puntalmente todo lo que en el antecedente capítulo queda escrito: la razón es que todas las aventuras hasta aquí sucedidas han sido contingibles y verisímiles; pero ésta desta cueva no le hallo entrada alguna para tenerla por verdadera, por ir tan fuera de los términos razonables. Pues pensar yo que don Quijote mintiese, siendo el más verdadero hidalgo y el más noble caballero de sus tiempos, no es posible; que no dijera él una mentira si le asaetaran. Por otra parte, considero que él la contó y la dijo en tan breve espacio tan gran máquina de disparates; y si esta aventura parece apócrifa, yo no tengo la culpa; y así, sin afirmarla por falsa o verdadera, la escribo. Tú, lector, pues eres prudente, juzga lo que te pareciere, que yo no debo ni puedo más; puesto que se tiene por cierto que al tiempo de su fin y muerte que se retrató della, y dijo que él la había inventado, por parecerle que convenía y cuadraba bien con las aventuras que había leído en sus historias» (II, 24, 738).²⁰⁸

The parallelisms reviewed thus far concerning Ignatius' penances and mystical experiences in Manresa and Don Quixote's mad acts in the Sierra Morena and visions in the Cueva de Montesinos offer striking similarities, from the ardent imitation of saints and lovelorn knights in extreme acts of devotion, including fasting, prayer and self discipline, to the surprising visions both Ignatius and Don Quixote are purported to have had in caves. These similarities have not passed unnoticed by readers of *Don Quixote*, including Pierre Quesnel (24-28), the anonymous commentator in *The Westminster*

²⁰⁸ "The man who translated this great history from the original composed by its first author, Cide Hamete Benengeli, says that when he reached the chapter concerning the adventure of the Cave of Montesinos, he found in the margin, written in Hamete's own hand, these precise words:

'I cannot believe, nor can I persuade myself, that everything written in the preceding chapter actually happened in its entirety to the valiant Don Quixote: the reason is that all the adventures up to this point have been possible and plausible, but with regard to this one in the cave, I can find no way to consider it true since it goes so far beyond the limits of reason. But it is not possible for me to think that Don Quixote, the truest and most noble knight of his day, would lie, for he would not tell a lie even if he were shot with arrows. Moreover, he recounted and told it in all its circumstances and details, and in so short a time he could not fabricate so enormous a quantity of nonsense; if this adventure seems apocryphal, the fault is not mine, and so, without affirming either its falsity or its truth, I write it down. You, reader, since you are a discerning person, must judge it according to your own lights, for I must not and cannot do more; yet it is considered true that at the time of Don Quixote's passing and death, he is said to have retracted it, saying he had invented it because he thought it was consonant and compatible with the adventures he had read in his histories'" (II, 24, 615).

Foreign and Quarterly Review (325),²⁰⁹ Federico Ortés (246) and Unamuno who, having read Pedro de Ribadeneira's *Vida*, cannot help but think of Ignatius when it comes to Don Quixote's sojourn in the Sierra Morena mountains:

Esta penitencia de Don Quijote en Sierra Morena nos trae a la memoria aquella otra de Íñigo de Loyola en la cueva de Manresa, y sobre todo cuando en el mismo Manresa y en el monasterio de Santo Domingo “vínole al pensamiento — como nos dice el P. Rivadeneira, libro I, capítulo IV — un ejemplo de un santo que para alcanzar de Dios una cosa que le pedía, determinó de no desayunarse hasta alcanzarla. A cuya imitación — añade — propuso él también de no comer ni beber hasta hallar la paz tan deseada de su alma, si ya no se viese por ello a peligro de morir” (83).²¹⁰

Where the parody of Ignatius takes a decidedly satirical turn, if indeed these parallelisms can be construed as intentional and not mere coincidence, is in the characterization of Don Quixote's penances as utterly insane and the doubtfulness with which the novel's characters and fictional narrator greet his visions in the Cueva de Montesinos. This would seem to suggest that Cervantes, by way of association, was implying that Ignatius was in a similarly unstable frame of mind when he took to his privations and self-discipline in Manresa and that the stories of his visions and mystical experiences beggared belief. Unamuno, who takes an opposing position to Cervantes with respect to Don Quixote's madness in his *Vida de don Quijote and Sancho*, defends the believability of not only Don Quixote's visions in the Cueva de Montesinos, but also of Ignatius' experiences in the cave at Manresa, with whom he compares him. At the beginning of chapter 24 of his work, Unamuno addresses the doubting fictional narrator Benengeli, referring him to Ribadeneira's *Vida de Ignacio de Loyola* in which the biographer details Ignatius' mystical experiences. Ribadeneira was wary of the difficulty of verifying such experiences but nonetheless made a concerted effort to defend the credibility of Ignatius'. His conclusion that they were real means, according to Unamuno, that Don Quixote's must have been also:

²⁰⁹ “Loyola also has his enchanted cave in Barcelona—the cave of Manresa—where his interviews with heaven and hell, angels and devils, are as numerous and as authentic as the dreams of our own more harmless madman in his enchanted cave of Montesinos” (Anonymous 325).

²¹⁰ “This penance of Don Quixote's in the Sierra Morena calls to mind that other penance of Íñigo de Loyola in the cave of Manresa, and above all when in the same Manresa and in the monastery of St Dominic ‘there occurred to him — as Father Rivadeneira tells us in Book I, Chapter IV — the example of a saint who in order to receive from God something he had asked for, decided not to break his fast until he received it. In whose imitation — he adds — he proposed likewise not to eat or drink until his soul found its desired peace, if he did not find himself in danger of dying before then’”.

[Speaking to Benengeli] Sin duda no leíste, o si lo leíste, pues se publicó veintidós años antes que tú publicases la historia de Don Quijote, no meditaste bien el libro de la *Vida del bienaventurado P. Ignacio de Loyola*, del P. Pedro de Rivadeneira, quien en el capítulo VII del libro I nos cuenta las visiones del caballero andante de Cristo y cómo “se le representó la manera que tuvo Dios en hacer el mundo” y “vió la sagrada humanidad de nuestro Redentor Jesucristo, alguna vez también a la gloriosísima Virgen” y otras maravillosas visiones, entre ellas la del demonio, que se le apareció muchas veces, “no sólo en Manresa y en los caminos, sino en París también y en Roma; pero su semblante y aspecto... era tan apocado y feo, que no haciendo caso dél, con el báculo que traía en la mano, fácilmente le echaba de sí”.

De los que nieguen tales visiones y digan que son imposibles, digamos lo que dice el piadosísimo P. Rivadeneira, y es que “serán comúnmente hombres que no saben, ni entienden, ni han oído decir qué cosa sea espíritu, ni gozo, ni fruto espiritual... ni piensan que hay otros pasatiempos y gustos, ni recreaciones, sino las que ellos, de noche y de día, por mar y por tierra, con tanto cuidado y solicitud y artificio buscan para cumplir con sus apetitos y dar contento a su sensualidad. Y así, no hay que hacer caso de ellos”. ¡Prudentísimas palabras que debía de conocer y haber leído Don Quijote, pues contestó a Sancho lo de: “¡Como te conozco, Sancho, no hago caso de tus palabras!”

Con gran acierto trae a colación aquí el P. Rivadeneira lo del Apóstol (I Cor., II), de que los hombres carnales no son quién para juzgar de las cosas y visiones de los espirituales, y se consuela el buen Padre con que había también “cristianos y cuerdos, y leídos en historias y vidas de Santos”, que aunque entienden que en cosas de visiones “es menester mucho tiento, porque puede haber engaño y muchas veces le hay”, no por eso ha de dejarse de darles crédito. Conviene que el lector lea las razones todas que aduce el piadoso Padre historiador de Íñigo de Loyola para convencernos de la verdad de las visiones de éste, pues quien tan grandes obras llevó a cabo, bien pudo ver lo que vió, y si “necesariamente habemos de conceder lo que es más, concedamos lo que es menos, y entendamos que todos los rayos y resplandores que vemos en las obras que hizo, salieron destas luces y visitaciones divinas” (137-138).²¹¹

²¹¹ “[Speaking to Benengeli] No doubt you didn’t read, or if you did—since it was published twenty-two years before you published the history of Don Quixote—you didn’t ponder well the book *Vida del bienaventurado P. Ignacio de Loyola*, by Father Pedro de Rivadeneira, who in Book I, Chapter VII tells us of the visions of the knight errant of Christ and how ‘it was represented to him the manner in which God made the world’ and that he ‘saw the sacred humanity of our Redeemer Jesus Christ, and another time also the glorious Virgin’ and other marvellous visions, among them the vision of the devil, who appeared to him many times, ‘not only in Manresa and on the roadways, but also in Paris and in Rome; but in his countenance and appearance... was so vile and ugly that, ignoring him, he was easily able to drive him away with the staff he held in his hand.’ Of those who deny such visions and say that they are impossible, let us say what the pious Father Rivadeneira says, and that is that ‘men will not often know, nor understand, nor will have heard it said what such a thing is as spirit, nor joy, nor spiritual fruit... nor do they think that there are pastimes, tastes or recreations other than those they seek day and night, by sea and land, with so much care, solicitude and artifice to satisfy their appetites and give contentment to their sensuality. And so, there is no need to pay attention to them.’ Most prudent words that Don Quixote must have known and read, since he responded to Sancho with that remark: ‘Since I know you, Sancho, I ignore your words!’

Father Rivadeneira very wisely brings up here what the Apostle says in I Cor., II, that carnal men are not the ones to judge the visions and things of spiritual men, and the good Father is consoled by the knowledge that there were also ‘Christians and sane men, well read in histories and the lives of Saints’, who although they understood that in matters of visions ‘it is necessary to take great care, because there can be deception and often there is’, it isn’t for this that they shouldn’t be believed. The reader should read all the reasons adduced by the pious Father historian of Íñigo de Loyola to convince us of the truth of his visions, since he who carried out such great works could well have seen what he saw, and if ‘we must concede what is greatest, let us

Despite the need for caution when interpreting stories of mystical experience, and the deception which often lies behind them, Ribadeneyra's arguments for the authenticity of Ignatius' visions in Manresa satisfy Unamuno's criteria for belief. Regardless of what the narrator, the novel's characters, Cervantes or anyone else might say, Unamuno applies these same arguments to Don Quixote's story and decides that he too must be believed.

Notwithstanding Unamuno's disdain for Cervantes and his (one wonders if entirely serious?) literary criticism that utterly disregards the writer's authorial intention, all of this, when taken together, delivers a powerful satirical blow to the account of Ignatius' penances and mystical experiences in Manresa. Don Quixote's parallel experiences effectively undermine the sententiousness and authority of Ignatius' story by casting it in a silly and humorous light and by insinuating its doubtfulness with Cervantes' recourse to the fictional narrator Benengeli, whose scepticism of Don Quixote's report from the Cueva de Montesinos evokes the tortured validation of Ignatius' visions by Ribadeneyra. The result is a distinctly subversive parody of Loyola's efforts to imitate the saints and achieve the idealized perfection he so earnestly desired.

The last two episodes from Loyola's life for our review reveal a noticeably quixotic spirit that has been observed and commented on by readers over the centuries. The first, which does not correspond with a particular adventure in *Don Quixote* so much as it demonstrates his mad way of proceeding, involves an experience Ignatius had while on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Having reached Gaeta after a fearful voyage in which his ship sails through a severe storm, Ignatius disembarks and begins walking to Rome accompanied by three of his fellow passengers: a mother and her daughter, and another young man, all of whom, like him, intend to beg their way across Italy. When the party eventually reaches a place to stay for the night, an opportunity presents itself to Ignatius to come to the aid of his fellow travellers:

concede what is least, and understand that all the rays and splendour we see in the works he performed came from these lights and divine visitations””.

Llegados a una casería, hallaron un grande fuego y muchos soldados a él, los cuales les dieron de comer, y les daban mucho vino, invitándolos, de manera que parecía que tuviesen intento de escallentalles. Después los apartaron, poniendo la madre y la hija arriba en una cámara, y el pelegriño con el mozo en un establo. Mas cuando vino la media noche, oyó que allá arriba se daban grandes gritos; y, levantándose para ver lo que era, halló la madre y la hija abajo en el patio muy llorosas, lamentándose que las querían forzar. A él le vino con esto un ímpetu grande, que empezó a gritar, diciendo: -¿Esto se ha de sufrir?- y semejantes quejas; las cuales decía con tanta eficacia, que quedaron espantados todos los de la casa, sin que ninguno le hiciese mal ninguno. El mozo había ya huido, y todos tres empezaron a caminar así de noche (*Autobiografía*, IV, 38, 88-89).²¹²

The strong emotion which overcomes Ignatius and compels him to stand up for the mother and her daughter is reminiscent of Don Quixote's fury at similar acts of injustice.²¹³ Indeed, the anger Ignatius experiences is so great that it overwhelms whatever sense of precaution he might have had when confronting a group of armed soldiers with little more than a pilgrim's staff and vociferous protests for his defence. As Pierre Quesnel writes in *The Spiritual Quixote*, Ignatius' rescue of the women from danger was "an adventure that would have done honour to the famous Don Quixote, who

²¹² "When they arrived at a large farmhouse they found a big fire and around it many soldiers who offered them something to eat and gave them much wine, persuading them to drink on, as if, it seemed, they wanted to get them drunk. They then separated; the mother and daughter went to an upstairs room, while the pilgrim and the young man went to a stable. In the middle of the night he heard loud shouts coming from upstairs and rising to see what the noise was, he found the mother and daughter in tears in the courtyard below, weeping and lamenting because the soldiers had tried to violate them. So strong an emotion took hold of him that he began to shout out: 'Do we have to put up with this?' and similar complaints, which he uttered with such effectiveness that everyone was so dumbfounded that no one laid a hand on him. The young man had already fled, so the three of them continued their journey, though it was still night" (*Autobiografía*, IV, 38, 45-46).

²¹³ Cervantes highlights Don Quixote's protection of widows and the virginity of young maidens in a humorously exaggerated way in Chapter 9, when he is longing to know the continuation of his story after it has come to an abrupt end: "ya que no estuviese escrita [Don Quixote's story], estaría en la memoria de la gente de su aldea y de las a ella circunvecinas. Esta imaginación me traía confuse y deseoso de saber real y verdaderamente toda la vida y milagros de nuestro famoso don Quijote de la Mancha, luz y espejo de la caballería manchega, y el primero que en nuestra edad y en estos tan calamitosos tiempos se puso al trabajo y ejercicio de las andantes armas, y al desfacer agravios, socorrer viudas, amparar doncellas, de aquellas que andaban con sus azotes y palafrenes, y con toda su virginidad a cuestras, de monte en monte y de valle en valle; que si no era que algún follón, o algún villano de hacha y capellina, o algún descomunal gigante las forzaba, doncella hubo en los pasados tiempos que, al cabo de ochenta años, que en todos ellos no durmió un día debajo de tejado, y se fue tan entera a la sepultura como la madre que la había parido" (I, 9, 101). ("though [Don Quixote's story] might not be written down, it had to live on in the memories of people from his village and from other villages nearby. This thought left me disconcerted and longing to know, really and truly and in its entirety, the life and miracles of our famous Spaniard Don Quixote of La Mancha, the model and paragon of Manchegan chivalry, and the first in our age and in these calamitous times to take up the exercise and profession of chivalric arms, righting wrongs, defending widows, and protecting those maidens who rode, with whips and palfreys, and bearing all their virginity on their backs, from mountain to mountain and valley to valley; and unless some villain, or some farmer with hatchet and pitchfork, or some enormous giant forced her, a maiden could, in the days of yore, after eighty years of never once sleeping under a roof, go to her grave as pure as the day her mother bore her" I, 9, 66).

greatly loved to redress injuries” (48). His thunderous condemnation and complaints of the soldier’s behaviour leave everyone in the farmhouse so startled, and perhaps wondering about the mental state of this odd man, that he survives the incident unscathed and manages to secure the freedom and safe passage of his companions. It was indeed a great victory for Ignatius.

Perplexed reactions and the questioning of Ignatius’ sanity characterize our last example of his quixotic behaviour and the final narrative parallelism with *Don Quixote* we shall examine. On his return from the Holy Land, once again in Italy, Ignatius encounters some Spanish soldiers who recognize him as a fellow countryman. They are surprised that he is travelling alone on a road that passes between the French and Imperial armies. They show him which route to take in order to avoid the French, but he prefers to leave his fate to God. After walking ahead some distance, he reaches a small town and is arrested on suspicion of being a spy. He responds to his captors’ questions at first, but they aren’t satisfied with his answers and decide to take him to their captain for further questioning. As they lead him to the captain’s quarters, Ignatius recalls how Christ was interrogated and tortured but refused to speak. He decides to imitate the Lord’s approach, thus provoking the frustration of the captain who concludes that he is mad:

Mas cuando fue a puesta de sol, llegó a un pueblo cercado, y las guardas le cogieron luego, pensando que fuese espía; y metiéndole en una casilla junto a la puerta, le empezaron a examinar, como se suele hacer cuando hay sospecha; y respondiendo a todas las preguntas que no sabía nada. Y le desnudaron, y hasta los zapatos le escudriñaron, y todas las partes del cuerpo, para ver si llevaba alguna letra. Y no pudiendo saber por ninguna vía, trabaron dél para que viniese al capitán; que él le haría decir. Y diciendo él que le llevasen cubierto con su ropilla, no quisieron dársela, y lleváronle así con los zaragüelles y jubón arriba dichos.

52. En esta ida tuvo el pelegrino como una representación de cuando llevaban a Cristo, aunque no fue visión como las otras. Y fue llevado por tres grandes calles; y él iba sin ninguna tristeza, antes con alegría y contentamiento. El tenía por costumbre de hablar, a cualquiera persona que fuese, por vos, teniendo esta devoción, que así hablaba Cristo y los apóstoles, etc. Yendo así por estas calles le pasó por la fantasía que sería bueno dejar aquella costumbre en aquel trance y hablar por señoría al capitán, y esto con algunos temores de tormentos que le podían dar, etc. Mas como conoció que era tentación: -Pues así es, dice, yo no le hablaré por señoría, ni le haré reverencia, ni le quitaré caperuza.

53. Llegan al palacio del capitán, y dejánle en una sala baja, y de allí a un rato le habla el capitán. Y él sin hacer ningún modo de cortesía, responde pocas palabras, y con notable espacio entre una y otra. Y el capitán le tuvo por loco, y así lo dijo a los

que lo trajeron: -Este hombre no tiene seso; dadle lo suyo y echadlo fuera- (*Autobiografía*, V, 51-53, 99-100).²¹⁴

Ribadeneyra's account of the incident is more embellished than Ignatius' in the *Autobiografía*. It also gives greater emphasis to the spiritual consolation Ignatius derived from enduring a treatment similar to that of Jesus Christ's:

Enojóse el capitán con los soldados ásperamente riñéndolos y diciéndoles que harto locos eran ellos, pues le habían traído allí un loco; y con tanto, manda que se lo quiten de delante y lo echen de allí. Irritados los soldados con el mal tratamiento de su capitán, quiebran en el pobre peregrino su enojo, y diciéndole mil baldones y ultrajes, cárganle de puñadas y coces. Contaba él después que con la memoria y representación que allí tuvo de la afrenta y escarnio que el Señor recibió de Herodes y de sus soldados, había el mismo Señor regalado su ánima con admirable y extraordinario consuelo (I, 12, 54).²¹⁵

The captain's conclusion that he is dealing with a madman is ultimately what allows Ignatius to continue on his journey unmolested. This is the same outcome we find for Don Quixote in I, 46, when he evades arrest by the Holy Brotherhood, the police force of the day responsible for patrolling the highways and byways of rural Spain. Having been

²¹⁴ "At sunset he came to a walled town where the guards immediately seized him, thinking he was a spy. They put him in a small hut next to the town's gate and questioned him, as they usually did with those whom they suspected. He answered all their questions, saying that he knew nothing. They stripped him and searched his entire body down to his shoes, to see if he were carrying any letters. Unable to learn anything by these means, they bound him in order to take him to their captain, who would make him talk. He asked that they take him wearing his coat, but they refused to give it to him, and took him only in his breeches and doublet, which were mentioned earlier.

52. While on his way, the pilgrim had a representation of how Christ was led away, but this was not a vision as the others were. He was led down three main streets, and went without sadness but with joy and satisfaction. He was in the habit of addressing all whom he met in the familiar 'you' form, and kept to this practice because it was in this way that Christ and the apostles spoke, and so forth. Passing through these streets, the thought came to him, together with thoughts of torture that they could inflict on him, that it would be good for him to drop that custom on this occasion and speak to the captain in the more formal and polite manner. But he immediately perceived that this was a temptation and said: 'Since it is, I will not speak to him in the formal and dignified manner, nor will I show him any mark of respect, nor will I take my cap off to him.'

53. When they came to the captain's quarters they left him in a lower room and in a little while the captain came and spoke with him. Without showing any mark of courtesy, he answered in few words with long pauses between them. The captain took him for a madman and instructed those who had brought him in: 'This man has no brains; give him his belongings and throw him out'" (*Autobiografía*, V, 51-53, 60-61).

²¹⁵ "The captain became angry with the soldiers and rebuked them harshly, saying that they were completely nuts for having brought him a madman; he therefore orders them to remove him from his sight and throw him out of there. The soldiers, irritated by their captain's poor treatment, turn their anger towards the pilgrim and, telling him a thousand insults and reproaches, rain down kicks and punches on him. He later used to say that with the memory and representation he had of the reproach and derision suffered by the Lord at the hands of Herod and his soldiers, that the Lord himself had rewarded his soul with admirable and extraordinary comfort".

persuaded to abandon his penance in the Sierra Morena, Don Quixote is slowly coaxed back home by Sancho Panza, the priest and barber, and a growing entourage of other characters that have joined them along the way. While staying at another inn, which of course Don Quixote believes to be an enchanted castle, a debate breaks out between the barber and Sancho on whether Don Quixote's barber's basin is really a basin or in fact knight's helmet. Don Quixote precipitates a violent brawl when a member of the Holy Brotherhood intervenes at this point to point out the idiocy of the claim, an objection to which Don Quixote takes great offence. Once the dust has settled, one of the troopers reviews the arrest warrants he has with him and discovers that there is one for Don Quixote, for freeing the galley slaves earlier in his adventures (I, 22). Don Quixote scoffs at their authority to arrest him; he is a knight errant, subject to no law but the order of chivalry. Eventually the priest steps in to explain the situation to the officers:

En tanto que don Quijote esto decía, estaba persuadiendo el cura a los cuadrilleros como don Quijote era falto de juicio, como lo veían por sus obras y por sus palabras, y que no tenían para qué llevar aquel negocio adelante, pues aunque le prendiesen y llevasen, luego le habían de dejar por loco; a lo que respondió del mandamiento que a él no tocaba juzgar de la locura de don Quijote, sino hacer lo que por su mayor le era mandado, y que una vez preso, siquiera le soltasen trecientas.

-Con todo eso -dijo el cura-, por esta vez no le habéis de llevar, ni aun él dejará llevarse, a lo que yo entiendo.

En efeto, tanto les supo el cura decir, y tantas locuras supo don Quijote hacer, que más locos fueran que no él los cuadrilleros si no conocieran la falta de don Quijote; y así, tuvieron por bien de apaciguarse, y aun de ser medianeros de hacer las paces entre el barbero y Sancho Panza, que todavía asistían con gran rancor a su pendencia (I, 46, 486).²¹⁶

This parallelism, first observed in 1777 by the Reverend John Bowle in his letter to Dr. Percy (138), brings to a conclusion our review of narrative parallelisms in *Don Quixote*, the *Autobiografía* and Pedro de Ribadeneyra's *Vida de Ignacio de Loyola*. Notable events

²¹⁶ "As Don Quixote was saying this, the priest was attempting to persuade the officers that Don Quixote was not in his right mind, as they could see by his actions and his words, and that they had no need to proceed with the matter, for even if they arrested him and took him away, they would have to release him immediately because he was a madman, to which the officer with the warrant replied that it was not up to him to judge the madness of Don Quixote, but only to do what his commanding officer ordered him to do, and once Don Quixote had been arrested, it was all the same to him if they let him go three hundred times over. 'Even so,' said the priest, 'this one time you should not take him, and as far as I can tell, he will not allow himself to be taken.'

In fact, the priest was so persuasive, and Don Quixote did so many mad things, that the officers would have been crazier than he if they had not recognized Don Quixote's affliction, and so they thought it best not to proceed, and even to intervene and make peace between the barber and Sancho Panza, who still persisted with great rancor in their dispute" (I, 46, 398).

in these latter works, including Ignatius' wounding in Pamplona, religious conversion via his reading of devotional works, decision to imitate the saints, vigil of arms in Montserrat, attempts to help the needy, penance and visions in Manresa and experiences as a pilgrim travelling through Europe, as well as the interruption of Ignatius' narration in chapter VIII of the *Autobiografía* and the ultimate replacement of his memoir with the *Vida*, which introduces Pedro de Ribadeneyra as the new narrator of his story, are all met with humorous burlesque parallels in the early adventures of Cervantes' mock-hero, Don Quixote. Many of these events share similarities with notable commonplaces of chivalric romances, the preferred reading of Ignatius during his youth. Other details, such as certain turns of phrase and possible allusions to Ignatius, seem to suggest an intentional association made by the author of *Don Quixote* between his amusing knight and the founder of the Society of Jesus. Does this indicate a rhetorical strategy designed to communicate a parody of Loyola to the discreet reader? The next step in our analysis of parallelisms in *Don Quixote*, the *Autobiografía* and *Vida* will be to consider the substantive character traits common to both Don Quixote and St Ignatius.

2. Substantive Parallelisms between Don Quixote and St Ignatius

The character Don Quixote bears a striking resemblance to St Ignatius in a number of significant ways. Again, whether this similarity is intended to lead discreet readers to admire the author's "invention"—that is to say, to discover a veiled parody of Loyola in *Don Quixote*—is the question. Each identified similarity, parallelism or trait shared by St Ignatius and Don Quixote, however, lends credence this idea. The picture begins to emerge of an author who deftly uses commonplaces of character to incite readers to associate the two figures by using a strategy of enthymematic communication: Ignatius was like this or like that; so is Don Quixote; therefore Don Quixote is a parody of the Jesuit founder.

2.1 *Hidalgo*

We have already observed several substantive parallelisms between Don Quixote and St Ignatius drawn on the basis of reader associations, such as their mysterious and unknown pasts, their choleric temperaments and their alleged shared baldness, as noted by Unamuno, which gave him reason to believe that they both possessed an aptitude for military affairs. There are, however, more significant parallelisms that bear witness to a parody of Loyola in *Don Quixote*. The protagonist's status as an *hidalgo* (literally a "son-of-something"), announced in the title of the novel's first part in 1605, is one such commonality. Alonso Quijano, who as Don Quixote madly aspires to the glory of knighthood, belongs in fact to this minor rank of Spanish nobility, a social class inferior to most titled, land-owning blue-bloods. Quijano is actually quite poor, as we learn from the description of his estate and content of his meals in chapter 1. The value of his *hidalgo* status comes instead from its certification of his Old Christian heritage and the confirmation that he is the rightful owner of a modest ancestral home. As he confidently ponders the fame and fortune his chivalrous adventures will bring him in chapter 21 of the novel, a humorously deluded Don Quixote imagines his elevation to a state more noble than that of *hidalgo*:

También me falta otra cosa: que, puesto caso que se halle rey con guerra y con hija hermosa, y que yo haya cobrado fama increíble por todo el universo, no sé yo cómo se podía hallar que yo sea de linaje de reyes, o, por lo menos, primo segundo de emperador; porque no me querrá el rey dar a su hija por mujer, si no está primero muy enterado en esto, aunque más lo merezcan mis famosos hechos; así que, por esta falta, temo perder lo que mi brazo tiene bien merecido. Bien es verdad que yo soy hijodalgo de solar conocido, de posesión y propiedad y de devengar quinientos sueldos,²¹⁷ y podría ser que el sabio que escribiese mi historia deslindase de tal manera mi parentela y decendencia, que me hallase quinto o sexto nieto de rey. Porque te hago saber, Sancho, que hay dos maneras de linajes en el mundo: unos que traen y derivan su decendencia de príncipes y monarcas, a quien poco a poco el tiempo ha desecho, y han acabado en punta, como pirámide puesta al revés; otros tuvieron principio de gente baja, y van subiendo de grado en grado, hasta llegar a ser grandes señores (I, 21, 214-215).²¹⁸

Don Quixote's ambition to climb the social ladder from his lowly *hidalgo* status can likewise be seen in the life of Ignatius of Loyola. As noted earlier,²¹⁹ Ignatius' ancestry put him in the *hidalgo* category of Spanish society. His forebears had served Castilian monarchs for generations in the defence of the realm and in the Reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula. Being the youngest of thirteen children, however, made the "something" of which he was a son somewhat less tangible for Ignatius. Having no right to his family's estate, which included the *casa solariega* where he was born, he had to chart his own course in life and distinguish himself in a manner befitting his family name. His parents' connections nevertheless did secure him an education and training in Castile under the tutelage of the Contador Mayor, Juan Velázquez de Cuéllar. It was here in this courtly environment among the nobles and grandees of Spain that Ignatius' eagerness to *señalarse* and *valer más*, to win prestige and the esteem of others, would shine through. A tendency typical of both his Basque heritage and the forcefulness of his own

²¹⁷ Five hundred *sueldos* was the amount an *hidalgo* would have right to receive as compensation for an insult, two hundred more than what a non-*hidalgo* would receive. See Riquer's note 24 at I, 21, 214.

²¹⁸ "There is also something else: in the event we find a king at war who has a beautiful daughter, and I have won incredible fame throughout the universe, I do not know how it can be discovered that I am of royal lineage, or, at least, a second cousin to the emperor; the king will not wish to give me his daughter's hand in marriage unless he is very certain of this first, no matter how meritorious my famous deeds; as a consequence, for this reason, I fear I shall lose what my arm so justly deserves. It is certainly true that I am a gentleman of known lineage, with proprietary rights to an ancestral home, and entitlement to a payment of five hundred *sueldos*, and it well might be that the wise man who writes my history can elucidate my parentage and ancestry in such a way that I shall find myself to be a descendent, five or six times removed, of a king. Because I want you to know, Sancho, that there are two kinds of lineage in this world: some who trace and derive their ancestry from princes and monarchs, which time has gradually undone, and in the end they finish in a point, like a pyramid turned upside down; others have their origin in lowborn people, and they rise by degrees until they become great lords" (I, 21, 160-161).

²¹⁹ See note 72 above.

personality, Ignatius' desire to win *honra* and glory and to distinguish himself at a level beyond that of a mere *hidalgo* would characterize many of his actions during this time.²²⁰

As he recalls in the *Autobiografía*, “fue hombre dado a las vanidades del mundo, y principalmente se deleitaba en ejercicio de armas, con un grande y vano deseo de ganar honra” (I, 1, 58).²²¹ Ribadeneyra presents much the same view of Ignatius in the opening chapter of the *Vida* and highlights the young *hidalgo*'s need to outdo his peers:

Y comenzado ya a ser mozo y a hervirle la sangre, movido del ejemplo de sus hermanos, que eran varones esforzados, y él, que de suyo era brioso y de gran ánimo, dióse mucho a todos los ejercicios de armas, procurando de aventajarse sobre todos sus iguales, y de alcanzar nombre de hombre valeroso, y honra y gloria militar (I, 1 21).²²²

In his defense of the fortress at Pamplona, Ignatius would demonstrate his *hidalgo* zeal to achieve honour and glory, absurdly in fact, given the exceedingly adverse circumstances of the moment. Although his foolhardiness would cost him the chance of realizing his chivalrous dreams, Ignatius' ideal to *valer más* would not die with his worldly ambitions. It can be seen as a persistent force throughout his convalescence and conversion to his later spiritual conations. Not wanting to be left with an unsightly bone protruding from his leg where it had healed after being shattered by that fateful French cannon ball, he had his surgeons saw it off in an excruciatingly painful operation that he endured without complaint.²²³ Such a deformity would have been an affront to his self-

²²⁰ For more on the concept of *valer más*, and the continuity of this aspect of Loyola's character in his transition from worldly to spiritual life, see the section “El «más» ignaciano y el ideal caballeresco. La Orden de la Banda” in the chapter “El mundo caballeresco en la vida de Ignacio de Loyola” in Rogelio García Mateo's *Ignacio de Loyola: su espiritualidad y su mundo cultural*, pp.44-47. See also García Mateo's article “El joven Iñigo de Loyola: su formación y sus aspiraciones. Del «mayor» de los Parientes Mayores al «Ad Maiorem Dei Gloriam»” in *El pueblo vasco en el Renacimiento, 1491-1521: actas del simposio celebrado en la Universidad de Deusto, San Sebastián, con motivo del V.0 centenario del nacimiento de Ignacio de Loyola, 1-5 octubre, 1990*, pp.219-243.

²²¹ “he was a man given to worldly vanities, and having a vain and overpowering desire to gain renown, he found special delight in the exercise of arms” (I, 1, 7).

²²² “And when was already a young man and his blood began to run hot, moved as he was by the example of his brothers, who were brave men, he, who was himself lively and high spirited, gave himself to the exercise of every kind of weapon, trying to outdo all of his peers to attain the name of a brave man and achieve honour and military glory”.

²²³ “Y viniendo ya los huesos a soldarse unos con otros, le quedó debajo de la rodilla un hueso encabalgado sobre otro, por lo cual la pierna quedaba más corta; y quedaba allí el hueso tan levantado, que era cosa fea; lo cual él no pudiendo sufrir, porque determinaba seguir el mundo, y juzgaba que aquello le afearía, se informó de los cirujanos si se podía aquello cortar; y ellos dijeron que bien se podía cortar, mas los dolores serían mayores que todos los había pasado, por estar aquello ya sano, y ser menester espacio para cortarlo. Y todavía

image and seriously diminished his chances of ever pulling a stylish boot on that leg again. Later, while fantasizing about pursuing a life of spiritual adventure, he resolves not only to imitate the great saints Francis and Dominic but to surpass them in heroic penances and austerities. In every aspect of his spiritual life Ignatius sought that which was greater, better, or of more distinction in order to bring him closer to realizing his aspirations: mystical union with God, poverty, visions, tears of consolation, obedience, etc. The Basque *hidalgo*'s ideal is perhaps most elegantly summarized in the motto he established for the Society of Jesus: *Ad majorem Dei gloriam*—to the greater glory of God. Anything less than greatness was not an option for Ignatius of Loyola.

Cervantes' decision to make his comedic hero an *hidalgo* and not a peasant or noble of a higher order was inspired. There is something particularly comic about a character of middling social rank, either on account of his desperation or self-delusion, striving to achieve distinction beyond his position, and doing almost anything he can to achieve it. In *Don Quixote*, the *hidalgo* is regularly brought back to earth from his flights of fancy to be confronted with the prosaic reality of his situation. Others may call him, and he may consider himself to be, the knight, Don Quixote de la Mancha, but this is a fiction: he is Alonso Quijano, the impecunious *hidalgo* from around the way who wears his ancestors' rusty armour and rides an old nag *pretending* to be (or at least mistakenly believing that he is) a knight. Is there an ironic gibe here at Ignatius, or indeed Íñigo de Loyola, the Basque *hidalgo* from Guipúzcoa, not quite a real soldier of rank, but a gentleman-at-arms nonetheless, and later pilgrim, ascetic, mystic, founder of a great religious order and future saint, yet one whose immoderation gives rise to doubts about his sanity? The reader familiar with Ignatius' story cannot help but make the association when encountering the *ingenioso hidalgo de La Mancha*, Don Quixote.

él se determinó martirizarse por su propio gusto, aunque su hermano más viejo se espantaba y decía que tal dolor él no se atrevería a sufrir; lo cual el herido sufrió con la sólita paciencia" (*Autobiografía* I, 4, 60). ("When the bones did knit together, the one below the knee rested on top of the other so that the leg was shortened and the bone so protruded that it made an unsightly bump. Because he was determined to make a way for himself in the world he could not tolerate such ugliness and thought it marred his appearance. Thus he instructed the surgeons to remove it, if possible. They told him that it could certainly be sawn away, but the pain would be greater than any he had suffered up to now, since the leg had healed and it would take some time to remove the bump. Nevertheless, he was determined to endure this martyrdom to satisfy his personal taste. His older brother was horrified and said that he himself would not dare undergo such pain, but the wounded man suffered it with his accustomed patience" (I, 4, 10-11).

2.2 Lover of Chivalric Romances

Both Don Quixote and St Ignatius were ardent readers of books of chivalry, particularly the epitome of the genre, *Amadís de Gaula*, another well established parallelism analyzed previously.²²⁴ Not only did the fictional knight and historical founder share a great passion for reading these stories, but they also read them in much the same way, leading to powerful desires and eventual efforts to imitate the heroes they portrayed. This is a telling similarity for it was Cervantes' concern about the effects of these books on credulous readers that resulted in the ostensible purpose of his novel: “deshacer la autoridad y cabida que en el mundo y el vulgo tienen los libros de caballerías” and “derribar la máquina mal fundada de estos caballerescos libros, aborrecidos de tantos y alabados de muchos más” (I, Prólogo, 18).²²⁵

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, books of chivalry were primarily read by courtiers and nobles in Spain, being, as they were, expensive products of that relatively recent invention, the printing press. Charles V, in addition to St Ignatius, St Teresa of Ávila and later Lope de Vega, were among the well-known aficionados of these works. A wider circle of the less privileged and illiterate public, the “vulgo” to use Cervantes' term, would be exposed to the fabulous stories of *Amadís*, *Tirante el blanco* and their cohort through public readings, a phenomenon itself depicted in *Don Quixote* (I, 32). The popularity of the genre thus grew to massive proportions, with dozens of editions and all manner of continuations and imitations published over the course of a century. This proliferation of books of chivalry ultimately led to a degeneration of the genre, with newer examples of the kind being notorious for their pompous and affected stories, plots that became lost in marginal episodes and narratives that were increasingly arbitrary and improbable. In addition to their diminishing quality, the enormous popularity of chivalric romances attracted the attention and critical reproach of grave

²²⁴ See I, 1.1, pp.76-77.

²²⁵ “to undermine the authority and wide acceptance that books of chivalry have in the world and among the public” and “of demolishing the ill-founded apparatus of these chivalric books, despised by many and praised by so many more” (I, Prologue, 8).

authors—philosophers, moralists, historians and clerics who found the success of this genre disconcerting. Numerous censures condemning books of chivalry were published during the course of the century,²²⁶ and in 1531 they were banned from export to the New World (Eisenberg 31). In 1555 a petition was made to the Spanish *cortes* to prohibit the publication and reading of these works altogether.²²⁷ By that time, Felipe II, Charles V's more austere and religious son, had acceded to the throne and the genre was denied its former patronage and royal protection. In the end, the petition to ban books of chivalry was unsuccessful and *Amadís, Tirante* and the rest continued to be read and heard in Spain. The publication of books of chivalry from then on, however, faced bureaucratic and legal obstacles and was closely monitored by court censors and church officials. No new books were published in Castile during this time—only reprints were permitted—and none were published in Madrid at all. New books of chivalry had to be published further afield in Barcelona, Lisbon or Valencia, among other places (Eisenberg 32-35).

The learned critics' condemnation of books of chivalry centred on arguments that coincided with those presented by Cervantes in *Don Quixote*: their authors were ignorant and uncultured; they were dreadful writers and in many ways "enemies of the truth" whose stories were impossible, dishonest and deceitful and could lead simple-minded people to take them for being true, confusing actual history with half-baked fiction (a common error of *Don Quixote*). Furthermore, they excited readers with unseemly

²²⁶ In the Introduction to his edition of *Don Quixote*, Martín de Riquer cites more than three dozen censures of chivalric romances published between 1522 and 1599 by notable authors, including Juan de Molina, Juan Luis Vives, Antonio de Guevara, Melchor Cano and Fray Luis de Granada. See pp.XXXVI-XXXVIII.

²²⁷ The petition to prohibit chivalry books in Spain included the following observations: "Está muy notorio el daño que en estos reinos ha hecho y hace a hombres mozos y doncellas ... leer ... *Amadís* y todos los libros que después dél se han fingido de su calidad y letura, como los mancebos y doncellas por su ociosidad principalmente se ocupan en aquello, devanécense y aficionanense en cierta manera a los casos que leen en aquellos libros haber acontecido, ansí de amores como de armas y otras vanidades; y aficionados, cuando se ofrece algún caso semejante, danse a él más a rienda suelta si no lo oviesen leído: y muchas veces la madre deja encerrada la hija en casa, creyendo la deja recogida, y queda leyendo en estos semejantes libros, que valdría más la llevase consigo" (qtd. in Eisenberg 27 and note 65). ("The damage that has been done in these realms to young men and women ... by reading ... *Amadís* and all the books that have counterfeited its quality is very notorious as the youngsters who take to it principally in their idleness become dissipated and fond of the stories they read having taken place in these books, whether of loves or arms or other vanities; and once hooked, when a similar situation presents itself, they give themselves over to it with greater enthusiasm than if they hadn't read about it all: and often a mother leaves her daughter locked away at home, believing she is safe, while in fact she is reading books of this sort, in which case it would be better for the mother to have taken the young lady with her".)

sensuality, relating tales of beautiful maidens and their suitors who demonstrated the profane mores of *amor cortés*. This was the common refrain of righteous commentators whose frontal assault on chivalric romances during the 1500s, as in so many other cases of literary censure, ultimately failed to prevent readers from reading them. Although interest in these works had already waned in favour of more modern forms of entertainment by the time *Don Quixote* was published in 1605, the opportunity to mock the turgid genre was still real. Subscribing as he did to the classical view of comedy, in which humour exercises a therapeutic effect as the emotions are purged through laughter,²²⁸ Cervantes took a different approach to bringing down this offense to good taste. With light-hearted satire that accentuated the absurdity and falseness of books of chivalry, he delivered a *coup de grâce* so effective that few among the general reading public, including most readers of *Don Quixote* today, have any idea of what they are.

It was in the library at Arévalo, in the heart of Castile, indeed during the height of the mania for books of chivalry in the early years of the sixteenth century, that a young Íñigo de Loyola was first introduced to the genre. The library included some forty-two volumes acquired by the wife of Íñigo's patron, doña María de Velasco, at an auction of Queen Isabel's former belongings. Isabel's library was well known to abound in books of chivalry, and some of her favourite titles no doubt came to rest on the shelves at Arévalo.²²⁹ These books had a lasting effect on Íñigo. They became a habit ("porque era muy dado a leer libros falso y mundanos, que suelen llamar de caballerías", *Autobiografía*, I, 5, 60)²³⁰ and contributed to the formation of his character and ideals. What is more, they inaugurated a life-long practice of seeking heroic models to imitate in reading. Although he would denounce them more than thirty years later in recounting his memoirs to Gonçalves da Câmara, it is clear that as a courtier and aspiring soldier in Castile, Ignatius read chivalric romances in much the same way as he would later read the lives of the saints: with an overwhelming desire to become like their protagonists.

²²⁸ See Anthony J. Close. *Miguel de Cervantes, Don Quixote*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990, p.9 and *A Companion to Don Quixote*, p.68.

²²⁹ See Luis Fernández Martín, SJ. *Los años juveniles de Íñigo de Loyola: su formación en Castilla*, p.82.

²³⁰ "Since he was an avid reader of books of worldly fiction, commonly called chivalrous romances" (I, 5, 12).

The parallelism with Don Quixote, made possible by Ignatius' confession of his weakness for books of chivalry in the *Autobiografía* and Ribadeneyra's allusion to the same in the *Vida*,²³¹ is resounding and significant given Cervantes' witty satire of the genre. These works were notorious for their outlandish plots, absurdly idealized heroes and conspicuous artificiality. That Ignatius strove so hard to imitate their heroes, especially in his efforts to defend the fortress in Pamplona, is highly amusing (and somewhat embarrassing) in light of Don Quixote's similarly vain yet farcical attempts at chivalric bravery. The fact that both Don Quixote and Ignatius endeavoured to imitate such heroes associates them in the minds of readers and brings into view a mordant satire of Loyola, communicated discreetly and effectively through a novel, all of which, on the surface at least, "is an invective against books of chivalry" (I, Prologue, 8).

2.3 Imitator of Knights and Saints Errant

In attempting to imitate the bravery and impressive feats performed by their fictional heroes, both Don Quixote and Ignatius of Loyola are injured in battle: Don Quixote in battle with the Toledan merchants who refuse to confess the unrivalled beauty of Dulcinea, and Ignatius in defending the fortress in Pamplona, a hopelessly lost cause. Don Quixote is collected by his neighbour, Pedro Alonso, who places him on a donkey and leads him back home; Ignatius is taken into custody by the French and receives treatment for his leg. After a fortnight under their guard, they allow him to leave and he is carried away on a stretcher for the long journey back to Loyola.²³²

²³¹ "Era en este tiempo muy curioso y amigo de leer libros profanos de caballerías" (I, 2, 23). ("He was in this time very fond of reading profane books of chivalry").

²³² "Y así, cayendo él, los de la fortaleza se rendieron luego a los franceses, los cuales, después de se haber apoderado della, trataron muy bien al herido, tratándolo cortés y amigablemente. Y después de haber estado doce o quince días en Pamplona, lo llevaron en una litera a su tierra" (*Autobiografía*, I, 2, 59). ("As soon as he fell wounded the others in the fortress surrendered to the French who, after they had gained control, treated the wounded man very well, showing him courtesy and kindness. After being in Pamplona some twelve or fifteen days they transported him on a litter to his country" (I, 2, 9). The *Vida* more or less repeats this experience:

"Derribado por esta manera Ignacio, los demás que con su valor se esforzaban, luego desmayaron, y desconfiados de poderse defender, se dieron a los franceses, los cuales llevaron a Ignacio a sus reales, y sabiendo quién era, y viéndole tan mal parado, movidos de compasión, le enviaron con mucha cortesía y liberalidad a su casa, donde fue llevado en hombros de hombres en una litera" (*Vida*, I, 1, 22). ("With Ignatius having fallen in this manner, the others with him tried to remain brave but soon succumbed to their doubts as to their ability to defend the fortress and gave themselves over to the French, who took Ignatius to their commanders, and knowing who he was, and seeing him in such a poor state, were moved with

When the sombre party arrives at his family home, Ignatius' leg is re-examined and it is decided that he must be operated on again to properly reset his broken bones. "Y hízose de nuevo esta carnicería" (*Autobiografía*, I, 2, 59).²³³ However, throughout the painful ordeal, Ignatius refuses to exhibit any sign of suffering or weakness, in keeping with the manly imperative of his chivalrous ideal: "and during it, as in other such operations that he had undergone before and would later undergo, he never uttered a word nor did he show any sign of pain other than clenching his fists" (*Autobiografía*, I, 2, 10).²³⁴ In chapter 8 of the *Quixote*, after he has had his unfortunate encounter with the giants who turn out to be windmills, Don Quixote explains to Sancho that "si no me quejo del dolor es porque no es dado a los caballeros andantes quejarse de herida alguna, aunque se le salgan las tripas por ella" (I, 8, 91).²³⁵ Sancho's rejoinder persuades Don Quixote to excuse him from this chivalrous obligation in a humourous reversal of the fortitude shown by Ignatius:

-Si eso es así, no tengo yo que replicar -respondió Sancho-; pero sabe Dios si yo me holgara que vuestra merced se quejara cuando alguna cosa le doliera. De mí sé decir que me he de quejar del más pequeño dolor que tenga, si ya no se entiende también con los escuderos de los caballeros andantes eso del no quejarse.

No se dejó de reír don Quijote de la simplicidad de su escudero; y así, le declaró que podía muy bien quejarse como y cuando quisiese, sin gana o con ella; que hasta entonces no había leído cosa en contrario en la orden de caballería (I, 8, 91).²³⁶

compassion and with great courtesy and liberality sent him home, where he was carried on the shoulders of men in a litter").

²³³ "The butchery was repeated" (I, 2, 10).

²³⁴ "en la cual, así como en todas las otras que antes había pasado y después pasó, nunca habló palabra, ni mostró otra señal de dolor que apretar mucho los puños" (I, 2, 59).

Ribadeneyra embellishes Ignatius' courageous forbearance to near comical effect in the *Vida*: "Hízose así con grandísimos tormentos y dolores del enfermo, el cual pasó esta carnicería que en él se hizo, y todos los demás trabajos que después le sucedieron, con un semblante y con un esfuerzo que ponía admiración; porque ni mudó color, ni gimió ni sospiró, ni hubo siquiera un ay, ni dijo palabra que mostrase flaqueza" (I, 1, 22). ("So it was done with great torment and pain for the invalid, who endured this butchery performed on him, and all the other operations he later had, with an effort and a face that inspired admiration because neither did he blanch, nor did he moan or sigh, nor was there even an "ay", nor did he say anything that would show weakness").

²³⁵ "if I do not complain about the pain, it is because it is not the custom of knights errant to complain about any wound, even if their innards are spilling out because of it" (I, 8, 60).

²³⁶ "If that's true, I have nothing to say," Sancho responded, "but God knows I'd be happy if your grace complained when something hurt you. As for me, I can say that I'll complain about the smallest pain I have, unless what you said about not complaining also applies to the squires of knights errant."

Don Quixote could not help laughing at his squire's simplemindedness; and so he declared that he could certainly complain however and whenever he wanted, with or without cause, for as yet he had not read anything to the contrary in the order of chivalry" (I, 8, 60).

Earlier, after the run-in with the Toledan merchants, Don Quixote is deposited at home by his neighbour. There he is met by his friends, the barber and priest, and his housekeeper and niece, all very concerned about what he has gotten up to because of his books of chivalry. The housekeeper greets Don Quixote with the remark we observed earlier, “si me decía a mí bien mi corazón del pie que cojeaba mi señor” (I, 5, 68),²³⁷ an off-hand expression strangely reminiscent of Ignatius’ shattered leg. Still dazed, Don Quixote is coaxed into bed and cared for by the housekeeper and his niece while the priest and barber scrutinize and eventually seal off his library.

Similarly bedridden in a room on the third floor of the Loyola *casa-torre* in Guipúzcoa, Ignatius would receive the female care and attention of his sister-in-law, the beautiful Magdalena de Araoz, a former lady-in-waiting of Queen Isabel of Castile.²³⁸ Ignatius remained in this room for six months as he underwent further operations to remove the protuberant bone from his leg and later had it stretched in an agonizing procedure to prevent it from remaining shorter than the other. By the time he was well enough to read again in the late summer of 1521, Ignatius requested some books of chivalry to pass the time. Unable to fulfill his request, Magdalena supplied him with a *Vita Christi* and a book on the lives of the saints, works that would henceforth transform his life and set him on the path to founding the Society of Jesus.

In the apocryphal continuation to Part I of *Don Quixote*, published by the pseudonymous Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda in 1614,²³⁹ the story begins as the protagonist is recuperating at home after his adventures in Part I of the novel. Having regained his sanity, Don Quixote discusses with Sancho the new books he has been given to read by his niece Madalena,²⁴⁰ pious works like those provided to Ignatius, including a

²³⁷ “my heart knew exactly what was wrong with my master” (I, 5, 44). Or, literally “my heart well told me which foot my lord was limping on.” See p.97 above.

²³⁸ See Tylanda, note 2, p.9.

²³⁹ *Segundo tomo del ingenioso hidalgo don Quixote de la Mancha, que contiene su tercera salida, y es la quinta parte de sus aventuras*. See Martín de Riquer’s edition, Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda. *Don Quijote de la Mancha*. Ed. Martín de Riquer. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, (1614) 1972.

²⁴⁰ In Part I of Cervantes’ *Don Quixote*, Don Quixote’s niece has no name. It isn’t until the the final chapter of Part II, published after Avellaneda’s continuation, that she is referred to in the *hidalgo*’s will as “Antonia Quixana” (II, 74). Madalena is a variation of Magdalena, the name of Ignatius’ sister-in-law. See Riquer’s edition of Avellaneda’s *Quixote*, note 11, p.20.

Flos sanctorum.²⁴¹ Don Quixote is rather impressed with the heroism of the saints and Sancho asks him if St Bartholomew and St Lawrence were indeed alive when they suffered their terrible ordeals as martyrs for the Christian faith. Don Quixote's response intimates his interest in the divine glory these saints attained, which makes Sancho think their adventures will take a new, possibly sacred, direction:

-Todos los trabajos -dijo don Quixote- que padecieron los santos que te he dicho, y los demás de quien trata este libro, los sufrían ellos valeorsamente por amor de Dios, y así ganaron el reyno de los cielos.

-A fe -dixo Sancho- que passamos nosotros ahora un año, hartos desafortunios para ganar el reyno micónico, y nos quedamos hechos micos; pero creo que v.m. querrá que nos bolvamos santos andantes para ganar el paraíso terrenal (25).²⁴²

As Georg Eickhoff observes, Don Quixote and Sancho in this counterfeit continuation of Cervantes' story "[p]arecen a punto de convertirse en *santos andantes*, como lo hizo noventa años antes Iñigo de Loyola" (259).²⁴³ The allure of fame achieved through replicating the holy feats of the saints appears to provide an alternative to knight errantry for the restless Don Quixote. However, at the last moment, Sancho recalls having heard Pedro Alonso's son reading a book of chivalry in the village, one he had robbed from Don Quixote's library the year before. This brings Don Quixote back to his former obsession and he sends out Sancho to fetch it.

²⁴¹ Avellaneda's Don Quixote is given "un *Flos sanctorum* de Villegas y los Evangelios y Epístolas de todo el año en vulgar y la *Guía de pecadores* de fray Luys de Granada" (20-21). Alonso de Villegas' translation of the *Flos sanctorum* was published in Madrid in 1594 and Granada's *Guía de pecadores* was first published in Lisbon in 1556. Martín de Riquer speculates that the other work referred to may have been Ambrosio Montesino's *Epístolas y Evangelios por todo el año*, which went through numerous editions after being printed in Toledo in 1512. See Riquer's edition of Avellaneda's *Quixote*, notes 16 and 17, p.20. Of course Ignatius was also given a *Flos sanctorum*, an earlier translation of Jacobo de Voragine's work by Gauberto Maria Vagad. See note 71 above.

²⁴² "All of the ordeals,' said Don Quixote, 'suffered by the saints who I've told you about, and the rest that are told of in this book, they suffered valorously for the love of God, and in this way won the kingdom of heaven.'

'By faith,' said Sancho, 'for a year now we've had miserable luck trying to win the Miconean kingdom and we've been put to shame for it, but I think that your grace wants us to become saints errant to win earthly paradise.'"

²⁴³ "appear about to become *saints errant*, like Iñigo de Loyola did ninety years earlier." Italics Eickhoff's. See Georg Eickhoff. "Iñigo López de Loyola entre «Armas y Letras». Libro y lectura en la Castilla de los Reyes Católicos". *El pueblo vasco en el Renacimiento, 1491-1521: actas del simposio celebrado en la Universidad de Deusto, San Sebastián, con motivo del V.0 centenario del nacimiento de Ignacio de Loyola, 1-5 octubre, 1990*, pp.245-265.

This remarkable scene at the beginning of Avellaneda's false *Quixote* undoubtedly has some connection to Ignatius' religious conversion in bed while reading the *Vita Christi* and *Flos sanctorum*. As Eickhoff remarks,

Obviamente, el autor que se esconde tras el falso Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda, se inspiró en la escena pintoresca de la vida ignaciana, que pudo haber conocido por la biografía monumental de Ribadeneira. El episodio simbólico de otro Quijote, se erige en otro monumento, si bien satírico, a la conversión de Ignacio de Loyola. Fue la conversión de un lector por la lectura (259).²⁴⁴

Whether it is valid to infer that Cervantes was likewise inspired by this scene in Ignatius' memoir or biography is the question. Irrespective of Avellaneda's apocryphal continuation, there is a clear parallelism in Cervantes' novel, Ignatius' *Autobiografía* and Ribadeneyra's *Vida* of a reader who is radically converted to a new way of life through intensive reading.²⁴⁵ Don Quixote reads books of chivalry day and night, forgetting about the administration of his estate; Ignatius eagerly consumes the stories of the saints and meditates on their significance for his own life; he considers the effect they have on his heart and vacillates between the worldly thoughts of his former life and the holy ambitions that these pious works excite; Don Quixote's reading is obsessive and compulsive; Ignatius' is all-consuming and methodical—he even begins to copy passages in a notebook, recording the words of Christ in red and the Virgin's in blue; Don Quixote's binge-reading of chivalrous exploits ends with his brains drying up and his descent into madness, bringing about his own pursuit of adventures as a knight errant; Ignatius' prolonged meditation on the stories narrated in his devotional books brings him to a religious conversion and results in his determination to imitate the saints. Indeed, the process of conversion for both Ignatius and Don Quixote is so similar that, as Avellaneda seems to imply, had Don Quixote not rediscovered books of chivalry and continued to read the *Flos sanctorum*, he may well have followed the same path as Loyola and ended up a saint errant like him.

²⁴⁴ “Obviously, the author who is behind the false Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda was inspired by the picturesque scene from Ignatius' life, which he could have known of from reading Ribadeneyra's monumental biography. The symbolic episode of another Quixote is erected in another monument, albeit satirical, to the conversion of Ignatius of Loyola. It was the conversion of a reader by reading.”

²⁴⁵ Frédéric Conrod, like Eickhoff, has likewise noticed that “both men experience a conversion from the act of reading” (35).

The conversions experienced by Don Quixote and Ignatius, the one to chivalry and the other to a chivalry-inspired form of Christianity, entail the same mimetic determination. The iron will, focus and energy they both bring to their imitations of knights and saints is, as Julio Baena has noted, identical.²⁴⁶ This common resolve was observed as early as 1688 by the anonymous commentator in the *Bibliothèque universelle et historique* (109) and parodied in 1736 by Pierre Quesnel in *The Spiritual Quixote*.²⁴⁷ Voltaire, who plainly ascribed Ignatius' imitations to a form of madness, found his determination to be the reason for his success. In his view, Ignatius' enthusiasm and obstinacy were responsible for his immoderate behaviour, but in the end these qualities attracted a group of like-minded individuals who helped to restore him to his senses, at least somewhat.²⁴⁸

In their zeal to imitate their respective heroes to perfection, Don Quixote and Ignatius scrupulously observe every detail of the lives of these paragons of chivalrous and saintly virtue and set out to recreate them in their own. Don Quixote must don his

²⁴⁶ See I, 1.10, p.32.

²⁴⁷ "His resolution being taken, he deliberated not a moment upon the choice of the examples he should follow; St Dominic and St Francis D'Assis presented themselves immediately to his mind, one as the spiritual Orlando, the other as the spiritual Amadis. The difficulty of imitating these sublime heroes did not affright him, his courage made him think all things possible, and he was heard to cry out in the ardour of his zeal, 'Why may I not undertake what St Dominic has undertaken? Why can I not perform what St Francis has performed?'" (11).

²⁴⁸ In the *Dictionnaire philosophique* Voltaire asks concerning Ignatius: "Comment s'est-il pu faire qu'un pareil extravagant ait joui enfin à Rome de quelque considération, se soit fait des disciples, et ait été le fondateur d'un ordre puissant, dans lequel il y a eu des hommes très estimables? c'est qu'il était opinâtre et enthousiaste. Il trouva des enthousiastes comme lui, auxquels il s'associa. Ceux-là, ayant plus de raison que lui, rétablirent un peu la sienne: il devint plus avisé sur la fin de sa vie, et il mit même quelque habileté dans sa conduite.

Peut-être Mahomet commença-t-il à être aussi fou qu'Ignace dans les premières conversions qu'il eut avec l'ange Gabriel; et peut-être Ignace, à la place de Mahomet, aurait fait d'aussi grandes chose que le prophète; car il était tout aussi ignorant, aussi visionnaire, et aussi courageux" (301).

("How could it possibly come to pass, that a man of such extravagant character and manners, should at length obtain consideration at the court of Rome, gain over a number of disciples, and become the founder of a powerful order, among whom are to be found men of unquestionable worth and learning? The reason is, that he was opinionated, obstinate, and enthusiastic; and found enthusiasts like himself, with whom he associated. These, having rather a greater share of reason than himself, were instrumental in somewhat restoring and re-establishing his own; he became more prudent and regular towards the close of his life, and occasionally even displayed in his conduct proofs of ability.

Perhaps Mahomet, in his first conversations with the angel Gabriel, began his career with being as much deranged as Ignatius; and perhaps Ignatius, in Mahomet's circumstances, would have performed as great achievements as the prophet; for he was equally ignorant, and quite as visionary and intrepid") (141-142).

ancestor's ancient armour and sally forth into the Manchegan countryside on his fittingly named horse; he speaks an antiquated form of Castilian, using archaic verb constructions and modes of address employed by knights in chivalry books; and he does not carry any money with him on his adventures since he has never read of a knight doing so, a notion the innkeeper is happy to refute for him (I, 3). Ignatius for his part must abandon the privilege of his life as a former courtier and gentleman-at-arms to dress in the sackcloth dress of a destitute pilgrim, subsist only on herbs or fast and perform rigorous penance in contrition for his sins (in a grander and even more impressive manner than the saints), and put himself in constant danger on his journey to the Holy Land. What is more, he too, like Don Quixote, has little need for money and repeatedly refuses to carry any more than is necessary, often giving away what few coins he has.²⁴⁹

Examples of how closely Ignatius and Don Quixote imitate their literary models can be multiplied greatly. However, a final significant example of this can be seen in their service to their respective ladies. A knight must have a lady whom to serve and commend himself when performing acts of bravery, “porque el caballero andante sin amores era árbol sin hojas y sin fruto y cuerpo sin alma” (*DQ*, I, 1, 39).²⁵⁰ Don Quixote consequently creates Dulcinea, a beautiful figment of his imagination based on the rustic farmhand from El Toboso, Aldonza Lorenzo. Don Quixote serves Dulcinea from afar during his career as a knight—theirs is a platonic relationship based on the ideal of unrequited courtly love. Don Quixote remains a chaste and loyal lover to Dulcinea in his adventures and, for his efforts, receives her protection (which, in fact, rarely translates into safety from beatings and other calamities). Dulcinea is therefore a remote figure throughout the novel who serves primarily as an object for Don Quixote to project his chivalrous desires.

Ignatius at the beginning of the *Autobiografía* speaks of a lady who is the object of his affections. While still contemplating the worldly undertakings that inspired his

²⁴⁹ See in particular Ignatius' preparations in Barcelona prior to embarking on his voyage to Italy and the Holy Land (*Vida*, I, 10, 46-47). See also the comments of Anonymous in the *Bibliothèque universelle* (110), Quesnel (8, 47), Unamuno (30-31) and Ortés (148) on this parallelism.

²⁵⁰ “for the knight errant without a lady-love was a tree without leaves or fruit, a body without a soul” (I, 1, 23).

fantasy as he laid recovering in bed, he “dreamed [of] what he would achieve in the service of a certain lady and thought of the means he would take to go to the land where she lived, the clever sayings and words he would speak to her, and the knightly deeds he would perform for her” (I, 6, 13).²⁵¹ This was an illusory dream, however, for Ignatius “was so enraptured with these thoughts of his that he never considered how impossible it was for him to accomplish them, for the lady was not one of the lesser nobility, neither was she a countess, nor a duchess, but her station was much higher than any of these” (I, 6, 13).²⁵² Resigned to the impracticability of pursuing this affair, Ignatius would transfer his affections to a less profane love. The Virgin Mary subsequently became the lady to whom he devoted himself, and the service he rendered to her after his conversion experience was much in keeping with his former chivalrous ideal. This service in effect followed the enduring Spanish tradition of combining Marian devotion with the manners and attitudes of courtly love, a practice epitomized by Alfonso X El Sabio’s *Cantigas de Santa María* in the thirteenth century through to the *cancionero* poetry of the fifteenth and sixteenth.²⁵³

Much more could be said about the similarity between Don Quixote and St Ignatius’ devotion to their ladies, but it should be noted that in Cervantes’ novel this exalted chivalric commonplace is brought low through Don Quixote’s humorously insane love for an uncomely peasant girl whom he barely knows and who has no interest whatsoever in his mad adventures. Dulcinea, or rather Aldonza Lorenzo, is not who Don Quixote thinks (or believes, or wishes) she is; rather, she is the opposite of the idealized beauty of chivalrous literature. What is more, there is a religious element to Don Quixote’s devotion: in spite of Sancho’s reports concerning her appearance and other information he learns about her, Don Quixote has an unmitigated faith in the beauty and noble qualities of his mistress. It is a misplaced faith, however, and furthermore one he obliges others to share. Like Ignatius, who on the road to Montserrat attempts to elicit a

²⁵¹ “¡imaginando lo que había de hacer en servicio de de una señora, los medios que tomaría para ir a la tierra donde estaba, los motes, las palabras que le diría, los hechos de armas que haría en su servicio” (I, 6, 61).

²⁵² “Y estaba con esto tan envanecido, que no miraba cuan imposible era poderlo alcanzar; porque la señora no era de vulgar nobleza: no condesa, ni duquesa, mas era su estado más alto que ninguno destas” (I, 6, 61).

²⁵³ For more on the chivalrous element in Ignatius’ devotion to the Virgin Mary, see See Rogelio García Mateo, SJ. “Mujeres en la vida de Ignacio de Loyola” in *Ignacio de Loyola: su espiritualidad y su mundo cultural*, pp.210-212.

confession from the travelling Moor as to the Virgin's perfect chastity, Don Quixote demands that the merchants of Toledo, and others he meets in the course of his adventures, declare Dulcinea to be the most beautiful lady in the world, sight unseen. It is a truth that for Don Quixote must be accepted on faith or not at all, to the peril of the unbeliever, which of course is particularly funny in light of the reality he is unable or unwilling to see.

2.4 Transformation and Name

The transformation of Alonso Quijano into Don Quixote, and Íñigo de Loyola into Ignacio de Loyola, is another substantive parallelism that may be examined and discussed at great length. However, given the many aspects of their transformations we have observed already in the course of this study, we will limit our discussion to a brief synopsis of the key points and focus our attention on what is perhaps the most intriguing aspect of this subject and potential signal to informed readers of Cervantes' work: Don Quixote's name.

Both Alonso Quijano and Íñigo de Loyola undergo remarkable transformations in their stories; Quijano from a humble country *hidalgo* to Don Quixote, the impetuous and fanatical, if well-meaning, imitator of knights errant, and Íñigo, the vainglorious man of arms to Ignatius, the pilgrim, mystic and founder of the Society of Jesus. Both transformations are occasioned by periods of intense reading, Quijano of chivalric romances and Íñigo of devotional literature, although *Amadís de Gaula* and other works of its kind continue to influence his progress as a pilgrim. These books awaken in their readers an irresistible desire to imitate the characters they portray; this desire becomes resolute determination as they set about launching their mimetic undertakings. Quijano does his best to clean off his great-grandfather's rusty armour, comes up with a name for his horse and spends another eight days thinking of a name for himself (I, 1); he imagines the lady whom he will serve and to whom he will dedicate his impressive feats of courage; pleased with himself and the plan he has hatched, he leaves his home in search of adventures to fulfill his exalted ambitions. Íñigo likewise abandons his family and

home, alters his appearance by exchanging his costly vestments for the sackcloth dress of a pilgrim, and embarks on a journey to pay homage to a Lady whom he will serve with pious works, and whose honour he defends along the way. Don Quixote's visit to the inn and Íñigo's stay at the monastery in Montserrat represent the consecration of their new identities; there in the presence of the innkeeper, prostitutes and muledrivers, Don Quixote is dubbed a knight and stands vigil over his arms in the courtyard; Íñigo in Montserrat makes his general confession to a priest and, before the altar of the Virgin, stands a similar vigil. The time has arrived for the aspiring heroes to commence their new careers and from this moment onward they are no longer what they once were, but rather a self-possessed knight and saint errant in the making.

Although Íñigo would not assume the name Ignatius until much later in his career, it was under this name that he became known to the world as founder of the Society of Jesus and would later be canonized a saint. In the two biographical texts that form the basis of reader associations between Loyola and Don Quixote, the *Autobiografía* and *Vida*, this delay in the change of his name is not readily apparent. Íñigo in fact became Ignatius fourteen years after he set out on his spiritual odyssey. The change came as the result of a clerical error at the University of Paris where he received his Master of Arts degree in 1535 at the age of forty-three. Unaware that the Latin form of his name was *Enecus*, university officials inscribed Ignatius on his master's diploma. The graduate kept this new name and was henceforth known to his companions and disciples as Master Ignatius (Tylanda xiv).

With the exception of Nadal's prologue, added in 1567, which refers to him as "Father Ignatius" (123),²⁵⁴ the *Autobiografía* is silent on Loyola's given name. Gonçalves da Câmara refers to him simply as "Father" (1), or more frequently as "el peregrino" (the pilgrim), in keeping with his customary deference and imperative to present the founder in a humble light.²⁵⁵ Ribadeneyra, on the other hand, takes a more familiar and less

²⁵⁴ "Padre Ignacio" (49).

²⁵⁵ The only other instance in the *Autobiografía* where Gonçalves da Câmara does not use "Padre" or "peregrino" to refer to Ignatius is in the narration of his inquisitorial process and imprisonment in Salamanca. Here Ignatius becomes "el preso" (VI, 61, 111), "the prisoner" (VI, 61, 70).

modest approach in *Vida de Ignacio de Loyola*, using Ignatius not only in the title of his work but throughout the text. What is more, Ribadeneyra begins chapter I of the *Vida* by introducing Loyola under his original name, Íñigo, though he quickly reverts to using Ignacio as this was the name by which he was more commonly known.²⁵⁶ Aside from the regular usage of his adopted name in the *Vida*, Ribadeneyra employs a host of other appellatives to refer to Ignatius, including “fundador” (Prólogo, 15), “nuestro soldado” (I, 6, 33) and “peregrino” (I, 10, 49), as well as other variations that demonstrate an unabashed admiration for the man, from “bienaventurado varón” and “padre mío”, to “nuestro padre Ignacio”, whom God gave “por guía y maestro, y por caudillo y capitán de esta sagrada milicia” (Prólogo, 17).²⁵⁷

As Marco Corradini points out in his article “Il santo e il cavaliere: Dalla *Vida del Padre Ignacio de Loyola* al *Don Quijote*”, changing a hero’s name in the midst of a story to reflect his undertakings and achievements was a commonplace of books of chivalry (10). In Part II of *Don Quijote*, this topos is reflected in Don Quixote’s intention to change his chivalric title, the Knight of the Sorrowful Countenance, after his adventure with the lions. Roused with his success at having overcome this dangerous beast in a duel of courage, an adventure which in reality is a laughable farce as the lion in question is so

²⁵⁶ Thus begins book I, chapter 1 of the *Vida*, entitled “DEL NASCIMENTO Y VIDA DE IGNACIO ANTES QUE DIOS LE LLAMASE A SU CONOCIMIENTO”: “Íñigo de Loyola, fundador y padre de la Compañía de Jesús, nació de noble linaje, en aquella parte de España que se llama la provincia de Guipúzcoa, el año del Señor de mil y cuatrocientos y noventa y uno [...] Fue su padre Beltrán de Loyola, señor de la casa de Loyola y cabeza de su ilustre y antigua familia. Su madre se llamó doña María Sonnez, matrona igual en sangre y virtud a su marido. Tuvieron estos caballeros cinco hijas y ocho hijos, de los cuales el postrero de todos, como otro David, fue nuestro Íñigo, que con dichoso y bienaventurado parto salió al mundo para bien de muchos, a quien llamaremos de aquí adelante Ignacio, por ser este nombre más común a las otras naciones y en él más conocido y usado” (I, 1, 21). (“ON THE BIRTH AND LIFE OF IGNATIUS BEFORE GOD CALLED HIM TO A KNOWLEDGE OF HIMSELF: Íñigo de Loyola, founder and father of the Society of Jesus, was born of noble lineage, in that part of Spain which is called the province of Guipúzcoa, in the year of Our Lord fourteen hundred and ninety-one [...] His father was Beltrán de Loyola, the lord of the house of Loyola and head of this ancient and illustrious family. His mother was named lady María Sonnez, a matron equal to her husband in virtue and blood. This noble couple had five daughters and eight sons, the last being, like another David, our Íñigo, who with a happy and blessed birth came into the world for the good of many, and whom we shall call henceforth Ignatius, this being a name more common to other nations and for him more familiar and widely used”).

²⁵⁷ Ribadeneyra’s names and titles for Ignatius include: “founder”, “our soldier”, “pilgrim”, “blessed man”, “my father”, “our father Ignatius”, whom God gave, “as guide and teacher, leader and captain of this sacred militia”.

unmoved by Don Quixote as to yawn, turn its haunches on him and return to his cage, the fearless knight exclaims:

-Pues si acaso Su Majestad preguntare quién la hizo, diréisle que *el Caballero de los Leones*; que de aquí adelante quiero que en éste se trueque, cambie, vuelva y mude el que hasta aquí he tenido del *Caballero de la Triste Figura*; y en esto sigo la antigua usanza de los andantes caballeros, que se mudaban los nombres cuando querían o cuando les venía a cuento (II, 17, 683).²⁵⁸

Don Quixote's insistence that his name be "changed, altered, turned, and transformed" according to the ancient practice of knights errant, "who changed their names whenever they wished, or whenever it seemed appropriate", recalls for Corradini the expeditious decision of Ribadeneyra to change Íñigo's name to Ignacio at the beginning of the *Vida* (11). This alteration of the hero's name at the beginning of Ribadeneyra's hagiography is paralleled by that other auspicious name change in chapter 1 of Cervantes' novel, one which would see an unknown country *hidalgo*, whose name was either Quijada or Quesana, or possibly Quejana, and in the end Quijano, become the now universally recognized and celebrated hero, Don Quixote de la Mancha.

Roman rhetorician Quintilian observes in his *Institutio oratoria* that "there is often matter for jest in a name" (381).²⁵⁹ This would appear to be the case with Don Quixote's name on a variety of levels. Martín de Riquer points out that the protagonist begins by calling himself "Don", that is to say arrogating to himself an honourific reserved for titled nobility, something which Cervantes would never, for example, have used for himself.²⁶⁰ This would appear to be an ironic commentary on Don Quixote's unrealistic social pretensions to knighthood. The name Quixote itself can be derived from the *hidalgo*'s previously, albeit vaguely, mentioned surname and is clearly intended to be humorous since, as Riquer observes, the suffix *-ote* has always carried a ridiculous

²⁵⁸ "If, by chance, His Majesty asks who performed the deed, tell him it was *The Knight of the Lions*; from this day forth, I want the name I have had until now, *The Knight of the Sorrowful Face*, to be changed, altered, turned, and transformed into this, and in doing so, I follow the ancient usage of knights errant, who changed their names whenever they wished, or whenever it seemed appropriate" (II, 17, 565).

²⁵⁹ See volume II, book 5, chapter 10 of the edition cited.

²⁶⁰ See Riquer's note 29 at I, 1, 38.

connotation in Spanish.²⁶¹ It is furthermore a bastardization of similar-sounding names of heroes of chivalric romances such as Lanzarote (Lancelot) or Camilote, who appears in *Primaleón y Polendos*.²⁶²

Cervantista Antonio Rey Hazas has gone further to suggest that the place name which denotes Don Quixote's origins, La Mancha, is a satirical reference to Cervantes' nemesis, Lope de Vega. Lope was known for capriciously joining the Spanish Armada three weeks after contracting marriage in order to demonstrate his gallantry by sailing to England to wage war against Elizabeth I. The Armada of course met a disastrous end in the English Channel, el Canal de *la Mancha* in Spanish, and although Lope survived the event, the location of this ignominious defeat, and Lope's ill-advised participation in it, is for Rey Hazas easily relatable to Don Quixote's own domain (13).

What all of this overlooks, however, is the long-understood meaning of the word *quixote* at the centre of the Manchegan *hidalgo*'s name. Here, it would seem, is the crux of the matter, the substance of the jest which Spanish readers of Ignatius' *Autobiografía* or *Vida* may have found particularly witty about Cervantes' mock hero. In Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco's 1611 dictionary, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, *quixotes* are defined as:

En el arnés las piezas que cubren los musos, *quasi* cuxotes, de *cuxa*, en italiano, que vale el muslo y del latino *coxa*.²⁶³

This contemporary definition of the word *quixote* refers to the piece of armour which forms a protective covering over the thigh. The term is a curious choice for the name of a fictional knight, even a comic one, except for when one considers what it might refer to. Could it have something to do with the founder of a certain religious order, a man who in his youth was shot through the legs by a cannonball while imprudently trying to defend a besieged fortress? It was after all this injury that resulted in Ignatius reading devotional

²⁶¹ See note above.

²⁶² Riquer makes this point in the above cited note. See also Luis Andrés Murillo. "Lanzarote and Don Quijote." *Folio, Papers on Foreign Languages and Literatures*. Ed. Michael J. Ruggerio. 10 Vol. State University of New York, 1977. 55-68.

²⁶³ See "QUIXOTES." *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*. Madrid: Ediciones Turner, (1611) 1977.

books in his convalescence and ultimately deciding to pursue a life imitating the saints. Would a good pair of *quixotes*, equipment no doubt familiar to Cervantes, veteran of a number of military campaigns, have prevented such an outcome? It is unlikely given the location of his wound, just below the thigh, but it is nevertheless highly suggestive that this word should form the nucleus of a name for a character that in so many ways, from his story to his idiosyncratic personality, resembles Ignatius of Loyola. And although some *quixotes* may not have protected the amateur soldier from the cannonball that struck him in 1521, Ignatius would take it upon himself to fashion a kind of *quixote* for his swollen leg, still tender from the injury and gruesome operations he endured, once he left his home early the next year and embarked on his arduous journey toward sainthood.²⁶⁴

The humorous word play in Don Quixote's name is yet more apparent in the phonetic quality of the word *quixote*, which evokes the sound of the Spanish word *cojo*, meaning lame, cripple or one-legged. As we highlighted previously, when Don Quixote returns home after his first sally, beaten to a pulp from his encounter with the Toledan merchants, his housekeeper exclaims, “¡Mirá, en hora maza, si me decía a mí bien mi corazón del pie que cojeaba mi señor!” (I, 5), a comment which calls to mind Ignatius' own injury in Pamplona. Ignatius was indeed rendered *cojo* as a result of his wound and, when he could walk again, did so with a pronounced limp or *cojera*. Furthermore, such *cojera*, as in the case of Don Quixote's housekeeper's comment, may refer to more than just physical lameness. In her mind she was speaking about what caused her master's

²⁶⁴ Ribadeneyra recounts in I, 4 of the *Vida*: “se fue con toda priesa a un pueblo que está hacia la montaña, llamado Manresa, tres leguas de Monserrate, cubiertas sus carnes con sólo aquel saco vil y grosero, con su soga ceñido y el bordón en la mano, la cabeza descubierta y el un pie descalzo, que el otro, por haberle aún quedado flaco y tierno de la herida e hinchársele cada noche la pierna (que por esta causa traía fajada), le pareció necesario llevarle calzado” (31). (“he went with all haste to a town that is towards the mountain, called Manresa, three leagues from Montserrat, his flesh covered only with that vile and rude sack, a rope tied tight around his waste and a staff in his hand, his head uncovered and one foot bare; the other, having become weak and tender as a result of his wound and his leg swelling up on him every night (for which reason he had it wrapped), seemed to him necessary to cover with a shoe”). Federico Ortés, who regards Don Quixote's name as an homage to Loyola, and not an ironic reference to his injured leg, observes that “Loyola sale, pues, de su casa con el muslo fajado, es decir, con una especie de quixote de tela, que Cervantes ha transformado en un símbolo más de todas esas piezas significativas en torno a su caballero” (94). (“Loyola sallies forth, then, from his house with his thigh swaddled, that is to say, with a sort of cloth *quixote*, which Cervantes has transformed into another symbol of all those significant pieces that surround his knight”).

mental infirmity: his obsessive reading of books of chivalry.²⁶⁵ In this sense, the *cojera* suggested by Don Quixote's name may be regarded as a witty allusion to Loyola's own possible mental illness, in addition to his physical handicap.

All of this, when taken together, the remarkably analogous transformations, brought about by intensive reading of books that supply heroic models to imitate, the unwavering commitment to similarly derivative undertakings, the radical change of appearance, the consecration of a new identity with a quasi-religious chivalrous ceremony and adoption of a new name under which to perform great feats of bravery, represent unmistakable rhetorical sign posts to readers familiar with the life of St Ignatius that point to an amusing parody of the Jesuit founder. Moreover, this final aspect of personal transformation, the hero's change of name, reflected by Alonso Quijano's adoption of the name Don Quixote, reveals a highly ironic statement on the character of Loyola. From the inapposite use of "Don" for a lowly *hidalgo*, to the humorous *-ote* suffix employed colloquially in Spanish to convey jest or mockery, in addition to the meaning of the word *quixote*, which readily calls to mind the leg injury suffered by Ignatius in a moment of reckless abandon, as well as the very sound of the word which evokes Loyola's subsequent condition as a cripple, both physically and possibly even mentally, the name chosen by Cervantes for his protagonist appears to ridicule Ignatius on almost every level. It is as if he chose to name the character "Sir Lame Leg" in direct reference to this distinguished but hobbled hero of the Roman Catholic Church. In the end, however, such a jest would be intelligible only to those with relevant knowledge of Loyola's story. Readers unfamiliar with his *Autobiografía* or the *Vida* would in no way intuit that Ignatius, presumably in the eyes of Cervantes at least, was very much a Don Quixote.

²⁶⁵ The priest makes the same allusion in I, 32 when speaking with innkeeper, who he warns not to fall into the same trap as Don Quixote with regard to books of chivalry: "y en este entretanto creed, señor ventero, lo que os he dicho, y tomad vuestros libros, y allá os avenid con sus verdades o mentiras, y buen provecho os hagan, y quiera Dios que no cojeéis del pie que cojea vuestro huésped don Quijote" (I, 32, 344). ("in the meantime, you should believe, Señor Innkeeper, what I have told you, and take your books, and decide on their truths or lies, and much good may they do you; God willing you won't follow in the footsteps of your guest Don Quixote" (I, 32, 271).

2.5 Visions and Madness

Perhaps no other substantive parallelism involving Don Quixote and St Ignatius has the same satirical effect as the Manchegan *hidalgo*'s delusional visions in the Cueva de Montesinos and his astonishing madness which, throughout the novel, leads him to distort reality in the most peculiar ways. These aspects of his character have for centuries been associated by readers of the *Quixote* with Loyola's mystical experiences in the Cueva de Manresa and his own rather unusual way of proceeding, which on a number of occasions has been described as a unique form of insanity. In our last example of the characteristics shared by Ignatius and Don Quixote, we will examine how these distinctive traits are exploited by Cervantes to create what readers have long argued is a subversive parody of the founder of the Society of Jesus.

Ignatius' initiation into the mysteries of supernatural experience in Manresa, described in chapter 2 of the *Autobiografía* and chapters 6 and 7 of the *Vida*, hailed the beginning of his long and fruitful career as a Catholic mystic and visionary. It was these regular visitations and experiences, ranging from visions of the Holy Trinity to voices that tormented him for his sins, to shining serpents with many eyes that undulated before him in the sky, that introduced Ignatius to a strange and frightening new world, one he endeavoured to make sense of through studied reflection. Indeed this last vision, of the serpent, which took place on the banks of the Cardoner river in 1522, marks the awakening of his spiritual discernment; here he has a clear premonition that this dazzling apparition is not from God but rather the devil, whom he succeeds in warding off by waving his pilgrim's staff.²⁶⁶ Over the next year in Manresa, Ignatius would have many more experiences of varied spiritual provenance, thoughts and visions that would test his resolve and exacerbate his scrupulosity to dangerous proportions. What emerged on the other side of this tortured period, eased by the counsel and attention of his confessor, were the rudiments for his method of spiritual discernment, practices he would later distill into his *Spiritual Exercises*.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁶ See Ignatius' description of this vision in the *Autobiografía* (II, 31), cited above in II, 1.4, pp.109-110.

²⁶⁷ In addition to the personal experiences which led to the composition of his *Spiritual Exercises*, Ignatius was clearly inspired by the devotional literature he read during his convalescence (the *Vita Christi* and *Flos*

The *Exercises* elaborated by Ignatius in Manresa and refined over the course of his peregrinations throughout Europe not only provided a means for testing the authenticity of mystical experiences but also established a method for inducing them. A month-long program practiced in retreat settings to this day, the *Spiritual Exercises* set out a series of contemplative prayers, meditations and activities, inspired in some cases by chivalrous themes, that are divided into four one-week periods. These exercises direct an exercitant to use his senses in vividly recreating various religious settings through the eye of the imagination, particularly scenes of startling grotesqueness, what Frédéric Conrod refers to as “orders of corruption”. According to Conrod, “the purpose of these exercises is to develop a capacity to apply sensual/sensorial experience to the imagination [...] It is a literal penetration of the image through the body of the believer to the soul s/he is willing to open up for this experience” (39). The degree to which Ignatius’ *Exercises* require such sensory-specific detail is described further by François Ribadeu-Dumas, whom Conrod quotes at length:

Il ordonne à ses disciples de voir, de toucher, d’adorer, de goûter les choses invisibles. Il veut que les sens soient exaltés dans l’oraison jusqu’à l’hallucination volontaire. Vous méditez sur un mystère de la foi, saint Ignace veut d’abord que vous construisiez un lieu, que vous le rêviez, que vous le voyiez, que vous le touchiez. Si c’est l’enfer, il vous donne à tâter des roches brûlantes, il vous fait nager dans des ténèbres épaisses comme de la poix, il vous met sur la langue du soufre liquide, il remplit vos narines d’une abominable puanteur; il vous montre d’affreux supplices, il vous fait entendre des gémisséments surhumains, il dit à votre volonté de créer cela par des exercices opiniâtres (qtd. in Conrod 39).²⁶⁸

sanctorum) and other works he acquired in Manresa, such as a *Book of Hours* and the seminal *Imitatio Christi* by Thomas à Kempis, a staple of the Devotio Moderna movement that had begun in the late fourteenth century. Ignatius affectionately referred to this last work, which he attributed mistakenly to Jean Gerson, as his “*Gerçoncito*” (Tylanda 34, note 26). For the influence of these texts on Ignatius’ *Spiritual Exercises* see Terence O’Reilly’s article, “Early Printed Books in Spain and the *Exercicios* of Ignatius Loyola.” *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 89.4 (2012): 635-64.

²⁶⁸ “He orders his disciples to see, to touch, to adore, to taste invisible things. He wants the senses to be exalted in prayer to the point of voluntary hallucination. You meditate on the mystery of faith, St Ignatius at first wants you to build a place that you dream of, that you see, that you touch. If it is hell, he gives you burning rocks to feel, he makes you swim in the thick, pitch darkness, he puts liquid sulphur on your tongue, he fills your nostrils with an abominable stench; he shows you frightful tortures, he makes you hear superhuman groans, he tells your will to create it all by these strenuous exercises”. Conrod quotes here from Ribadeau-Dumas’ book, *Dossiers Secrets de la Sorcellerie et de la Magie Noire* (1971). George A. Aschenbrenner, SJ, provides a Jesuit view on what it is like to experience the *Spiritual Exercises* in his 2004 work, *Stretched for Greater Glory*. In addition to explaining the role of the spiritual director and the use of Scripture in making the *Exercises*, Aschenbrenner highlights the importance of sensory engagement: “In making the Exercises you will be taught by God much more than by the one who gives the Exercises to you.

Through these intense mental visualizations and sensory experiences, Ignatius was able to provoke transcendent spiritual encounters. What is more, his visions and visitations were more likely to occur if he experienced an abject physical or spiritual state. “Christ appears to him more clearly,” writes Conrod, “when Ignatius is in a situation of contact with physical or spiritual corruption. The structure of the *Exercises* obeys the same principle: the divinity is provoked to appear through the confrontation with the order of corruption. Only in this case will it manifest its presence, as if it were a cosmic law” (37-38).

This method for engineering mystical union with God and provoking all manner of supernatural experiences would provide Ignatius with the basis for his future apostolic ministry and the core training for members of the Society of Jesus. Though they emerged in a moment of great crisis and instability for Loyola, the *Spiritual Exercises* would evolve gradually into a refined system for imparting his techniques for encountering the divine. Although they attracted great suspicion throughout his lifetime and faced criticism from many sides, these practices succeeded impressively in disseminating his spiritual innovations far and wide. As strange as they may have seemed to the Inquisition and other congregations of the Church who pursued him at the time, there was a very clear method to Ignatius’ spiritual instruction, a method which in the end proved extraordinarily effective for him and the order he established.

The *Spiritual Exercises* are crucial to understanding Ignatian spirituality and his legacy as founder of the Society of Jesus, and we will return to aspects of their practice in a moment. However, it is necessary to consider at this point their relationship to the

The director or guide must explain a number of things, but always briefly and to the point. You will be introduced to various meditations and passages from Scripture. The art of a good director involves welcoming you into God’s word and then leaving you alone with the One who wants to address you personally and uniquely. A good director neither explains at great length nor simply assigns the passage without comment but welcomes you into the mystery in a way that invites prayer. This will always involve adjusting to whatever background of familiarity with the Scriptures a retreatant may have. Scripture study is not the point; rather, a profoundly interpersonal encounter provides the time and space for seeing, tasting, and relishing the truth”. See *Stretched for Greater Glory: What to Expect from the Spiritual Exercises*. Chicago: Loyola Press, 2004, p.13.

comedic hallucinations and literary madness of Don Quixote. For if there is one thing that may be said about the *hidalgo*'s unusual form of insanity, it is that there is a method to his madness.

As Martín de Riquer, Daniel Eisenberg, Anthony Close and other *cervantistas* have shown, Don Quixote's madness passes through a series of stages during the course his adventures until he is restored to his senses at the end of the novel. Each stage represents a variation on his approach to reality. At the beginning of the novel, Don Quixote labours under two primary delusions: 1) that everything he reads in his books of chivalry is true; and 2) that he can revive the ancient order of knight errantry in his time (Riquer XLVII). This leads the would-be knight to disfigure reality by making it fit with what he has read in his books. When he sees an inn he thinks it is a castle; a herdsman's horn becomes a dwarf announcing his arrival; roadside prostitutes are transformed into beautiful damsels and the innkeeper appears to him to be the castle's chatelain (LIV). This transformation of the mundane and vulgar into idealistic impressions of chivalric conventions is accompanied by radical changes in his self-perception. After the thrashing he receives at the hands of the Toledan merchants, Don Quixote experiences a delirious splitting of his personality in which he thinks he is at once a character of a popular ballad poem, Valdovinos, then Abindarraéz, the protagonist of a *morisco* novella and later, at the beginning of chapter 7, the Carolingian hero, Reinaldos de Montalbán. These schizophrenic changes in Don Quixote's personality, however, do not last beyond the opening chapters of Part I, and for the remainder of the novel he maintains a firm grip on his own invented persona.

In his subsequent adventures, Don Quixote continues to modify reality around him to satisfy his fantasies: windmills are turned into giants, flocks of sheep into armies and inns continue to appear as castles. However, he is accompanied now by his squire, Sancho, who tries to point out the errors in his judgement by telling him plainly that his senses are deceiving him. Don Quixote only accepts Sancho's version of reality when it smacks him in the face, or knocks him off his horse, as in the case of the windmills, but he doesn't arrive at the same conclusion about the causes of these deceptions. Here Don

Quixote throws the blame on evil enchanters whom he accuses of transforming the very real armies, giants or castles he finds into common fixtures of the Manchegan countryside. The myth of enchanters who pursue him to thwart his every chivalrous deed proves fundamental to Don Quixote's adventures and allows him to continue with the insane logic of his ideal (Riquer LV). In his first and second sallies, therefore, Don Quixote transforms reality in order to make it fit with his literary illusions. Nothing truly extraordinary happens outside of his own imagination since he is responsible for every adventure and insane mishap that occurs.

In Don Quixote's third sally in Part II of the novel, his madness takes a radical turn; his senses no longer deceive him and he sees ordinary reality just as the narrator and reader do. However, despite seeing clearly, he refuses to accept this reality as it is presented to him and attributes his inability to see the chivalric fabrications of his imagination to the spells of evil enchanters. This is due in no small part to the influence of Sancho, who in chapter 10 pulls an inspired prank by introducing an "enchanted" Dulcinea to Don Quixote, in reality the first peasant girl he meets along the way after having been sent by his master to seek an audience with the fictitious Empress of La Mancha. Knowing the impossibility of his task, Sancho is at a loss for how to proceed until he comes up with a solution that is both brilliant strategy and comedic genius. In a reversal of sorts, Sancho assumes the role of what Conrod characterizes as the "spiritual director" in his relationship with Don Quixote (111), and leads his master into believing a complete falsehood. The passage depicting Sancho as he mulls the prank reveals noteworthy aspects of the mental framework underlying Don Quixote's madness:

-Ahora bien: todas las cosas tienen remedio, si no es la muerte, debajo de cuyo yugo hemos de pasar todos, mal que nos pese, al acabar de la vida. Este mi amo, por mil señales, he visto que es un loco de atar, y aun también yo no le quedo en zaga, pues soy más mentecato que él, pues le sigo y le sirvo, si es verdadero el refrán que dice «Dime con quién andas, decirte he quién eres», y el otro de «No con quien naces, sino con quien paces». Siendo, pues, loco, como lo es, y de locura que las más veces toma unas cosas por otras, y juzga lo blanco por negro y lo negro por blanco, como se pareció cuando dijo que los molinos de viento eran gigantes, y las mulas de los religiosos dromedarios, y las manadas de carneros ejércitos de enemigos, y otras muchas cosas a este tono, no será muy difícil hacerle creer que una labradora, la primera que me topare por aquí, es la señora Dulcinea; y cuando él no lo crea juraré yo; y si él jurare, tornaré yo a jurar; y si porfiare, porfiaré más, y de esta manera que tengo de tener la mía siempre sobre el hito, venga lo que viniere. Quizá con esta porfía

acabaré con él que no me envíe otra vez a semejantes mensajerías, viendo cuán mal recado le traigo dellas, o quizá pensará, como yo imagino, que algún mal encantador de estos que él dice que le quieren mal la habrá mudado la figura por hacerle mal y daño (II, 10, 627).²⁶⁹

Don Quixote in his third sally, therefore, is not deceived by his own senses as much as he is by those around him. Indeed he is, in a manner of speaking, the victim of enchanters, as in the example of Sancho's enchantment of Dulcinea and in his adventures at the palace of the duke and duchess in chapters 30 to 51 of the novel's second part. Here, as a guest of this noble couple who have read about the famous madman in Part I of *Don Quixote* published in 1605, Don Quixote's fantasies are indulged with the creation of a luxurious imaginary world, full of knights, damsels and, naturally, enchanters, all of which serves as an amusing practical joke for the enjoyment of his hosts and their friends. Don Quixote innocently participates in these larks, unaware that he has become a source of entertainment for his patrons and believing all the while that he is fulfilling his duty as a knight. Yet when he finally leaves the comfort and security of this made-up setting to sally forth into the real world, his behaviour reveals telling signs about the quality of his madness. When he and Sancho encounter the highwayman Roque Guinart and his band of brigands on the road to Barcelona, the very real threat of danger posed by these outlaws causes Don Quixote to shrink from confrontation (II, 60). Similarly, in chapter 63, when Don Quixote is invited to visit the galleys moored in the port of Barcelona, he witnesses a small naval skirmish off the city's coast between some Turkish and Spanish vessels. Despite this opportunity to participate in real warfare, he refrains from perpetrating any insane acts. As Riquer has observed, "[e]n cuanto aparece la aventura desaparece don Quijote, por la sencilla razón que don Quijote es una falsedad; que no es

²⁶⁹ "Well now: everything has a remedy except death, under whose yoke we all have to pass, even if we don't want to, when our life ends. I've seen a thousand signs in this master of mine that he's crazy enough to be tied up, and I'm not far behind, I'm as much a fool as he is because I follow and serve him, if that old saying is true: "Tell me who your friends are and I'll tell you who you are," and that other one that says, "Birds of a feather flock together." Then, being crazy, which is what he is, with the kind of craziness that most of the time takes one thing for another, and thinks white is black and black is white, like the time he said that the windmills were giants, and the friars' mules dromedaries, and the flocks of sheep enemy armies, and many other things of that nature, it won't be very hard to make him believe that a peasant girl, the first one I run into here, is the lady Dulcinea; and if he doesn't believe it, I'll swear it's true; and if he swears it isn't, I'll swear again that it is; and if he insists, I'll insist more; and so I'll always have the last word, no matter what. Maybe I'll be so stubborn he won't send me out again carrying his messages, seeing the bad answers I bring back, or maybe he'll believe, which is what I think will happen, that one of those evil enchanters he says are his enemies changed her appearance to hurt him and do him harm" (II, 10, 515-516).

caballero ni fuerte” (LVII).²⁷⁰ Don Quixote’s reluctance to engage in real life adventures is explained by his strange madness which “sólo tiene validez ante lo imaginado o lo fingido y que se desmorona ante la realidad”.²⁷¹

Although he is described as “rematadamente loco” (II, 65, 1044),²⁷² a man whose illness is so bizarre and varied that “[n]o le sacarán del borrador de su locura cuantos médicos y buenos escribanos tiene el mundo” (II, 18, 690),²⁷³ Don Quixote at times demonstrates an impressive degree of sanity. He is, according to the explanation Don Lorenzo proceeds to give in the above quote, “un entreverado loco, lleno de lúcidos intervalos”.²⁷⁴ Don Quixote, in other words, is a sporadically sane madman. He is able to deliver, for example, learned discourses on the Golden Age (I, 11) and Arms and Letters (I, 38), but when it comes to the subject of knights and chivalry he loses the plot. As Riquer sees it, Don Quixote is an intermittent lunatic “que sólo desatina cuando se refiere a su manía, y es perfectamente cuerdo en las demás circunstancias” (LIII).²⁷⁵

This particular feature of Don Quixote’s madness, that he goes crazy only when matters of chivalry are concerned, together with his tendency to retreat from authentic chivalrous adventures that might give the lie to his phony identity, implies a certain voluntary aspect to his demented behaviour. There is a willing suspension of disbelief—or imaginative activation of it, as it were—depending on the circumstances, when opportunity arises for him to surpass the humdrum reality of his surroundings and imitate some aspect of chivalric romances. This extraordinary quality bears relation to Sancho’s remarks concerning Don Quixote’s madness in his soliloquy above. Here the squire asserts that Don Quixote is crazy “with the kind of craziness that takes one thing for another, and *thinks white is black and black is white*” (II, 10, 515-516). This concept of taking one thing for another, and thinking white is black and vice versa, recurs elsewhere

²⁷⁰ “as soon as [real] adventure appears Don Quixote disappears, for the simple reason that Don Quixote is a falsehood; he isn’t a knight nor is he strong”.

²⁷¹ “only has validity in the face of the imaginary or the feigned and which crumbles before reality”.

²⁷² “hopelessly mad” (II, 65, 889).

²⁷³ “Not all the physicians and notaries in the world could make a final accounting of his madness” (II, 18, 571).

²⁷⁴ “he is a combination madman who has many lucid intervals” (II, 18, 571).

²⁷⁵ “who only talks nonsense when he refers to his mania, and is perfectly sane the rest of the time”.

in the novel. In Part I, when the barber wishes to mollify Don Quixote in order to prevent him from making another of his insane outbursts, he scolds a fellow barber who claims that his helmet is actually a barber's basin by telling him "no solo no es bacía de barbero, pero *está tan lejos de serlo como está lejos lo blanco de lo negro y la verdad de la mentira*" (I, 45, 479).²⁷⁶ In chapter 4 of Part II, Bachelor Sansón Carrasco interrogates Sancho about what he did with the hundred escudos he found in Part I of the novel. Sancho, not wanting to appear having squandered them, and Cervantes himself wanting to tie up loose ends created by his authorial negligence, ends his defence with the words "y cada uno meta la mano en su pecho, y *no se ponga a juzgar lo blanco por negro y lo negro por blanco*; que cada uno es como Dios le hizo, y aun peor muchas veces" (II, 4, 589).²⁷⁷ Later, in a letter he writes to his wife Teresa, Sancho warns her not to tell the neighbours what he has told her about his incredible adventures with Don Quixote since it will only lead to contradiction and controversy: "No dirás desto nada a nadie, porque pon lo tuyo en concejo, y *unos dirán que es blanco y otros que es negro*" (II, 4, 833).²⁷⁸

The black/white opposition inherent to Don Quixote's madness, and the allusions to black/white and white/black distinctions, reversals and transformations that appear throughout the novel,²⁷⁹ conjure up a seminal aspect of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* and

²⁷⁶ "not only is not a barber's basin, but *is as far from being one as white is from black and truth from falsehood*" (I, 45, 391). All italics in these quotations mine.

²⁷⁷ "so let each man put his hand over his own heart and *not start judging white as black and black as white*; each of us is as God made him, and often much worse" (II, 4, 481-482).

²⁷⁸ "Don't tell anybody about this, because if you tell your business in public, *some will say it's white, and others that it's black*" (II, 4, 699).

²⁷⁹ Other examples include Sancho's remarks in I, 29, after Don Quixote has won the favour of the pretend Princess Micomicona. Believing Don Quixote will become an emperor now in the princess's homeland of Africa, and that he will become a king with vassals himself, Sancho ponders what he might do with his new subjects. He is at first unsettled by their race, but then the idea occurs to him: "Par Dios que los he de volar, chico con grande, o como pudiere, y que, *por negros que sean, los he de volver blancos o amarillos*", in obvious reference to the silver and gold he hopes to exchange for them (I, 29, 314). ("By God, I'll sell them all, large or small, it's all the same to me, and *no matter how black they are, I'll turn them white and yellow*" I, 29, 245). In Part II, Chapter 18, Cervantes uses a similar play on words when referring to the humorous effect of Sancho's gastronomic choices on Don Quixote. Arriving at an inn, Sancho brings his master several pots of water to wash up with: "pero antes de todo, con cinco calderos, o seis, de agua, que en la cantidad de los calderos hay alguna diferencia, se lavó la cabeza y el rostro, y todavía se quedó el agua de color de suero, merced a la golosina de Sancho y a *la compra de sus negros requesones, que tan blanco pusieron a su amo*" (II, 18, 687). ("but first of all, with five pots, or perhaps six pots of water, there being some difference of opinion regarding the number, he washed his head and face, and still the water was the color of whey, thanks to Sancho's gluttony and *his purchase of the blackhearted curds that turned his master so white*" I, 18, 568). Still later in Part II, Don Quixote is told a story about two men who went searching for a lost donkey. They

present an unparalleled series of opportunities to discreetly mock the founder's spiritual practice. The *Exercises*, which received an energetic defence from Ribadeneyra in chapter 8 of Loyola's *Vida*,²⁸⁰ were first published as a manual for spiritual directors in 1548. In addition to the four-week program of exercises outlined in the text, the *Exercises* include a chapter on rules, such as the Rules for the Discernment of Spirits, Rules for the Distribution of Alms, and Rules for Thinking with the Church. In paragraph 365 of this last section, rule 13 reads:

Debemos siempre tener, para en todo acertar, *que lo banco que yo veo creer que es negro, si la Iglesia jerárquica así lo determina*; creyendo que entre Cristo nuestro Señor, esposo, y la Iglesia, su esposa, es el mismo Espíritu que nos gobierna y rige

each imitated a donkey's braying to find the animal, so expertly in fact that they heaped effusive praise on each other for the excellence of their imitations. News of this mutual admiration society reached the surrounding villages and the villagers began to mock them for their fine donkey calling. In describing this situation, the man telling the story uses a now familiar black and white distinction: "Dieron en ello los muchachos, que fue dar en manos y en bocas de todos los demonios del infierno, y fue cundiendo el rebuzno de en uno en otro pueblo, *de manera que son conocidos los naturales del pueblo del rebuzno como son conocidos y diferenciados los negros de los blancos*; y ha llegado a tanto la desgracia desta burla, que muchas veces con mano armada y formado escuadrón han salido contra los burladores los burlados a darse batalla, sin poderlo remediar rey ni roque, ni temor ni vergüenza" (II, 25, 747). ("The boys joined in, which was like giving it into the hands and mouths of all the demons in hell, and the braying spread from one town to another, so that the natives of a town are known for their braying, *just as blacks are known and differentiated from whites*; and this unfortunate mockery has gone so far that often the mocked, holding weapons in their hands and marching in formation, have come out to do battle with the mockers, and no one and nothing, neither fear nor shame, can stop it" II, 25, 623).

²⁸⁰ "Pero con ser así todo lo que aquí habemos dicho y tan universal y notorio el provecho de los ejercicios no ha faltado quien ha querido escurecer esta verdad y poner sospecha en cosa tan puesta en razón y con la continua experiencia tan confirmada. Mas todos sus golpes dieron en vacío, y fueron flacas sus fuerzas y vanos sus acometimientos. Ca rompiéndose y deshaciéndose las olas de su contradicción, se quedó en pie y en su fuerza, como una peña firme, la verdad de esta santa doctrina. Porque la Sede Apostólica tomó este negocio por suyo y, después de mucha información y gravísimo examen, interpuso su autoridad y aprobó el libro de los *Ejercicios*, loándolos, y exhortando y persuadiendo a los hombres que los leyesen, tuviesen y hiciesen, como claramente consta por las bulas de nuestro muy santo padre Paulo III, vicario de Cristo nuestro Señor, las cuales se publicaron el año mil y quinientos y cuarenta y ocho, y andan impresas con el mismo libro de los *Ejercicios espirituales*, cuyo autor es el apostólico varón de quien tratamos, Ignacio" (I, 8, 44). ("But everything being as we have said it here and so universally and well known the advantage of these exercises, there has been no shortage of those who have wanted to obscure this truth and stoke suspicions of something so correct and so well confirmed by continuous experience. But all their blows fell blindly, their efforts weak and attacks vain. As the waves of their contradiction crashed and fell apart, the truth of this holy doctrine stood firm as rock in its strength. Because the Apostolic See took this matter for its own, and after much information and serious consideration, interposed its authority and approved the book of the Exercises, praising them, and exhorting and persuading men to read them, to have them and to make them, as is clearly demonstrated by the bulls of our most holy father Paul III, vicar of Christ Our Lord, which were published in the year fifteen hundred and forty-eight, and appear printed with the same book of the Spiritual Exercises, whose author is the apostolic male of whom we write, Ignatius").

para la salud de nuestras ánimas. Porque por el mismo Espíritu y Señor nuestro, que dio los diez mandamientos, es regida y gobernada nuestra santa madre Iglesia (106).²⁸¹

This striking rule for perception in Ignatius' *Exercises* has long been the subject of discussion among commentators both within and outside the Society of Jesus. While some have seen it as a response to Erasmus' remarks on the limits of papal authority, the Jesuit interpretation generally resides in the religious imperative not to prioritize man's subjective experience over objective and divinely revealed truth.²⁸² For readers of *Don Quixote* throughout the ages, however, this doctrine has naturally led to comparisons with the main character's subordination of his senses to his chivalric ideal. John Bowle, it may be remembered, asserted in 1777 that "[t]o deny man the use of those senses which God gave him is somewhat truly quixotic; 'tis substituting fancy and imagination in the place of that evidence which alone is to be relied on, from a due use and exertion of them" since if he should fail to do so "[t]he visionary enthusiast may give into the belief of every absurdity, bewilder himself with his own strange notions, 'y ponerse en un laberinto de imaginaciones,' because he will not believe his own eyes" (138). More recently, Frédéric Conrod has drawn his own unambiguous correlation between Ignatius' approach to spiritual perception and Don Quixote's approach to chivalry.²⁸³ In his

²⁸¹ Italics mine. See San Ignacio de Loyola. *Ejercicios espirituales*. Ed. Santiago Arzubialde, SJ. 3^a ed. Bilbao: Ediciones Mensajero, (1548) 2000. ("If we wish to proceed securely in all things, we must hold fast to the following principle: *What seems to me white, I will believe black if the hierarchical Church so defines*. For I must be convinced that in Christ our Lord, the bridegroom, and in his spouse the Church, only one Spirit holds sway, which governs and rules for the salvation of souls. For it is by the same Spirit and Lord who gave the Ten Commandments that our holy Mother Church is ruled and governed"). See Saint Ignatius of Loyola. *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius: Based on Studies in the Language of the Autograph*. Ed. Louis J. Puhl, SJ. Chicago: Loyola University Press, (1548) 1951, p.160.

²⁸² Darío López Tejada, SJ, in his study of the *Exercises*, alludes to critics' suspicions that it was Erasmus' wry commentary in the *Supputationes errorum in censuris Beddae* that provoked this doctrine from Ignatius. Erasmus had said "lo negro nunca será blanco, aunque lo proclamara así el Romano Pontífice; lo cual, estoy seguro, que nunca lo hará". ("black will never be white, even if the Roman Pontiff were to say so, which I am sure he will never do"). López Tejada explains however that "[n]o se trata, pues, de negar la evidencia natural o moral, sino de no absolutizar la realidad tal como es apprehendida por el hombre falible, que tantas veces confunde la evidencia objeto-subjetiva con una falsa evidencia meramente subjetiva, creada por sus prejuicios o precipitaciones. Ignacio demuestra su adhesión al Magisterio de la Iglesia, regida y gobernada por el Espíritu Santo". ("it is not, therefore, about denying natural and moral evidence, but rather about not absolutizing reality as it is apprehended by fallible man, who so often confuses objective-subjective evidence with false evidence that is merely subjective, created by his prejudices and rashness. Ignatius demonstrates his adherence to the Magisterium of the Church, ruled and governed by the Holy Spirit"). See *Los ejercicios espirituales de San Ignacio de Loyola: comentario y textos afines*. Madrid: Edibesa, 1998, pp.1021-1022.

²⁸³ "Loyola invents a totalitarian system of sensorial perception that requires representations prior to the imaginative act in the exercitant's mind; Cervantes exaggerates this process and presents a character that has

estimation, “[t]here is no doubt that Cervantes is attentive to the central dynamics of the *Spiritual Exercises*” (110-111). Eric J. Ziolkowski for his part summarizes Cervantes’ apparent parody of this Ignatian rule in *Don Quixote*:

The rule demonstrates the bearing of the conflict of faith and reason on the appearance-reality dichotomy: Ignatius asserts the primacy of obedience to the church, and hence the primacy of Roman Catholic faith, over the use of human reason, which, were it to operate freely, would hold that white is white, and black, black. The *Quixote* seems to satirize this Ignatian rule by having the knight invoke those same terms to argue that the basin which he has stolen from a barber is really a helmet:²⁸⁴ “this piece... not only is no barber’s basin, but is as far from being one as white is from black [*como está lejos lo blanco de lo negro*] and truth from falsehood” (1:45, 355-56). The Ignatian principle is again recalled in Sancho’s soliloquy as he schemes to trick his master into believing a certain country wench is Dulcinea. The squire concludes that Don Quixote suffers from “a madness that mostly takes one thing for another, white for black and black for white [*lo blanco por negro y lo negro por blanco*]” (2:10, 473). While the phrase “white for black [etc.]” employs the same terms as a proverb Sancho later utters about the relativity of human judgement, it also recalls the Ignatian principle about obedience to the church. Indeed, the affinity between that principle and the method that Sancho perceives in his master’s madness is striking. Transposed into quixotic terms, Ignatius’s injunction might read: “I will believe that windmills are giants, the monks’ mules dromedaries, etc., if my chivalric fantasy so defines them” (*The Sanctification of Don Quixote*, 29).

Don Quixote’s willing suspension of disbelief, or activation of it, when it comes to matters of knight errantry, the subordination of his senses to his chivalrous ideal and his propensity to take black for white and white for black, i.e. to accept the opposite of that which contradicts his preconceived chivalric fantasies, all suggest a Cervantine parody of the founder of the Society of Jesus. Indeed there could hardly be, especially for readers familiar with the life and works of Loyola, a clearer parallelism between the madness of Don Quixote and Ignatius’ method for spiritual discernment. But what of this suggestion, advanced by literary study, that Cervantes intended to ridicule Ignatius and imply that he was mad? Is it a reasonable argument to make, that Ignatius was less than sane when he emerged from his religious conversion to imitate the saints and found the Society of Jesus? Would his behaviour have been strange and notable enough to inspire Cervantes to create a character portraying some of the same psychological traits, and to heighten them through comedy to amusing and ridiculous levels?

already configured the world according to fictive representations. The exercitant of the *Exercises* and Don Quixote have different aims, but attempt to reach them using similar visual dynamics in their quest” (110).

²⁸⁴ A slight error on the part of Ziolkowski—it is actually the barber who invokes these terms.

Grounds for questioning the mental stability of Ignatius, particularly during his turbulent time in Manresa, where the *Spiritual Exercises* were born, have been provided by the distinguished Jesuit scholar, W.W. Meissner. In 1992, Meissner, a physician, psychiatrist and former clinical professor of psychiatry at Harvard Medical School, published his monumental work, *Ignatius of Loyola: the Psychology of a Saint*.²⁸⁵ In it he traces the evolution of Ignatius' psychological development through the penetrating lens of Freudian psychoanalysis. Meissner's study, a forensic "psychobiography" as he describes it (xvi), seeks to reconcile a scientific approach to analyzing Ignatius' life with a believer's understanding of religious faith and experience. Drawing on the best scholarship on the life of Loyola, including the original works of his *Autobiografía*, *Spiritual Diary* and *Spiritual Exercises*, as well as his voluminous correspondence from during his time as Superior General, Meissner paints a vivid picture of the psychodynamic forces at play in the *hidalgo*, courtier and gentleman-at-arms turned saint. The result is a fascinating look at the conflictive inner life of Loyola.

Ignatius faced challenges to his psychological development from early on as the youngest child of the Loyola family. His mother died shortly after he was born and he was raised outside the family home by a nursemaid for the first several years of his life. The loss of his mother, Meissner argues, had a pathogenic impact on Ignatius that resulted in a depressive core to his personality, in addition to an idealized image of his mother and unconscious desires for reunification with her, which were later sublimated into his religious longings and mystical experiences (362-363). His father Beltrán, on the other hand, provided a very different psychological impulse. Distant, aloof and absent most of the time on military campaigns, Beltrán was the model of an imposing medieval male: strong, aggressive, paternalistic and, as the father of numerous illegitimate children, unrestrained in his libidinal interests. Meissner hypothesizes that Ignatius' yearning for parental attention and approval made him identify strongly with the phallic, narcissitic and aggressive figure of his father, an identification that would remain at odds

²⁸⁵ W.W. Meissner, SJ. *Ignatius of Loyola: the Psychology of a Saint*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1992.

with the other passive, humble and maternally-inspired qualities of his character during his lifetime (364-365).

The seminal moment in Ignatius' psychological development came with his wounding at Pamplona. This was a "castration-like experience" for the impassioned *hidalgo*, a severe narcissistic trauma that obliterated his paternal ideal (366).²⁸⁶ What followed was a radical reordering of his personality based on the religious ideal of the *Vita Christi* and saints of the *Flos sanctorum*. The decision to leave home in order to imitate these devotional heroes was indicative of a character still under the sway of a deep-seated vainglorious narcissism. However, as he limped toward Manresa, Ignatius resolved to eradicate the worldly impulses inside him that were at war with his newfound ideal. This purging of his pre-conversion self was accomplished through a program of masochistic ascetic exercises in Manresa, out of which emerged his system for spiritual discernment and growth.²⁸⁷ The obsessional quality of the *Spiritual Exercises* and the self-gratifying nature of Ignatius' mystical experiences prompt Meissner to question whether he suffered from a form of psychosis, since many of the phenomena he experienced border on the pathological.²⁸⁸ Yet such a diagnosis, he maintains, is not entirely appropriate. There was a moderation of his psychotic tendencies over time that allowed Ignatius to exert control over his more pathological behaviour (324). What is more, he was a capable leader of men who successfully founded the Society of Jesus, an achievement not entirely consistent with a person suffering from psychosis (325). His

²⁸⁶ See Appendix B for Meissner's analysis of the effect of this trauma on Ignatius' ego.

²⁸⁷ For more on Meissner's analysis of the psychological undercurrents of the *Exercises*, see Appendix B.

²⁸⁸ "Was Ignatius psychotic?" Meissner asks. "We are not without reason to think so. If we take his hypothetical psychosis as reflected in his mystical and ascetical experience (nothing else in his life story would support such a diagnosis), there was an acute precipitant—the life-threatening injury at Pamplona and the subsequent surgical torment and convalescence, which brought about a severe narcissistic crisis. In this context Iñigo began to experience the extraordinary phenomena that characterized his mystical career. We can then point to the clearly regressive crisis at Manresa, which had all the marks of a severely pathological episode in which he at least came close to psychosis, avoiding a catastrophic suicidal resolution by the narrowest of margins. The crisis of Manresa was resolved by the illumination of the Cardoner, and Iñigo was launched on his mystical journey. One could reasonably hypothesize that all this amounts to a form of psychotic regression that was resolved and encapsulated in a socially and culturally acceptable life of mystical elevation. For the rest of his life, Ignatius would have lived within this sublimated psychotic cocoon—a psychic resolution that would have satisfied basic narcissistic needs and found adequate reinforcement and support in his religious mission, in the adulation and collaboration of his followers and companions, and in his continued practice of ascetical heroism" (324).

strange frame of mind leads Meissner to wonder whether Ignatius was psychotic in some unique sense that psychiatric science has yet to explain:

So what is the verdict? If Ignatius' psychosis was sufficiently encapsulated and his narcissistic equilibrium was adequately maintained, as it seems clearly to have been, by the ongoing current of religiously gratifying mystical experiences and by the course of events that allowed him to feel that he was doing God's will and doing his utmost to advance the kingdom of Christ in this world, it might conceivably have cleared the way for his residual ego functions to operate in more effective and secondary process ways. If we were to accept this assumption, Ignatius would have to be regarded as psychotic in a different and unique sense—one that psychiatric science has yet to acknowledge or explain. It may be less prejudicial and more accurate to say that Ignatius' mystical life represented a form of extraordinary experience at the limits of human capacity. This would leave us with the further problem of trying to understand the nature of this experience in psychological or psychoanalytic terms. There is also the gnawing question—if Ignatius was in some sense psychotic, what does this imply in the wider arena of human history and human religious experience?" (325).

Meissner's reflections on Ignatius' mysticism and psychopathology, that it represents a kind of experience at the limits of human capacity and is beyond our ability to understand, seem to echo the sentiments of Don Lorenzo on the subject of Don Quixote's mental state: "Not all the physicians and notaries in the world could make a final accounting of his madness: he is a combination madman who has many lucid intervals" (II, 18, 571). For his part, Meissner is content to remain with an ambiguous picture of Ignatius' psyche insofar as his mental illness is concerned. As a psychoanalyst and Jesuit writing five hundred years after the birth of the founder of his order, Meissner seeks an understanding that goes beyond scientifically reductivist arguments. The ability of God's grace to work on the afflicted mind is the noteworthy element in the life of Loyola, for "even if we accept the possibility of pathogenic influences in [his] spiritual life, they would not necessarily diminish its religious significance and the import of his mystical life and his religious mission. His pathology, if such it was, would in no way diminish the historic significance and impact of the Society of Jesus on the stage of history, particularly in the crisis of the Counter-Reformation, and continuing after his death to the present" (329).

The substantive parallelism of Don Quixote's delusionary madness and St Ignatius' psychologically distressed mysticism is both rich and varied. Like Don Quixote,

who was “un cuerdo loco y un loco que tiraba a cuerdo” (II, 17, 683-684),²⁸⁹ Ignatius appears to have alternated between periods of serious mental illness and clear mental acuity. His visions and intense ascetical practices in Manresa find a comic parallel in Don Quixote’s visions in the Cueva de Montesinos and penances in the Sierra Morena. The *Spiritual Exercises*, with their emphasis on the use of the senses to experience imagined settings evoke Don Quixote’s own fanciful use of his senses during the course of his adventures. And the Ignatian rule guiding exercitants to believe white what is black, if the hierarchical church so defines it, appears to be humourously caricatured in a variety of ways throughout Cervantes’ novel. When faced with these striking parallelisms, the reader must ask, are these the hallmarks of an intentional parody? Was Cervantes intending to parody Ignatius of Loyola?

Considered in light of the substantive parallelisms examined earlier in this chapter, and the narrative parallelisms reviewed previously, the likelihood of an affirmative answer to these questions only continues to grow. Both *hidalgos*, lovers of chivalric romances, imitators of knights and saints errant, figures who undergo radical transformations and change their names, with the result in Don Quixote’s case being a name that appears to mock Ignatius on a number of levels—these are among the many parallelisms that connect *Don Quixote*, the *Autobiografía* and *Vida de Ignacio de Loyola* and substantiate an intentional parody of the founder of the Society of Jesus. In the final chapter of this thesis we will examine the thematic parallelisms that complement this parody and further accentuate its ironic meaning.

²⁸⁹ “a sane man gone mad and a madman edging toward sanity” (II, 17, 565).

3. Thematic Parallelisms in *Don Quixote*, the *Autobiografía* and *Vida*

Until now we have examined textual parallelisms in the *Quixote*, *Autobiografía* and *Vida* that are related to aspects of the characters and stories of Don Quixote and St Ignatius. In this chapter we will examine another kind of parallelism which speaks more directly to what their characters and stories are about. In certain cases these parallelisms have given rise to reader associations of the protagonists. In others, the suggested relationship is waiting to be revealed in the text. In every case the nature of the themes, and the manner in which they are treated in *Don Quixote*, enable readers to recognize the parodic intent of Cervantes' novel. When fully grasped, the result of these parallelisms is an amusingly subversive commentary on the life and legacy of Ignatius of Loyola.

The preceding chapters have provided abundant detail for the recognition of thematic parallelisms between Don Quixote and St Ignatius. That both figures enjoyed books of chivalry, imitated their heroes and transformed themselves into representations of their ego ideals is by now well known. The following discussion need not reiterate the particulars of these parallelisms, but rather make plain their comedic purpose. A focus on the broader meaning of the thematic parallelisms in *Don Quixote*, the *Autobiografía* and *Vida* will therefore avoid repetition of our previous analysis and entail a more concise examination of the evidence for Cervantes' reputed parody of Loyola.

There is a wide variety of thematic parallelisms in *Don Quixote*, the *Autobiografía* and *Vida*, some of which require only brief comment. I will address these in two principal categories: Minor and Major Themes.

3.1 Minor Themes

The three texts under consideration share several minor thematic parallelisms that may be regarded as products of the larger concerns they address, such as chivalry, the imitation of heroes and pursuit of spiritual or martial glory. Here I will examine three.

Journey

Journey as a theme is central to both Don Quixote's and St Ignatius' stories. The *Autobiografía*, we remember, was a narrative crafted in the form of a journey, both as a means to aiding the memory of the narrator and compositor, and as an exercise in retracing Ignatius' footsteps on his path toward founding the Society of Jesus.²⁹⁰ The thematic importance of travel is emblazoned in the text's alternate title, *El relato del peregrino*, and in the continuous use of the word "pilgrim" to refer to Ignatius. Episodic in nature, the *Autobiografía* invites the reader to contemplate the religious significance of Ignatius' conversion and transformation and marvel at the extraordinary experiences and encounters he has on the road throughout Spain, Europe and the Middle East. Ribadeneyra intensifies the episodic nature of Ignatius' story in the *Vida*, with a variety of interpolations, digressions and asides punctuating the main narrative. His account of the journey, unlike the more understated *Autobiografía*, furthermore commands the reader's admiration for Loyola's heroic and exemplary actions.

Pierre Quesnel would observe this aspect of Ignatius' story in comparing him to Don Quixote, for it was Ignatius who "traversed a great part of the world, rendering himself as famous by his extravagances in spiritual knight-errantry, as his illustrious countryman Don Quixote was afterwards in temporal" (1). The *Quixote* is largely characterized by travel, namely Don Quixote's three *salidas*, or sallies, which see him wander about La Mancha and further afield in the novel's second part. These travels have as their purpose the seeking of adventures, but lack the specific goal orientation of Ignatius' pilgrimages (e.g. to the Holy Land to evangelize the infidels, to Paris to study at its university and to Rome to win papal approval for founding the Society). Don

²⁹⁰ See II, 2.1, p.48.

Quixote's adventures are more notable for their risible side effects than they are for any actual feats of heroism or gallantry, and in this way offer a humourous counterpoint to Ribadeneyra's excited narration of Ignatius' exploits. In aimlessly roving about the Manchegan countryside under the mistaken belief that he is a formidable knight on an important mission to right wrongs and correct injustices, Don Quixote seems to imply a witty comic deflation of the exalted spiritual ambitions and purposeful journeying of St Ignatius.

Lady Adoration

Another thematic parallelism of note in the context of Don Quixote's and St Ignatius' travels is their service to their respective ladies. In Ignatius' case, this begins with his fantasizing about the clever words he will say and brave deeds he will perform to impress a certain lady of the highest nobility, a likely member of the royal family. Unable to pursue this remote chance at love, his chivalrous affections are transferred to the worship of the Virgin Mary, whose honour he defends with the threat of violence and to whom he pays tribute by standing in vigil before her altar. Don Quixote of course, like any good knight, requires a similarly splendid lady to devote himself to. However, the woman he chooses is not high-born, nor particularly attractive, and does not in fact have a very good idea of who he is. The figure of Dulcinea del Toboso is a superb comic contrivance allowing Cervantes to subvert this commonplace of chivalric romances in *Don Quixote* and, by extension, to poke fun at Ignatius' naïve and vain aspirations of courtly love, which he candidly discloses in his *Autobiografía*. What is more, as in the courtly tradition where the suitor's affections approximate religious fervour, Don Quixote's devotion and service to Dulcinea take on religious proportions as he implores her to protect him on his mad adventures and zealously proclaims her beauty and greatness to every bewildered person he encounters. Indeed, Dulcinea even appears to Don Quixote in religious or quasi-mystical circumstances, either "enchanted" by Sancho in the form of a field labourer, or spellbound in his vision in the Cueva de Montesinos where she is held captive by the enchanter Merlin, together with other chivalric-romance-

inspired creatures of his imagination. These apparitions readily evoke Ignatius' visions of the Virgin Mary that occur throughout the *Autobiografía* and *Vida*.

This latter element of Don Quixote's service to Dulcinea is significant in that it seems to imply a facetious attitude toward Ignatius' relationship with the Virgin Mary. In the *Autobiografía* and *Vida*, the Virgin appears to Ignatius in a series of visions that bring him comfort and reassurance, often confirming particular decisions he has made in his spiritual career. Dulcinea, on the other hand, affords Don Quixote very little comfort, reassurance or indeed protection during his battles and confrontations. Furthermore, her burlesque characterization and infrequent appearances neither confirm nor support Don Quixote's ambition to become a knight errant, but rather expose the harebrained nature of his scheme. Dulcinea's spiritual aloofness, despite Don Quixote's intense adoration, is moreover emphasized in episodes such as his penances in the Sierra Morena. Here, among the berserk actions he performs to impress his lady love, Don Quixote fashions a rosary from his shirttails and prays "a million Hail Marys"—to no effect. The risqué remark, censored in subsequent editions of the *Quixote*,²⁹¹ reveals a jocosely view of Dulcinea's non-existent favour and hints at the inefficacy of the Virgin Mary's intercessory power. Such casual irreverence toward the object of Ignatius' devotion has led some readers to question the orthodoxy of Cervantes' Catholicism. While it may be going too far to surmise his religious beliefs on the basis of this one depiction, it is not implausible to conclude that his portrayal of Don Quixote's service to Dulcinea thoroughly parodies Ignatius' veneration of the Virgin Mary.

Militancy

A third, and for our purposes final, minor thematic parallelism in the stories of Don Quixote and St Ignatius is the militant nature of their undertakings. Ignatius is first introduced in the *Autobiografía* as a soldier in the midst of battle. Military service was the path he chose to distinguish himself as a man. It was a heroic ideal based on the values inculcated during his youth and reinforced by his avid reading of books of

²⁹¹ See II, 1.4, pp.108-109.

chivalry. Don Quixote is likewise inspired by these books and values to take up arms and seek glory on the battlefield. Neither he nor Ignatius, however, is particularly successful in warfare: Ignatius is shot down in Pamplona and Don Quixote goes from one comedic defeat to the next, whether his adversaries are flocks of sheep, windmills or wineskins, and is ultimately defeated for good by the Knight of the White Moon, a disguised Bachelor Sansón Carrasco, on the beach in Barcelona (II, 64).

Yet in spite of their lack of success with armed pursuits, the combative parallelism in *Don Quixote* and Loyola's story, particularly as it is told in Ribadeneyra's *Vida*, remains highly suggestive. Although Loyola is forced by his injuries to abandon his hope for a career as a soldier that will lead him to fame and glory, he finds a suitable alternative in saving the Catholic Church from the threat of Protestantism. He founds the *Compañía de Jesús*, a religious order whose name loses its martial flair when translated to the comparatively benign-sounding Society of Jesus. Indeed, as Miguel Batllori, SJ, explains, the military connotation of *Compañía*, as in "a company of soldiers" in Spanish, was the commonly understood meaning of the Jesuit order's name during the Baroque and Counter Reformation period (19).²⁹² This understanding is illustrated by Pedro de Ribadeneyra who heralds Ignatius as a heaven-sent saviour and employs militaristic terminology to describe his role as "capitán" and "caudillo" or leader of this Counter Reformation force. What is more, the theological nemeses of Loyola and the Society are portrayed in similarly belligerent language. In a chapter added to later editions of the *Vida*, Ribadeneyra paints a frightening picture of the danger posed by Martin Luther and

²⁹² "De la palabra italiana «compagnia»,» writes Batllori, "que adoptaron aquellos estudiantes durante su demora en la República veneta en espera de zarpar para Jerusalén, y que sólo significaba comunidad de hermanos, se pasó a la palabra española «compañía» en su sentido militar. Esa dualidad semiótica se dio ya en tiempos de San Ignacio, pero la segunda prevaleció en el manierismo contrarreformista y en el exultante barroco". See Miguel Batllori, SJ. "San Ignacio de Loyola, ¿personaje medieval o renacentista?" *El pueblo vasco en el Renacimiento, 1491-1521: actas del simposio celebrado en la Universidad de Deusto, San Sebastián, con motivo del V.O centenario del nacimiento de Ignacio de Loyola, 1-5 octubre, 1990*. Ed. José Luis Orella Unzué. San Sebastián; Bilbao: Instituto Ignacio de Loyola, Universidad de Deusto; Ediciones Mensajero, 1990. 15-30. ("From the Italian word 'compagnia' which those students adopted during their delay in the Venetian Republic while waiting to set sail for Jerusalem, and which only meant a community of brothers, it passed to the Spanish word 'compañía' in its military sense. This semiotic duality existed already in the time of St Ignatius, but the second meaning prevailed in Counter Reformation mannerism and the exultant Baroque").

the Protestant Reformation.²⁹³ Here Luther appears as a “mónstruo infernal” who has come from the abyss “acompañado de un escuadron de abominables y diabólicos ministros” (199) to threaten the security and doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church.²⁹⁴ However, at the same time “envió Dios Nuestro Señor de socorro, otro varon y capitán a su Iglesia en todo y por todo contrario á Lutero; para que con su espíritu invencible, y armas poderosas y divinas, valerosamente le resistiese y pelease las batallas del Señor” (199).²⁹⁵ The purpose of the religious order founded by Loyola is “socorrer y ayudar á los soldados valerosos de las otras santas Religiones, que de día y de noche con tanto esfuerzo y fruto pelean donde los hay; y donde no, salir ella con las armas en las manos al encuentro del comun enemigo” (199).²⁹⁶

The vigour of Ribadeneyra’s militant characterization of the Society of Jesus and Ignatius of Loyola, when contrasted with Don Quixote’s comparatively harmless nature as a would-be man of arms, creates a predictably humorous effect. For readers fully seized of the rhetorical signs connoting a parody of Loyola in the *Quixote*, all the bombast and bluster of Ribadeneyra’s descriptions appear to be wittily satirized by Don Quixote’s over-the-top portrayal of his invincibility and prowess as a knight. Don Quixote is, by his own estimation, “the most valiant knight who e’er girded on a sword” (I, 3, 32).²⁹⁷ Indeed, when Sancho voices his concern that the Holy Brotherhood might catch up with them and punish them for the mischief they have wrought, Don Quixote asks rhetorically, “have you ever seen a more valiant knight than I anywhere on the face of the earth? Have you read in histories of another who has, or ever had, more spirit in attacking, more courage in persevering, more dexterity in wounding, or more ingenuity in

²⁹³ See book II, chapter 17, entitled “Lo que pretendió Dios Nuestro Señor en la institución y confirmación de la Compañía” (“What the Lord Our God Intended with the Institution and Confirmation of the Society”), in Pedro de Rivadeneira, SJ. *Vida del bienaventurado padre Ignacio de Loyola, fundador de la religión de la Compañía de Jesús*. 2nd ed. Barcelona: J. Subirana, 1885.

²⁹⁴ An “infernal monster [...] accompanied by a squadron of abominable and diabolic ministers”.

²⁹⁵ “God Our Lord sent as aid to his Church another male and captain in everything and for everything contrary to Luther; so that with his invincible spirit, and powerful and divine weapons, he may bravely resist him and fight the battles of the Lord”.

²⁹⁶ “to bring aid and help to the brave soldiers of other holy religious orders, which day and night fight with such effort and fruit where they are; and where they are not, to sally forth armed to meet the common enemy”.

²⁹⁷ “[el] más valeroso andante que jamás ciñió espada” (I, 3, 52).

unhorsing?” (I, X, 71).²⁹⁸ By chapter 20 of the first Part, Don Quixote’s pomposity has reached such truly absurd proportions that he is primed and ready for a humorous levelling by his squire:

-Sancho amigo, has de saber que yo nací, por querer del cielo, en esta nuestra edad de hierro, para resucitar en ella la de oro, o la dorada, como suele llamarse. Yo soy aquel para quien están guardados los peligros, las grandes hazañas, los valerosos hechos. Yo soy, digo otra vez, quien ha de resucitar los de la Tabla Redonda, los Doce de Francia y los Nueve de la Fama, y el que ha de poner en olvido los Platires, los Tablantes, Olivantes y Tirantes, los Febos y Belianises, con toda la caterva de los famosos caballeros andantes del pasado tiempo, haciendo en este en que me hallo tales grandezas, extrañezas y fechos de armas, que escurezcan las más claras que ellos hicieron (I, 20, 193).²⁹⁹

Don Quixote makes this bold speech when he and Sancho are startled by a fearsome noise in the wilderness one night, a mysterious clanking of metal and chains and rushing of water that makes the *hidalgo* believe another famous adventure is in the offing. Sancho is perturbed by the sound and finds a clever way to delay his master from seeking its source. Later the next day, when the two finally discover that the noise was produced by six fulling hammers from a nearby water mill, Don Quixote is deeply embarrassed, while Sancho can hardly contain his laughter. He proceeds to cheerfully mock Don Quixote by repeating the same pretentious speech he had uttered earlier, glorifying his heroic ability as a knight. This sort of comic reversal exposing the silliness of Don Quixote’s bellicose strivings is typical of his adventures and serves to burst his inflated ego on a number of occasions. When compared by association to Pedro de Ribadeneyra’s hyperbolic descriptions of Loyola and the religious warfare of the Society of Jesus, these comic incidents could not be more audaciously funny.

²⁹⁸ “¿has visto más valeroso caballero que yo en todo lo descubierta de la tierra? ¿Has leído en historias otro que tenga ni haya tenido más brío en acometer, más aliento en el perseverar, más destreza en el herir, ni más maña en derribar?” (I, 10, 107).

²⁹⁹ “Sancho, my friend, know that I was born, by the will of heaven, in this our iron age, to revive the one of gold, or the Golden Age, as it is called. I am he for whom are reserved dangers, great deeds, valiant feats. I am, I repeat, he who is to revive the Knights of the Round Table, the Twelve Peers of France, the Nine Worthies, he who is to make the world forget the Platirs, Tablants, Olivants, and Tirants, the Phoebuses and Belianises, and the entire horde of famous knights errant of a bygone age, by performing in this time in which I find myself such great and extraordinary deeds and feats of arms that they will overshadow the brightest they ever achieved” (I, 20, 142).

3.2 Major Themes

The major thematic parallelisms found in *Don Quixote*, the *Autobiografía* and *Vida* are significant for what they tell us about the meaning of Cervantes' parody of Loyola. The themes conveyed by these parallelisms are in effect the primary sources of *Don Quixote's* comedy. When considered in full view of the life and works of Ignatius, the satirical intent of Cervantes' message becomes increasingly clear. Again, much of this has been covered in previous chapters. Our purpose here is not to repeat what has been said but rather to elucidate the meaning that these parallelisms convey. In certain cases a concise review of a given parallelism will suffice; in others a more detailed explanation is required.

The Vainglorious *Hidalgo*

El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha is, in essence, the story of a man who, having gone insane from reading too many books of chivalry, becomes exceedingly full of himself, believing he can restore honour, justice and glory to his age through the obsolete practice of knight errantry, thereby winning eternal fame and renown. Delusional thinking aside, Don Quixote's chivalrous ambitions are motivated by an intense desire to *valer más*, to overcome the strictures and impediments of his ordinary, run-of-the-mill existence and achieve a greatness that only literary fantasy could ever really satisfy. Although the Romantics would see in this a heroic struggle against the mundane, Don Quixote's epiphany is described by Cervantes as "the strangest thought any lunatic in the world ever had" (I, 1, 21)³⁰⁰, and for the rest of the novel his adventures are depicted in an entertainingly ludicrous light. Other characters try to deliver Don Quixote from his grandiose aspirations, unless they find it easier to go along with them for a while, and Sancho, the wise-cracking, proverb-quoting side-kick, provides a homely constant to keep Don Quixote at least somewhat grounded on their adventures, lest he disappear altogether into an imaginary world of his own creation. These measures taken by the author of *Don Quixote* reveal the yawning chasm that exists between the protagonist's conception of himself and the reality of the world he inhabits. Of course,

³⁰⁰ "el más extraño pensamiento que jamás dio loco en el mundo" (I, 1, 36).

humour is often based on the comparison of grossly dissimilar things and so it is in the disparity between what Don Quixote believes he is capable of and what he actually manages to achieve that Cervantes finds the greatest comedic potentiality for his work.

The *Autobiografía* in turn presents a man likewise motivated by vainglorious desires. Indeed, Ignatius' memoir came about, interestingly, as the result of a conversation about vainglory; he had some experience with the matter and a disciple seeking his advice on how to resist the temptation persuaded him that he should tell his story. The resulting text was intended to serve, Marjorie O'Rourke Boyle has noted, "as a mirror of vainglory for repentance and consolation" (17). Ignatius, fully converted from his worldly ways, was to be presented as a role model and example of piety for readers and, particularly, members of the Society of Jesus. Reading about the manner in which he rid himself of vainglory was to inspire admiration and, as Gonçalves da Câmara demonstrates helpfully in the preface to the *Autobiografía*, tears of consolation. This treatment of the subject of vainglory and anticipated response to Ignatius' conversion lie in stark contrast to Cervantes' treatment of Don Quixote's vainglory and the reaction it prompts from readers. If Ignatius of Loyola is portrayed as converted from the vice of vainglory in the *Autobiografía*, an effect designed to make the reader weep with relief, Don Quixote is portrayed in entirely the opposite way: he is in fact converted *to* vainglory, much to the amusement of readers. This ironic take on the vainglorious *hidalgo* of La Mancha suggests a deeper jest by inverting the thematic outcome of Loyola's story and inciting hearty laughter instead of tears. The ironic nature of the inversion is compounded by the repeated levellings that Don Quixote's vainglorious aspirations are subjected to. The very essence of *Don Quixote's* comedy, the frequent cutting-down-to-size of the protagonist's ego, may thus be regarded as a witty parody of the *Autobiografía* and the vainglorious nature of the Basque *hidalgo* whose story it tells.

Conversion and Transformation

If *Don Quixote* appears to parody St Ignatius on the basis of his vainglory it is perhaps because Cervantes observed a notable continuity between his disavowed worldly

persona and the spiritual direction his life took after his conversion. As we have seen previously, the principle of *valer más*, Ignatius' longing for *honra* or personal distinction, remained with him throughout his life. It was an integral part of his character, so much so that it distinguished his activities as a young courtier and *gentilhombre* as much as it did his later efforts to imitate St Francis and St Dominic. The motto he established for the Society of Jesus, *Ad majorem Dei gloriam*, is a fitting tribute to the continuity of his ambitious drive. Ignatius' conversion did not change this aspect of his character; it was, rather, organized by it. Once convicted of his need to change his ways and seek God, he set out to transform himself in such a manner as to realize his aspirations of greatness, albeit in a different mode. The tendency to seek more and ever greater achievements did not go away; it was transferred to a new domain where it could flourish and satisfy his deep-seated requirement to *valer más*.

Conversion and self-transformation organized by the principle of *valer más* is the scenario we find in *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha*. Don Quixote's conversion to chivalry and transformation into a knight errant is oriented toward achieving his heroic ideal, an ideal which is informed by his reading of books of chivalry. It is not insignificant that Don Quixote and St Ignatius are both brought to life-changing crossroads by the written word. As Eickhoff and Conrod have observed, both are readers converted by the act of reading.³⁰¹ These conversions effected through the act of reading lead to radical self-transformations and obsessive imitations of literary models that speak to the converts' inner desires to elevate their self-worth. The overriding principle here, of course, is *valer más*.

Ignatius' adherence to the principle of *valer más* in his conversion, sweeping transformation and excesses in the course of his imitative acts could well have provided Cervantes with the inspiration for an amusing literary parody, a supposition affirmed by readers of the *Quijote* through the centuries. His story, as it reads in the *Autobiografía*, supplies all the necessary elements to make this inference. What is more, Gonçalves da Câmara's concerted efforts to depict Loyola as a shining example of humility in the

³⁰¹ See III, 2.3, p.133, note 245.

Autobiografía only increase his attractiveness as a satirical target. In addition to this, Ribadeneyra's aggrandizing portrayal of Ignatius in the *Vida* provides yet another level on which to develop a witty burlesque interpretation. As opposed to the *Autobiografía* which relates the story of the founder of the Society of Jesus in a deliberately self-effacing way, Ribadeneyra's work makes him out to be the superlative hero he had always dreamt of being. The *Quixote* turns both perspectives on their heads by narrating the story of a hero so pretentious and absurd that he cannot help but make the reader laugh.

Reading and Imitation

An important aspect of the association of Don Quixote and St Ignatius that we have observed is their interest in reading and the role it plays in their respective imitations. Reading is what precipitates their conversions, transformations and adventures. But it is more than just reading that is significant; it is what and how they read that matters. Don Quixote's and St Ignatius' reading leads to the extraordinary ways in which they imitate the feats that have captured their imaginations, actions which have a more or less ambivalent relationship to reality. This thematic parallelism between the *Autobiografía*, *Vida* and *Quixote* is at the heart of Cervantes' reputed parody of Loyola.

Books of chivalry are what famously drove Don Quixote mad. They were also what Ignatius loved to read. The genre was notorious for its inherent deceitfulness. Many books of chivalry mixed fact and fiction freely, confusing authentic history with preposterous inventions. While this may have been done innocently in the name of entertainment, it appears to have been an unforgivable transgression for Cervantes. In *Don Quixote*, he expresses his intention to demolish the "ill-founded machine" of chivalric romances for this very reason. To do so, he creates a character who consumes them with such eager naïveté that he believes everything in them to be true. Indeed, for Don Quixote, "no history in the world was truer" (I, 1, 21).³⁰² This unquestioning faith in the authority of books of chivalry, their tales of heroes, enchanters, maidens and battles,

³⁰² "no había otra historia más cierta en el mundo" (I, 1, 35).

establishes a delightful comic pretense which, when Don Quixote is confronted by the reality of life in La Mancha, Cervantes is happy to expose for its foolishness.

Cervantes' view of what constituted good literary fiction was informed by a strong sense of proportionality and loyalty to truth and reality. It was not necessarily the sort of detailed realism of the nineteenth century novel that interested him, but rather a concern for rendering authentic experience in writing that could be grasped and appreciated by the reader. Writing that exceeded the bounds of probability or was deliberately misleading, even in the context of fiction, seemed to him incompetent and in poor taste, if not worthy of condemnation. This view can be seen in the views shared by the canon of Toledo in Part I of the *Quixote* who, although he admits to deriving some pleasure from reading books of chivalry, expresses his willingness, once realizing what they are, to throw even the best of them in the fire "por ser falsos y embusteros, y fuera del trato que pide la común naturaleza" (I, 49, 515).³⁰³ As Anthony Close has shown, "la común naturaleza" is a key concept in Cervantes' theory of fiction.³⁰⁴ It is, among other things, what provides the basis for the novel's comedy by making possible the humorous contrasts between the rational expectations of the reader and Don Quixote's impulsive irrationality when it comes to matters of chivalry. A work of literary fiction which shows disregard for common nature, however, cannot be considered good for, as the canon explains,

¿qué hermosura puede haber, o qué proporción de partes con el todo, y del todo con las partes, en un libro o fábula donde un mozo de diez y seis años da una cuchillada a un gigante como una torre, y le divide en dos mitades, como si fuera de alfeñique, y que cuando nos quieren pintar una batalla, después de haber dicho que hay de la parte de los enemigos un millón de competientes, como sea contra ellos el señor del libro, forzosamente, mal que nos pese, habemos de entender que el tal caballero alcanzó la vitoria por solo el valor de su fuerte brazo? (I, 47, 502).³⁰⁵

³⁰³ "for being deceptive and false and far beyond the limits of common sense" (I, 49, 423).

³⁰⁴ See Anthony J. Close. "Cervantes's Aesthetics of Comic Fiction and His Concept of "La Verdad de la Historia"." *The Modern Language Review* 89.1 (1994): pp. 88-106, and "Common nature" in *Miguel de Cervantes, Don Quixote*, pp. 37-44.

³⁰⁵ "What beauty, what proportion between parts and the whole, or the whole and its parts, can there be in a book or tale in which a boy of sixteen, with one thrust of his sword, fells a giant as big as a tower and splits him in two as if he were marzipan, and, when a battle is depicted, after saying that there are more than a million combatants on the side of the enemy, if the hero of the book fights them, whether we like it or not, of necessity we must believe that this knight achieves victory only through the valor of his mighty arm? (I, 47, 412).

Good writing on the other hand, the canon says, eschews this kind of improbable amplification and finds superior ways of engaging the minds of readers:

Hanse de casar las fábulas mentirosas con el entendimiento de los que las leyeren, escribiéndose de suerte que, facilitando los imposibles, allanando las grandezas, suspendiendo los ánimos, admiren, suspendan, alborocen y entretengan, de modo que anden a un mismo paso la admiración y la alegría juntas; y todas estas cosas no podrá hacer el que huyere de la verisimilitud y de la imitación, en quien consiste la perfección de lo que se escribe (I, 47, 503).³⁰⁶

To recapitulate, Don Quixote goes mad from reading books of chivalry that are poorly written and essentially bogus, despite their pretended historicity. He nevertheless believes them to be true, truer than history itself, and as a result thinks he must imitate their heroes in order to realize his pompous aspirations. Cervantes, however, lays bare the idiocy of his thinking, and the perniciousness of chivalric romances, by continually juxtaposing Don Quixote's grandiosity with aspects of everyday common nature, the basic properties of which are "normality and solidity, as opposed to literary fabulousness" (Close 38). These features of daily life in La Mancha, the unglamorous necessities of eating and sleeping, the hardscrabble topography of the land and rustic characters that populate country inns reduce Don Quixote's chivalrous strivings to a farce and draw attention to the role of truth in fiction. The canon remarks sententiously that "the more truthful the fiction, the better it is, and the more probable and possible, the more pleasing" (I, 47, 412).³⁰⁷ Cervantes, for his part, ensures his writing meets this aim by carefully explaining, particularly where certain narrative mysteries are concerned, the truth of Don Quixote's adventures. Whether it is the enchantment of Dulcinea, Don Quixote's ride atop Clavileño or the manner in which his boat really floats down the Ebro River, Cervantes sooner or later makes sure to set the record straight concerning the supposedly fantastic nature of his protagonist's experiences so as to not jeopardize the

³⁰⁶ "Fictional tales must engage the minds of those who read them, and by restraining exaggeration and moderating impossibility, they enthrall the spirit and thereby astonish, captivate, delight, and entertain, allowing wonder and joy to move together at the same pace; none of these things can be accomplished by fleeing verisimilitude and mimesis, which together constitute perfection in writing" (I, 47, 412).

³⁰⁷ "tanto la mentira es mejor cuanto más parece verdadera, y tanto más agrada cuanto más de lo dudoso y posible" (I, 47, 502-503).

story's verisimilitude. As Anthony Close has observed, "'Así era la verdad' is a phrase with sacrosanct force in this book" (39).³⁰⁸

The thematic parallelism with Ignatius' story lies in the Jesuit founder being similarly taken in by books of chivalry ("porque era muy dado a leer libros falsos y mundanos, que suelen llamar de caballerías"), which filled his mind with fantastic exploits ("tenía todo el entendimiento lleno de aquellas cosas, *Amadís de Gaula* y semejantes libros").³⁰⁹ His reading of these books and consequent understanding of chivalrous heroism inspired him to act out rashly on at least one occasion, in Pamplona, with regrettable results. Although his wounding closed the door on a life of gallantry, his personal drive to accomplish great things found a home in the imitation of the lives of the saints which he read about during his convalescence. While it would be arbitrary to infer that Cervantes equated these devotional works with chivalric romances insofar as their credibility is concerned, it is clear that Ignatius read them in much the same way as he did the books that were responsible for Don Quixote's madness. His resolute declarations, "St Dominic did this, so I have to do it too" and "St Francis did this, so I have to do it too" (I, 7), reveal a remarkable degree of naïveté that calls to mind an adolescent reading an entertaining work of fiction and proposing to himself similar feats of heroism out of irrational exuberance. Indeed, as Ignatius explains in the *Autobiografía*, he was at the time manifestly immature in matters of spirituality. In Manresa, at the height of his spiritual turmoil, he describes how

le trataba Dios de la misma manera que trata un maestro de escuela a un niño, enseñándole; y, ora esto fuese por su rudeza y grueso ingenio, o porque no tenía quien

³⁰⁸ "So was the truth". Close elaborates on this point in the following terms: "Cervantes's irony may be quiet, and it is also teasing and tantalising insofar as it tends to defer explanations, but it is never deliberately mystificatory; sooner or later, he offers full and detailed explanations for potentially confusing mysteries, of which there are several in the novel (cf. Part II, Chapters 27, 50, 62, 65, 70). This policy is consistent with his already noted respect for the truth, enshrined with the phrase, 'así era la verdad' or its variants. The prevalent modern view of him as a deeply enigmatic author, forever hidden behind the masks of his narrators and characters, would have puzzled and pained him, since one of the features of *Don Quixote* in which he obviously takes pride is its transparent clarity, associated with its universal popularity" (*A Companion to Don Quixote* 148). For examples of "así era la verdad" and its variants in the novel, see: I, 2, 42; I, 5, 67; I, 11, 119; I, 18, 174 and 178; I, 26, 271; II, 11, 638; II, 60, 1004; II, 63, 1032; II, 65, 1046. (Riquer's Spanish edition).

³⁰⁹ "Since he was an avid reader of books of worldly fiction, commonly called chivalrous romances" (I, 5, 12); "his thoughts were fully occupied with exploits, such as he read in *Amadís de Gaula* and other like books" (II, 17, 26).

le enseñase, o por la firme voluntad que el mismo Dios le había dado para servirle, claramente él juzgaba y siempre ha juzgado que Dios le trataba desta manera (III, 27, 80).³¹⁰

Ignatius' ingenuous reading of the lives of the saints and Jesus Christ results in his extravagant imitations and his development of the *Spiritual Exercises*. The *Exercises* contain precise instructions for increasing in godliness by imagining, for example, how Christ ate, drank and interacted with others, thus imitating Him as closely as possible.³¹¹ As Frédéric Conrod observes, Loyola's emphasis on imaginative detail in the act of imitation is reminiscent of Don Quixote's approach to chivalry. This specificity in recreating the imagined behaviour of a revered model brings the exercitant closer to his self-affirming ideal and, moreover, provides an effective means for converting others:

This act of mimesis prescribed by Loyola descends to gestures, facial expressions, and tone of voice, all imagined. This notion of an infinite chain of strict imitation whose origin is Christ Himself is not only attractive to the modern reader but becomes a characteristic of Modernity. This is, again, why we like to think that Cervantes takes Ignatius of Loyola as an inspiring figure for the construction of his Don Quixote, since the hidalgo will begin as a pathetic desiring subject obsessed by his mediator Amadís, but will eventually become in turn a mediator for Sancho and some of the other characters whom he meets on his journey. This progression could be seen as a parody of the Ignatian conversion method (45-46).

The similarities between the reading and imitations of Don Quixote and St Ignatius may thus be seen to satirize Loyola on two distinct levels, the first being that of literary criticism whereby the books he was infatuated with are mocked for being beyond the pale of good sense. The second is on the level of reproach for succumbing to their deceptive influences and reading others, namely devotional works, in the same untempered way, and subsequently enacting a scheme to realize his grandiose ambitions

³¹⁰ “God was dealing with him in the same way a schoolteacher deals with a child while instructing him. This was because either he was thick and dull of brain, or because of the firm will that God Himself had implanted in him to serve him — but he clearly recognized and has always recognized that it was in this way that God dealt with him” (III, 27, 35-36).

³¹¹ The fifth of Ignatius' Rules for Eating states: “Mientras la persona come, considere como que ve a Cristo nuestro Señor comer con sus apóstoles, y cómo bebe, y cómo mira, y cómo habla; y procure imitarle. De manera que la principal parte del entendimiento se ocupe en la consideración de nuestro Señor, y la menor en la sustentación corporal; porque así tome mayor concierto y orden de cómo se debe haber y gobernar”. See Arzubialde, p.60. (“While one is eating, let him imagine he sees Christ our Lord and His disciples at table, and consider how He eats and drinks, how He looks, how He speaks, and then strive to imitate Him. In this way, his mind will be occupied principally with our Lord, and less with the provision for the body. Thus he will come to greater harmony and order in the way he ought to conduct himself”. See Puhl, p.90.)

through banal imitation. As Anthony Close points out, the targets most commonly ridiculed in Cervantes' comedies are "superstition, jealousy, self-indulgent heroics, crackbrained ambition, symptoms of the insatiable desire which is the condition of the fallen human condition" (43). Cervantes' mockery of these familiar human shortcomings can be seen in *Don Quixote* which, in the eyes of many readers, takes Loyola humorously to task for the impulsiveness with which he pursued his dreams. The distinction between real heroism and self-indulgent heroics, true bravery and foolhardy recklessness, is a habitual concern for Cervantes' and runs deep throughout *Don Quixote*. As the Spanish admiral says to the Turkish ship captain in Part II of the novel, "¿No sabes tú que no es valentía la temeridad? Las esperanzas dudosas han de hacer a los hombres atrevidos, pero no temerarios" (II, 63, 1033).³¹²

Madness, Mysticism and Simulated Experience

Don Quixote's unflagging commitment to his heroic ideal entails a willingness to alternatively suspend or activate his disbelief in regard to certain phenomena, depending on their suitability *vis-à-vis* his conception of chivalrous adventure. This voluntary aspect of his madness is one of its most notable features and leads to striking distortions of reality based on the principle of deliberately seeing black to be white and white to be black. As we have seen previously, his idiosyncratic approach to experience bears a close resemblance to the method for spiritual discernment developed by Ignatius of Loyola. The mystical visions Ignatius experienced soon after his religious conversion led to the creation of his *Spiritual Exercises*. The *Exercises* articulated a process for determining the authenticity of a vision from God and set out a process for soliciting them, as it were, also. This could be achieved by reconfiguring one's perceptions through a rigorous control of the senses. Only by adhering to an understanding of truth in accordance with the Magisterium of the Roman Catholic Church could an exercitant be assured of a correct interpretation of spiritual experience.

³¹² Don't you know that temerity is not valor? Doubtful outcomes should make men bold, not rash" (II, 63, 879).

Don Quixote's application of this method to achieve chivalrous, as opposed to religious, perfection is characterized as utterly insane. Not the kind of insane that implies a complete loss of reason, perhaps, but the insanity of an "entreverado loco" or sporadically lucid madman—in other words, the insanity of a man able to think clearly enough to create something logical yet totally perverse. Thematically, in this sense, Don Quixote is a type of Loyola and his adventures representations of the practice of the *Spiritual Exercises*. Conrod advances the view that Don Quixote personifies Loyola as it seems evident to him that Cervantes was familiar with the *Exercises*. While the author of *Don Quixote* may not have experienced the *Exercises* first hand, his time spent in close proximity to leaders of the Society of Jesus in Rome likely afforded him opportunities to study their effects. He may even have admired the Jesuits' ability to create vivid mental images through the use of these techniques. Yet Cervantes seems to have been sufficiently suspicious of Loyola's *Exercises* as to fashion a subtle parody of them in *Don Quixote*.

One thing is certain, though: Cervantes was familiar with this text and the practice that derived from it and he had witnessed how this method affects the Church of Rome in its re-structuring process after the Reformation. By the end of his life—and when he is most productive as an author—we might observe in his works a questioning of the function of representation. Even though he might admire the Jesuits for their capacity to adjust and adapt mental images to individual circumstances, Cervantes proposes to explore the limits of such visual projections in his most famous masterpiece (104).

Cervantes appears to explore the limits of Ignatian visual projection with a character who is deceived into believing everything in his books of chivalry is true and, as such, considers it his duty to revive the long lost order of knight errantry. As a result, Don Quixote disfigures reality to make it fit with his chivalry-inspired pre-conceptions. He makes inns into castles, windmills into giants and ladies of ill repute into fair damsels. Although he is told plainly that his senses are deceiving him, he persists in believing the mundane things that he transforms through his mind's eye are the fantastic phenomena of chivalric romance conventions. Later, when he sees only ordinary reality, he ascribes the loss of his extraordinary vision to the deceptions of evil enchanters. Indeed, Don Quixote is deceived, but not by enchanters. Rather, he is misled by those around him who invent chivalrous hoaxes to trick him out of expediency, like Sancho, or to amuse themselves

and others, like the duke and duchess. The effect of these real-life fabrications, however, does not extend beyond the limits of the settings in which they are made. When potentially threatening forms of reality encroach on Don Quixote's imaginary world, either his own or one created for him, he ceases to be the brave hero he imagines himself to be. This is because, as Riquer points out, Don Quixote is a pretence, a falsehood, a façade; he is neither brave nor heroic nor strong and his visionary madness only functions in relation to the febrile offspring of his imagination (LVII). To be sure, Don Quixote is an otherwise sensible man, capable of articulating thoughtful arguments and imparting sage advice to Sancho on the government of *ínsulas*. Yet whenever his prevailing obsession, knight errantry, is concerned, he loses his mind. It is then that he suspends or, as the case may be, activates his disbelief, capriciously subordinates his senses to a chivalrous ideal, and takes black for white, and white for black, so as to avoid contemplation of whatever might contradict his ludicrous fantasy.

In proceeding in this manner, Don Quixote is living out an approximation of knight errantry. He is, in fact, simulating the experience of being a knight errant and doing everything in his power to ensure his performance is as accurate as possible. Of course, his efforts are hilarious. With great tenacity he seeks to recreate the *hazañas*, manners and customs of his heroes but in the end only manages to make an entertaining fool of himself and expose the absurdity of the method by which he labours to achieve his ideal. Don Quixote does not actually become a knight errant; instead, he attempts to reproduce an idealized form of one based on his study of chivalric romances. In this regard, his approach to chivalry parallels Loyola's practice of the *Spiritual Exercises* and approach to sainthood. It was Ignatius who pioneered the method of adjusting one's perceptions to conform with a predetermined view of reality. Don Quixote thus imaginatively manipulates his senses, and at times the world around him, to meet his desired ends. As Frédéric Conrod has remarked, like an exercitant on a retreat, Don Quixote "uses reality as a territory for simulation where he can finally envision himself as the continuation of knight-errantry, as the successor of Amadis" (107).

The implications of this thematic parallelism are clear: Don Quixote's simulated experience as a knight errant is an obviously less authentic form of reality than the common nature of La Mancha. By association, the inference may be made that Cervantes regarded the *Spiritual Exercises* as liable to produce questionable forms of religious experience, if not outright delusions. The repeated deflation of Don Quixote's scheme for transforming himself into a knight errant, a plan analogous to foundational aspects of the *Exercises*, seems to support this interpretation. Cervantes' concern for truth and reality likewise suggests Ignatius' influential method of spiritual instruction represented a highly significant target for his irony. As we shall see in the next section, these last concerns play an important role in *Don Quixote*.

Truth and Reality

The concept of truth, and in particular “la verdad de la historia”—the truth of history—is fundamental in *Don Quixote* (Close, *A Companion to Don Quixote* 65). The novel itself is advertised, tongue-in-cheek, as a “true history”, complete with references to Manchegan archives, an Arabic manuscript discovered in the Alcaná market in Toledo, a Moorish translator and the author, Cervantes, posing as chronicler/editor or “second author” of Don Quixote's adventures. Of course, all of this is an amusing parody intended to make light of chivalric romances which purportedly told the true tales of heroes and knights from the past. Notwithstanding this irony, truth is a topic found frequently on the lips of characters in *Don Quixote*, from utterances defending the claims they make and stories they tell, to more discursive observations on the vital importance of truth in historiography, art, religion and life. Accompanying this chorus of characters emphasizing truth is Cervantes' unmistakable authorial presence serving to guide the (hi)story of Don Quixote along a well-defined path of plausibility and verisimilitude.

The discovery of Cide Hamete Benegeli's account of Don Quixote's adventures is an ingenious narrative device which allows Cervantes to talk up the essential need for truth in history and to warn readers about deceitful and unscrupulous storytellers. The brief description of the manuscript text he provides upon its revelation prompts the

observation “[o]tras algunas menudencias había que advertir, pero todas son de poca importancia y que no hacen al caso a la verdadera relación de la historia, que ninguna es mala como sea verdadera” (I, 9, 103).³¹³ There is, however, one problem with the text in that its author is Arabic and, “siendo muy propio de los de aquella nación ser mentirosos”,³¹⁴ certain caution will be required in accepting his account of events since it is likely to provide too little rather than too much information. This is problematic, the editor observes dryly, since the virtues of such a good knight should be earnestly praised, not passed over in silence. In a more serious tone, Cervantes underscores the responsibility of those who write history, “habiendo y debiendo ser los historiadores puntuales, verdaderos y no nada apasionados, y que ni el interés ni el miedo, el rancor ni la afición, no les hagan torcer del camino de la verdad, cuya madre es la historia, émula del tiempo, depósito de las acciones, testigo de lo pasado, ejemplo y aviso de lo presente, advertencia de lo por venir” (I, 9, 104).³¹⁵

The importance of truth in historiography takes on a metafictional dimension in Part II of *Don Quixote* when it comes to the attention of the protagonist that his adventures in Part I have been published in a book that has gained widespread popularity and made him something of a celebrity. Additionally, this published history, he later discovers, has been followed by a counterfeit continuation, Avellaneda’s apocryphal *Segundo tomo del ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha*, published in 1614 (II, 59). In discussing Part I of his adventures with the Bachelor Sansón Carrasco, Don Quixote reveals his concern for the truthfulness of Benengeli’s account and whether or not it faithfully portrays his adventures as a knight. Naturally he is concerned about how he comes off in this chronicle and suggests it wouldn’t be improper for authors to depict heroes in a more positive light should it not alter the truth of history. Carrasco however responds that “el historiador las [cosas] ha de escribir, no como debían ser, sino como

³¹³ “A few other details were worthy of notice, but they are of little importance and relevance to the true account of this history, for no history is bad if it is true” (I, 9, 68).

³¹⁴ “since the people of that nation are very prone to telling falsehoods”.

³¹⁵ “since historians must and ought to be exact, truthful, and absolutely free of passions, for neither interest, fear, rancor, nor affection should make them deviate from the path of truth, whose mother is history, the rival of time, repository of great deeds, witness to the past, example and adviser to the present, and forewarning to the future” (I, 9, 68).

fueron, sin añadir ni quitar a la verdad cosa alguna” (II, 3, 582).³¹⁶ He reassures Don Quixote that the book of his adventures is universally well-received, that his praises are sung by young and old alike, and that his history is “del más gustoso y menos perjudicial entretenimiento que hasta agora se haya visto, porque en toda ella no se descubre, ni por semejas, una palabra deshonesta ni un pensamiento menos que católico” (II, 3, 585).³¹⁷ This is just as well, responds Don Quixote, for “[a] escribir de otra manera [...] no fuera escribir verdades, sino mentiras”. Indeed, it is the *hidalgo*’s considered opinion that “para componer historias y libros, de cualquier suerte que sean, es menester un gran juicio y un maduro entendimiento. [...] La historia es como cosa sagrada; porque ha de ser verdadera, y donde está la verdad, está Dios” (II, 3, 585).³¹⁸

Cervantes was quite clearly concerned about the integrity of narrative truth and the possibility that it may be undermined by deceit and falsehood. Nowhere is this more evident than in the discourse of the canon of Toledo, whose observations on truth in fiction have been quoted above. The canon, who has long been considered a spokesperson for Cervantes’ views on literature and drama (Eisenberg xv-xvi), first encounters an “enchanted” Don Quixote as he is being transported back to his home in a cage in chapter 47 of Part I. Over the next three chapters, he shares his opinions on chivalric romances and contemporary theatre, first with the priest and then with Don Quixote. The common refrain of his dialogue is that writing should embrace and communicate truth in order to instruct and delight the reader, a classic precept of morally excellent literature, the Horatian *dulce et utile*. Since books of chivalry have plainly failed to do this, it would be advisable to avoid their harmful influence and, should one want to find inspiration in stories of heroism and courage, read other, more truthful tales, such as those found in the biblical Book of Judges, or in the lives of Caesar, Hannibal, Alexander, El Cid and other veritable figures of history (I, 49). The situation of many works of modern drama—particularly, as is made clear from the canon’s critique, works

³¹⁶ “the historian must write about [things] not as they should have been, but as they were, without adding or subtracting anything from the truth” (II, 3, 476).

³¹⁷ “the most enjoyable and least harmful entertainment ever seen, because nowhere in it can one find even the semblance of an untruthful word or a less than Catholic thought” (II, 3, 478).

³¹⁸ “writing in any other fashion [...] would mean not writing truths, but lies” [...] “in order to write histories and books of any kind, one must have great judgement and mature understanding. [...] History is like a sacred thing; it must be truthful, and wherever truth is, there God is” (II, 3, 478-479).

written by Cervantes' rival, Lope de Vega— is no better. These creations often fail to imitate life in any meaningful way; if a play is based on something contrived, “historical truths are introduced and parts of others are combined, though they occurred to different people and at different times, and this is done not with any effort at verisimilitude, but with glaring errors that are completely unforgiveable. The worse thing,” he adds, “is the ignorant folk who say that this is perfect, and that wanting anything else is pretentious and whimsical” (I, 48, 416).³¹⁹ All of this, the canon ventures, “is prejudicial to the truth, and damaging to history, and even a discredit to the intelligence of Spaniards” (I, 48, 417).³²⁰

The canon in effect holds Don Quixote's intelligence in high regard, although he cannot understand how he or anyone else could believe the preposterous stories in books of chivalry are anything but frivolous inventions. His speech in chapter 49 is a well-reasoned demolition of the genre and a plea for Don Quixote to turn his mind to other, more trustworthy books from which, he assures him, “you will emerge learned in history, enamored of virtue, instructed in goodness, improved in your customs, valiant but not rash, bold and not cowardly, and all of this would honor God, and benefit you, and add to the fame of La Mancha” (I, 49, 424).³²¹ Don Quixote, unmoved, offers his response in what is one of the more delightfully comic moments in the novel. He defends himself, and the truth of chivalric romances, as Close remarks, “with eloquent casuistry, speciously jumbling together historical fact and falsehood” (*A Companion to Don Quixote* 75) in an effort to place Amadís, Fierabrás and Lancelot on the same historical plane as Juan de Merlo, Fernando de Guevara, Gonzalo de Guzmán, and other real life heroes from Spain's glorious past. As the narrator reports, “[a]dmirado quedó el canónigo de oír la mezcla que don Quijote hacía de verdades y mentiras” (I, 49, 519);³²² the canon

³¹⁹ “atribuirle verdades de historia y mezclarle pedazos de otras sucedidas a diferentes personas y tiempos, y esto, no con trazas verisímiles, sino con patentes errores, de todo punto inexcusables? Y es lo malo que hay ignorantes que digan que esto es lo perfecto, y que lo demás es buscar gullurias” (I, 48, 508).

³²⁰ “es en perjuicio de la verdad y en menoscabo de las historias, y aun en oprobio de los ingenios españoles” (I, 48, 508).

³²¹ “saldrá erudito en la historia, enamorado de la virtud, enseñado en la bondad, mejorado en las costumbres, valiente sin temeridad, osado sin cobardía, y todo esto, para honra de Dios, provecho suyo y fama de la Mancha” (I, 49, 516).

³²² “The canon was astonished when he heard Don Quixote's mixture of truth and falsehood” (I, 49, 427).

cannot deny the true examples of chivalrous heroism Don Quixote cites, yet he nevertheless refuses to believe as true “las historias de tantos Amadises, ni las de tanta turbamulta de caballeros como por ahí nos cuentan”, neither does he think it is reasonable for a man like Don Quixote, “tan honrado y de tan buenas partes, y dotado de tan buen entendimiento, se dé a entender que son verdaderas tantas y tan estrañas locuras como las que están escritas en los disparatados libros de caballerías” (I, 49, 520).³²³

The truth of history, and the possibility that it may be obscured, distorted or discredited by certain dubious narratives, as witnessed to humorous effect in *Don Quixote*, is a theme particularly relevant to the writing of the story of St Ignatius of Loyola. It forms a thematic parallelism with both the *Autobiografía* and the *Vida*, works which are ostensibly concerned with the truth but, as readers, scholars and commentators have noted over the centuries, fall short of this important criterion of historiography. The *Autobiografía*, we remember, was the closest thing the first generation of Jesuits had to a first-person account of Ignatius’ life. Luis Gonçalves da Câmara took great pains to carefully listen to Ignatius’ narration and tried, as he says in his preface, “not to write a single word other than those I have heard from the Father” (*Autobiografía* 4).³²⁴ Nadal assures readers that Gonçalves da Câmara was “endowed with an excellent memory” (124),³²⁵ yet the irregular manner in which the *Autobiografía* was composed—the elaborate process of audition, memorization, notation, composition and transcription that ensured Ignatius’ story was, in the words of O’Rourke Boyle, “five times removed from his lips” (3)—strains belief in the idea of an unvarnished account. More importantly, the entire first chapter, comprising Loyola’s errant youth as a courtier and man of arms, is missing, the casualty of an early editorial decision made by the Society of Jesus, as is apparent from the inconsistencies in the two prefaces to the work.³²⁶

³²³ “the histories of so many Amadises, or those of that throng of knights about whom they tell us stories” [...] “an honorable like your grace, possessed of your qualities and fine understanding, to accept as true the countless absurd exaggerations that are written in those nonsensical books of chivalry” (I, 49, 27).

³²⁴ “He trabajado de ninguna palabra poner sino las que he oído del Padre” (*Autobiografía* 55).

³²⁵ “con la excelente memoria que tiene” (51).

³²⁶ See II, 2.2, p.50.

After more than a decade of circulation, the *Autobiografía* was suppressed as part of a meticulous review of Loyola's works carried out under the generalship of Francisco de Borja and led by the founder's former protégé, Pedro de Ribadeneyra. As Ribadeneyra's letter to Jerónimo Nadal in June of 1567 makes abundantly clear, this was a coverup intended to prepare the way for a more carefully crafted history of Loyola that would depict him in a light more acceptable to the Society of Jesus and its detractors, a work that he himself would write.³²⁷ The *Vida de Ignacio de Loyola*, which appeared several years later, first in Latin and then in Spanish, skilfully realized this objective and put to rest any lingering doubts and potentially damaging criticisms of the Society and its founder, who naturally was portrayed as the essential Counter Reformation hero. In the preface to his work, Ribadeneyra repeatedly upholds the importance of truth in history and vehemently defends the truthfulness of his account of Ignatius' life. Indeed, he takes a modern, more documentary approach to hagiography in the *Vida* than had previously been the custom, a style for which he has been recognized as a pioneer. His actions, however, belie his words as the *Vida* glosses over Ignatius' turbulent youth and produces a thoroughly sanitized portrait in which anything that may be considered negative or dangerous, or might in any way give rise to irreverence toward the founder of the Society of Jesus, is carefully omitted (Fernández Martín 177).

The extraordinary review of Ignatius' writings, including the manipulation, suppression and confiscation of the *Autobiografía*, and its subsequent replacement with the embellished and calculatingly circumspect *Vida*, all happened, interestingly, around the same time a young Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, fleeing an order for his arrest, abandoned Madrid in 1569 and travelled to Rome to enter into the service of a cardinal and nephew of a future Superior General of the Society of Jesus. Did Cervantes come to know about the intriguing affair of the writing and re-writing of Ignatius' story? The *Quixote* at least demonstrates that he had a keen interest in these kinds of matters and was acutely aware of truth's precarious plight on the plane of history. As such, his deft use of irony and humour in *Don Quixote* appears to be arrayed not only on the side of truth to defeat the deceptions of chivalric romances, but seems intended to draw attention, in a

³²⁷ See II, 2.2, p.52.

cleverly discreet way, to the conflict between truth and falsehood in general. Ernest A. Siciliano correlates this motif in Cervantes' writing with the controversies that arose during his time over casuistry, a rhetorical art with which the Jesuits were closely associated for being highly skilled practitioners. A refined form of case-based moral reasoning developed from "casos de conciencia" or cases of conscience studied originally by medieval scholastics, casuistry gained prominence in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries through the significant contributions of a number of eminent Jesuit theologians, including Gabriel Vázquez and Francisco Suárez.³²⁸ In addition to the writings of these scholars, various books examining cases of conscience written by canonists, casuists and moralists were published during the period, sparking debate among laymen and intellectuals alike on the role of reason in determining the moral conduct of men. As Thomas Hanrahan has shown, Cervantes was well acquainted with this body of literature.³²⁹ Indeed, notable aspects of casuistry are seen wittily lampooned throughout *Don Quixote*.

Casuists maintained that the first movements toward sin were governed by instinctual desires, not the free will of men, and therefore could not be resisted. Since there was no consent to experiencing these feelings, there could be no guilt in having them. The moral line was drawn whereupon the sinful passion required the consent of the will for consummation. This distinction is exploited by Don Quixote when he resorts to casuistical justifications of his behaviour toward Sancho on different occasions in the novel. In Part I, chapter 20, after the adventure of the fulling hammers, and Sancho's mockery of his master's histrionics, Don Quixote lashes out in anger and strikes him with a couple of heavy blows of his lance. Sancho's recriminations for this brutal act prompt Don Quixote to seek his squire's forgiveness, although without admitting guilt: "perdona lo pasado, pues eres discreto y sabes que los primeros movimientos no son en mano del

³²⁸ The *Disputationes Metaphysicae* of Suárez (1548-1617), published in 1597, was one of the most widely read treatises on casuistry during its time, running to 18 editions in less than a century. The written works of Gabriel Vázquez (1549-1604) were published posthumously, but his lectures and ideas were discussed in philosophical and literary circles. See Siciliano, p.18.

³²⁹ See Thomas Hanrahan. "Cervantes and the Moralists." *Hispania* 73.4 (1990): pp. 906-920.

hombre” (I, 20, 204).³³⁰ Later, in chapter 30, Don Quixote administers another beating when Sancho insolently questions his decision not to marry the beautiful (and pretend) Princess Micomicona, thus thwarting his squire’s ambitions for a title and a governorship. After a moment’s passing in which the two reconcile, Don Quixote exculpates himself with the words, “Ahora te disculpo [...] y perdóname el enojo que te he dado; que los primeros movimientos no son en manos de los hombres” (I, 30, 326).³³¹

Casuistry is parodied elsewhere in *Don Quixote*,³³² yet these examples, and Don Quixote’s brilliantly specious defence of books of chivalry before the canon of Toledo, convey a distinctly ironic view of this rhetorical practice, one which had the alarming potential to invert longstanding notions of truth, reality and moral behaviour. As Siciliano observes, the popularization of casuistry during the Counter Reformation effectively destabilized an established moral order with dubious prevarication:

“The traditional notion of prudence and practical, personal wisdom, which plays such a role in Pauline moral teaching, was set aside almost completely and its place was taken by a legalistically and *casuistically conditioned conscience* [italics Siciliano’s], put forward now as the ultimate and inviolable norm of moral living.’ Again: “The all-important condition for good moral action was no longer correspondence with objective reality and the law of God, author of that reality, but rather the subjective good faith or good intention of the individual whether his moral judgement was objectively right or wrong, true or false.”³³³

Generalities, however, tend to cloud issues and our issue here is that Cervantes, cognizant of the endless hairsplitting and nit-picking of his theological contemporaries was poking fun at the word-twisting and nuances of linguistic distinction and counter distinction. We shall be bold enough to venture that, here, Cervantes may have been benevolent in his satire but, deep down, he may have been sorely distressed by word games which played havoc with the moral conduct of men (19).

³³⁰ “forgive what happened, for you are clever and know that first impulses are not ours to control” (I, 20, 151).

³³¹ “Now I forgive you [...] and you must pardon the anger I have shown you; for the first impulses are not in the hands of men” (I, 30, 256).

³³² In Part II, chapter 51, Sancho is confronted with a classic casuistical case in his role as governor of the *ínsula* Barataria. Here Siciliano provides a helpful summary: “Our reader may recall the riddle that must be solved by Sancho (*Quijote*, II, 51). There stands a bridge; every traveller who crosses must swear to where he is going and why. On the other side of the bridge looms a gallows. If the traveller tells the truth, he is permitted to cross unmolested; if he lies, he dies. And one day a traveller insists that he is going to die on those gallows. He is telling a lie; therefore he should be hanged. If he hangs, he has told the truth and should have been spared, etc., etc.” It is Siciliano’s “personal opinion that, here, Cervantes is satirizing the Scholastic distinctions, dilemmas, and meddlesome minutiae that may have been the butt of barroom banter” (25).

³³³ The words Siciliano quotes in this passage are from the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* entry on casuistry.

The fact that such sophistry was associated with Jesuits in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, so much so that it became synonymous with the term Jesuitical,³³⁴ and that it was applied to matters of weighty concern such as were of interest to Cervantes in *Don Quixote*, cannot help but suggest a relationship between the *ingenioso hidalgo* and the founder of the Society of Jesus. It is strange, however, that neither Loyola nor the Jesuits are mentioned specifically in the novel. As Siciliano remarks, “[w]e find priests (and a stray hermit) in the *Quijote*, and they are not spared. But not even a nod in the direction of the Society of Jesus which had done great things and whose name should have been on the lips of everyone. Two of the greatest theologians of the day, Suárez and Vázquez, were soldiers of this same Society. One cannot help but wonder at the oversight” (27). On the other hand, one might wonder whether it was entirely necessary to mention the Jesuits given the casuistry they were known for and the founder of their order seem to be so effectively parodied in the novel. The Society of Jesus may in fact be more conspicuous in *Don Quixote* for its very absence.

Cervantes’ critical response to such forms of equivocal reasoning, and the negative implications it may have for the truth, would take the shape of his novel’s

³³⁴ In English, “[h]aving the character ascribed to the Jesuits; deceitful, dissembling; practising equivocation, prevarication, or mental reservation of truth. Often used in sense ‘hair-splitting’, keenly analytical” is attested as early as 1613. See “Jesuitical.” *Oxford English Dictionary*. 2nd ed. 1993. It is less clear when its equivalent, “jesuítico”, appeared in Spanish. María Moliner notes that the word does not figure in this sense in the dictionary of the Real Academia Española. In hers, however, “[s]e aplica al comportamiento o a los procedimientos en que hay disímulo o hipocresía.” (“it is applied to behaviour or proceedings in which there is dissimulation or hypocrisy”). See “jesuítico, -a.” *Diccionario de uso del español*. Reimpresión ed. 1983. It should be noted that Blaise Pascal also brilliantly satirized jesuit casuistry in his *Lettres provinciales*, a collection of writings that were published a half century after *Don Quixote* appeared in 1605. Pascal uses irony to great effect in the *Lettres* to ridicule the teachings of Jesuit casuists, which are explained to him by an anonymous Father of the Society. With wry praise and admiration for their cleverness, Pascal flatters the Father into boasting about the achievements of his order’s theologians, a great many of whom are Spanish. Through innovations such as judging the lawfulness of an action based on the probable opinion of a “grave” author (i.e. another theologian who has previously justified some otherwise questionable behaviour), making one declaration aloud while saying something entirely different under one’s breath (i.e. mental reservation), or directing the intention of an unlawful or dubious action toward some lawful object, these casuists effectively teach the means by which to satisfy mens’ consciences and justify all manner of immoral and reprehensible behaviour including lying, theft, slander, simony and murder, and even to exempt men from the requirement of loving God in order to enjoy salvation. These doctrines are quoted extensively, chapter and verse, as it were, from numerous works of Jesuit casuistry which go back to the foundation of the Society. The result of Pascal’s satirical exposé is an amusing and singularly damning critique of Jesuit moral theology. See Blaise Pascal. *The Provincial Letters*. Tran. Ed. A. J. Krailsheimer. London: Penguin, (1656-1657) 1982.

orientation toward reality. “The nature of reality,” writes Eisenberg in his study of *Don Quixote*, “is never in doubt, for Cervantes carefully explains the deceptions” (168). While this may be true within the world of his novel, the same perhaps could not be said for the world around him, particularly as a result of the manner in which men were increasingly arguing about truth and reality. Eisenberg points out that the means to discovering truth is spelled out in *Don Quixote*: it is “la [...] experiencia, madre de las ciencias todas” (I, 21, 206).³³⁵ As an avenue for truth and knowledge, experience, says Don Quixote, “no te dejará mentir ni engañar” (II, 16, 668).³³⁶ Yet even experience has its limitations, especially when one chooses to experience things the way Don Quixote does. His habit of conforming his experiences to the law of chivalry leads to encounters that are deceiving. By wilfully subordinating his senses to a chivalrous ideal and seeing black to be white and white to be black as, perhaps, an exercitant of the *Spiritual Exercises* might do, he allows himself to be misinformed about reality. The lack of reliable knowledge available to Don Quixote, this extraordinary *cuerto loco* of La Mancha, thus brings Eisenberg and a host of other Romantic interpreters of the novel to the conclusion that Cervantes presents a fundamentally unsolvable problem of existence, the impossibility of ever knowing the truth, which we all must face in one way or another (170).³³⁷

Other readers of *Don Quixote*, however, have resisted this tendency to see the novel as an ironic commentary on the hopelessness of gaining insight into truth and reality. Galen B. Yorba-Gray has argued that the *cuerto loco* or “sane madman” quality of Don Quixote’s madness, rather than being characteristic of humanity’s general mental condition, is more suggestive of a literary game and that “[b]ehind all of the feigned shifting reality in the *Quixote* stands an author who reminds us that relativity is not really

³³⁵ “experience, the mother of all knowledge” (I, 21, 153).

³³⁶ “experience that will not allow you to lie or deceive” (I, 16, 551).

³³⁷ Writes Eisenberg: “One is truly in a quandary. Just as it is impossible to convince Don Quixote that he is in error, it is impossible to determine whether what one sees is reality or the product of enchanters’ distortions. Following the examination of the ontological problem presented by dreaming, in the cave of Montesinos episode, we then are confronted, only a few chapters later, with the clearest statement on enchantment found in the work. Reliable knowledge is thus unavailable; as Don Quixote puts it in the same chapter, ‘todo este mundo es máquinas y trazas, contrarias unas de otras’ [II, 29, 781; ‘the entire world is nothing but tricks and deceptions opposing one another’ II, 29, 652] (173).

what the work is about” (40).³³⁸ Indeed, Don Quixote does seem to experience astonishing and implausible new realities such as in his adventure in the Cueva de Montesinos or his foray into the pastoral world, but these realities “have little to do with the reality known by and connected to the historical author’s frame of reference” (40). Cervantes does not intend for readers to accept, as Don Quixote does, the reality of these worlds; “rather he keeps us grounded with reminders that art is afoot” (40). This includes references to his *La Galatea* and Avellaneda’s false *Quixote* which give the novel an air of realism and self-awareness. “Literary art which is self-conscious”, writes Yorba-Gray, “tends to maintain perspective both inside and outside the text. In the *Quixote*, which is just such an example of early metafiction [...] Cervantes deliberately distances the reader from excessive identification with the characters and their world” (40). All of this, Yorba-Gray affirms, is illustrative of Cervantes’ high view of reality.

Cervantes’ literary games with reality in *Don Quixote* may perhaps be better understood when the question of what the novel is about is framed as a moral one. Don Quixote’s unbelievable adventures posing as a knight errant are the product of his madness which, in turn, is based on the misapprehension that books of chivalry, the models for his behaviour, are true. These experiences have all kinds of unfortunate consequences for him: beatings, mockings, imprisonment and other humiliations. They also lead to incredible distortions of reality that have the effect of conscripting others into his fantasy, the foremost example being Sancho. What Cervantes seems to be reprehending in this violent conflict between the fictitious and the real in *Don Quixote* are false and misleading forms of experience and impressions of truth. These deceptions are engendered by a practice for simulating authentic experience that effectively counterfeits reality and is itself based on a lie, i.e. that historical truth is to be found in chivalric romances. This conflict between truth and fantasy, reality and fiction, is only resolved when, at the end of the novel, Don Quixote regains his sanity, renounces his chivalrous persona and knight errantry for good, and dies peacefully at home in his bed. Reason and good sense thus prevail and truth and order are restored in La Mancha. As touchingly sad

³³⁸ Galen B. Yorba-Gray. “Scriptural Authority in the *Quixote*: Target for Subversion?” *Journal of Christianity and Foreign Languages* 3 (2002): 31-47.

(and for some readers, disappointing) as this outcome may be, it seems to suggest Cervantes' overall faith in the triumph of truth and reality over falsehood, deception and error.

Some scholars have suggested that *Don Quixote*'s assault on the deceitfulness of books of chivalry is, on a certain level, a veiled attack on the credibility of translations and historiography and, more particularly, the credibility of the Book of books, the Bible.³³⁹ Indeed, Cervantes' novel exhibits a remarkable familiarity with biblical texts.³⁴⁰ References to Scripture may appear ironic at first glance,³⁴¹ yet the Bible in *Don Quixote* is more commonly portrayed as a divine source of wisdom, truth and righteousness.³⁴² In fact, Bible stories and allusions appear to serve more as convenient vehicles for the author's irony than targets of it. As Yorba-Gray has noted, Cervantes "frequently uses Biblical resonance as a container for irony, word plays and subversive humour" (36). This use of Scripture does not make it the object of Cervantes' jokes; rather, biblical allusions may be regarded as "the arrows that carry them" (36).

³³⁹ See Parr in *Don Quixote: An Anatomy of Subversive Discourse*, pp.37-38.

³⁴⁰ See Juan Antonio Monroy. *La Biblia en el Quijote*. Barcelona: Clie, 2005. See also Sliwa's biography of Cervantes which includes a comprehensive list of all biblical texts, quotes and allusions found in *Don Quixote* (227-238).

³⁴¹ Parr notes that Don Quixote's assertion that the Bible "no puede faltar un átomo en la verdad" (II, 1, 572), ("cannot deviate an iota from the truth" II, I, 467), is followed by a similar expression in reference to the notorious deceiver Benengeli, who is claimed to have written Don Quixote's adventures "sin añadir ni quitar a la historia un átomo de la verdad" (II, 10, 624), ("not adding or subtracting an atom of truth from the history" II, 10, 513). "To have Don Quixote certify the truth of Scripture," he argues consequently, "is worse than meaningless. It is downright subversive, for he has been characterized as one of the most naïve readers who ever lived. If the village priest had made these remarks, we would think nothing of them. For Don Quixote to make them envelopes them in an exquisite irony that only he could provide" (38).

³⁴² Monroy points out, for example, that the Holy Scriptures are given the added appellative "divine" three times alone in the Prologue to Part I (24). These and other indications throughout the *Quixote* suggest to him that Cervantes admired the Bible. "Nunca en toda su obra," Monroy writes, "Cervantes se permite hablar de la Biblia en tono jocoso, como lo hace con otros libros, y en especial, con los de caballerías" (23). On the contrary, Cervantes "[s]upo penetrar en las páginas divinas con profunda sensibilidad espiritual y los sublimes misterios se le descubrieron como tesoros accesibles, enriqueciendo y fortaleciendo su experiencia religiosa y espiritual. Y más tarde, cuando toma la pluma para escribir, ese tesoro de conocimientos bíblicos inunda las páginas de su literatura, dejando en ella testimonio elocuentísimo de veneración, respeto y cariño que profesaba a la Sagrada Escritura" (30). ("Never in his entire work does Cervantes allow himself to speak of the Bible in a jocular tone, like he does with other books, and especially with books of chivalry" [... Cervantes] knew how to penetrate the divine pages with profound spiritual sensibility and sublime mysteries were revealed to him as attainable treasures, enriching and strengthening his religious and spiritual experience. Later, when he took his pen to write, that treasure trove of biblical knowledge flooded the pages of his literature, leaving behind an eloquent testimony of the veneration, respect and affection he professed for Holy Scripture").

A more likely target of Cervantes' ironic humour then, if not the Bible —whose stories and lessons he seems to have read closely and admired³⁴³— may be that which has been suggested by readers throughout the centuries: Ignatius of Loyola and the Society of Jesus. Jesuit casuistry and the *Spiritual Exercises* appear to be the objects of repeated jests throughout *Don Quixote*, primarily for their ability to twist and manipulate truth and reality. That Cervantes should target Jesuitism for these transgressions would be consistent with his aim, expressed through the canon in Part I, to *deleitar a provechando*, to communicate truth that uplifts and instructs while simultaneously pleasing readers with comedy. The lesson he ostensibly conveys exposes a fictional form of reality fabricated by means of questionable spiritual practices, problematic modes of argument and clever rhetorical strategies that ultimately subvert *la común naturaleza*. This counterfeit form of reality, however, is unable to withstand the drollery it finds in *Don Quixote*. With irony, wit and humour, Cervantes demolishes the methods originated by Loyola and the Society of Jesus for creating suspect versions of truth and reality in the amusing adventures of his mad *hidalgo*, Don Quixote.

Such are the major and minor thematic parallelisms we have examined in the *Autobiografía*, *Vida* and *Don Quixote*. These parallelisms speak of an intimate relationship between the texts, one which seems particularly relevant to a certain kind of reader—the informed, or discreet, reader with knowledge of the life of Ignatius of Loyola. Was this intentional? The contemporary reader of *Don Quixote*, possessed of even a basic awareness of the life of Loyola, would have been able to observe in the central themes of Cervantes' novel, the obsession with books of chivalry, the radical conversion and mad drive towards personal transformation, imitation of heroes, simulation of chivalrous experience and reality, and manipulation, subversion and distortion of truth, an argument that almost inexorably points toward the founder of the Society of Jesus. For my final thoughts on this question, I invite the reader to turn to the Conclusion.

³⁴³ A fact all the more remarkable, as Monroy points out, during a time in which the Bible was included on the Church's Index of Prohibited Books and circulated only in unauthorized vernacular translations. For more on the Bible versions Cervantes may have read, see Monroy, pp.31-45.

Conclusion

In this thesis we have reviewed numerous reader associations of Don Quixote and St Ignatius of Loyola that have been made since the publication of Part I of Cervantes' novel more than four hundred years ago. This interpretive phenomenon, remarkably consistent across differences in time, language and reader identity, is suggestive of something more than coincidence. In a number of cases, readers have concluded that the parallelisms point toward an intentional parody of Loyola. This interpretation, however, is at odds with Cervantes' expressed purpose in writing *Don Quixote* and finds little support in scholarly criticism of the work.

Nevertheless, in the Prologue to *Don Quixote*, there is indication of the author's approach to the argument of his novel: it is destined to be admired by the discreet reader, more so than any other. Indeed, the topics which form the basis of this argument are to be appreciated by the discreet reader alone, for only he has the required knowledge to grasp their intended meaning. With an approach like this, Cervantes may suggest, imply, hint or allude to an argument other than that which he has explicitly described in the novel, the destruction of books of chivalry. The transmission of this implied argument relies on readers to supply the missing proposition, as suggested by the novel's topics, in a process of what I have called enthymematic communication. This mode of communication aligns with a critical premise of Wolfgang Iser who in the 1970s argued that authors may intentionally create blanks in texts for readers to complete in order to establish the meaning of a message.

Such an approach to communicating meaning is prone to confusion, as is evidenced by the wide variety of interpretations of *Don Quixote* and suggestions for whom or what it may satirize beyond books of chivalry. In fact, depending on one's frame of reference, the *Quixote* might suggest, through this very manner of enthymematic communication, a satirical target other than that which we have discussed here. For academic scholars and hispanists like Antonio Rey Hazas, with a solid grounding in the literary circumstances of the creation of *Don Quixote*, the satirical subtext of Cervantes' writing

is suggestive of a writer cleverly mocking his literary rival. Indeed the hypothesis Rey Hazas advances concerning Cervantes' authorial intention offers a plausible alternative to Loyola as the model for Don Quixote. The *Entremés de los romances*, a comedic interlude inspired by popular burlesque ballad poetry of the era, particularly Luis de Góngora's "Ensíllenme el potro rucio", which took aim at Lope de Vega for his over-the-top obsession with *morisco* themes, shares striking similarities with the first part of Don Quixote's story, especially chapters 4, 5, and 7. The *Entremés* was likely performed before Cervantes began writing *Don Quixote* and may even have been written by a friend, Gabriel Lobo Lasso de la Vega, who it seems is referred to as "Donoso" in the novel's prefatory pages. This minor theatrical work may have provided Cervantes with the blueprint for a short story, much like one of his earlier *Novelas ejemplares*, which he may have later expanded into the novel we know today. In the eyes of Rey Hazas, this hypothetical short story, which could have circulated prior to the publication of *Don Quixote*, was likely a continuation of the humorous literary assault on Lope that began with Góngora's verses and the anonymous *Entremés*.

This argument follows the same logic as that in favour of Loyola as the parodied one. Many of the commonplaces of Bartolo's story in the *Entremés* are similar to those in Don Quixote's first sally; therefore, given the context of the *Entremés* as a parody of Lope de Vega, the *Quixote* must be a continuation of the same. The frame of reference for this argument, however, is a purely literary one. It does not take into account the wider social context in which the novel was written and in fact overlooks another, highly relevant contemporaneous story with similar themes and commonplaces. Cervantes no doubt would not pass up an opportunity to ridicule his talented rival, as he clearly does in the Prologue to *Don Quixote* and in the canon's speech on drama in Part I. But do the parallelisms between the early chapters of his novel and the *Entremés*, and the history of this latter work as an anti-Lope burlesque, suggest the *Fénix de los ingenios* was the primary target of Cervantes' satire? I do not think so.

If anything, Lope appears to be an occasional and opportunistic target for Cervantes in *Don Quixote*. It is interesting to note the susceptibility of men to strange

forms of literary madness during the Spanish Golden Age, obviously not an uncommon occurrence. But the genre which caused Bartolo and presumably Lope to lose their minds was ballad poetry, particularly of the *morisco*-themed variety. Conversely, books of chivalry are responsible for Don Quixote's madness—books which were also, by his own admission, an obsession for Ignatius. In effect, the founder of the Society of Jesus appears to be parodied more closely and far more systematically in *Don Quixote* than any other figure that has been suggested. We have examined these parodic parallelisms in their principal areas: narrative, substantive and thematic. For the reader knowledgeable about his life and works, particularly as narrated in the *Autobiografía* and *Vida*, Loyola figures more prominently and speaks more loudly than any other implicit aspect of *Don Quixote*.

From the sudden introductions that omit their pasts, to the mystical experiences that both allegedly have in caves, the stories of Loyola and Don Quixote share significant similarities. Both are described as loving worldly books of fiction, so much so that their minds become filled with fantastic adventures and exploits. They undergo sweeping transformations and make unyielding commitments to imitate their idealized heroes. Family members try to dissuade them from their ambitious designs, but to no avail. They leave their homes and go out into the world where they hold vigils over their arms, after the chivalrous fashion, confirming their new identities. They leave early in the morning, exuberant at the prospect of adventure and heroic deeds. Their first attempts to rescue the needy, however, end poorly for the unfortunate souls they try to help. They both serve ladies whose honour they defend with the threat of violence. In the *Quixote*, the action is interrupted while the protagonist is engaged in combat with a Basque squire; it resumes again when a manuscript requiring translation is discovered in Toledo, written by an historian who recalls Loyola's biographer, Ribadeneyra, another historian also from Toledo; the Basque squire, as it turns out, is from Azpeitia, Loyola's birthplace. This interruption occurs in the same chapter of *Don Quixote* (8) as in the *Autobiografía* when the Castilian language of the text is interrupted and resumes afterward in Italian. Later, among other analogous episodes narrated in their stories, the two aspiring heroes perform

extreme acts of penance in accordance with the examples established by their literary role models.

The similarities of character between Loyola and Don Quixote are even more suggestive of intentional parody. They are both *hidalgos* which, in the *Autobiografía*'s apt description, have “un grande y vano deseo de ganar honra” (I, 1, 58).³⁴⁴ The vainglorious nature of the *hidalgos* finds inspiration in the outlandish tales of books of chivalry, of which they are great admirers. Their admiration is so great that they proceed to imitate their heroes in the minutest detail. This endeavour involves a process of conversion and self-transformation (or, as Cervantes puts it, brain dessication and madness) and includes the adoption of new names. The name that Alonso Quijano chooses for himself evinces Quintilian's maxim that there is often matter for jest in a name as “Don Quixote de la Mancha” appears to satirize Ignatius of Loyola on almost every level. And, if this were not enough, Don Quixote's visions in the Cueva de Montesinos and voluntary madness throughout the novel seem to parallel comparable experiences in Ignatius' life. In fact, the method to Don Quixote's madness closely resembles that of an exercitant making the *Spiritual Exercises*, particularly inasmuch as he believes the white he sees is black, and vice versa, a principle that evokes the Ignatian rule for thinking with the Church.

The thematic parallelisms in *Don Quixote*, the *Autobiografía* and *Vida*, both major and minor, suggest an ironic commentary on the life and legacy of Loyola. The journeying, chivalric adoration of the Virgin and aggressive militancy which Ignatius is portrayed as having practiced appear to be reflected in *Don Quixote* in ways that heighten the absurdity of these aspects of his story. The major themes that the *Autobiografía* and *Vida* share with *Don Quixote* are furthermore the main sources of Cervantes' comedy. A vainglorious *hidalgo* whose bumbling attempts at achieving chivalric perfection are routinely defeated, provoking laughter and amusement, Don Quixote offers a very different example from the *Autobiografía*'s depiction of Ignatius, another *hidalgo* of vainglorious tendencies, whose conversion from vanity is intended to make the reader

³⁴⁴ “a vain and overpowering desire to gain renown” (I, 1, 7).

weep with relief and provide spiritual consolation. The conversions and transformations of Don Quixote and Ignatius are, moreover, both organized by the principal of *valer más*, the desire to seek greater personal distinction, which highlights the continuity of this inner drive in the founder, even after he abandons his worldly ideals. Don Quixote's obsessive reading of chivalric romances, and naïve and impulsive imitations, are likewise reminiscent of Ignatius' infatuation with his devotional reading and ingenuous imitation of the saints. The unique brand of mysticism, method for spiritual discernment, techniques for domination of the senses and simulation of idealized experience invented by Loyola are also hallmarks of what Cervantes characterizes as Don Quixote's strange and unbelievable form of madness. Finally, the theme of truth and reality, and the threats posed to it by deceitfulness, distortion, manipulation and falsehood, so central to the *Quixote* and Cervantes' view of literary and moral integrity, affords the ultimate opportunity to ridicule Ribadeneyra's pretensions to the truth in the *Vida* while exposing the grotesque and reprehensible effects of the *Spiritual Exercises* and Jesuit casuistry on everyday common nature.

In light of these striking parallelisms, and the numerous and repeated reader associations, I can only conclude that Cervantes probably intended to parody Ignatius of Loyola in *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha*. Notwithstanding the arguments in favour of other models, including Lope de Vega, or the possibility that the *Quixote* began as a short story based on the *Entremés de los romances*, it seems only likely that Loyola was the target of Cervantes' satire. Put differently, it seems unlikely, given the evidence of parallelisms and reader associations, that Loyola did not have something to do with the novel. As I have said previously, the *Quixote* is certainly more than a parody of any single person, theme, or thing; it clearly takes aim at other targets, including books of chivalry and Lope, as well as vanity, fraud and foolishness in a variety of different forms. Yet at the heart of *Don Quixote*, at perhaps the deepest level of the novel's argument, there appears to be a parody the founder of the Society of Jesus. That this parody has not been more widely recognized is not surprising; it seems to have been intended specifically for a particular audience, for readers in the know whose discretion

and knowledge of Ignatius and the Society of Jesus uniquely enabled them to appreciate this brilliant burlesque account.

Out of all the possible intended meanings of Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, of which quite a number have been proposed, this is probably one of the more coherent interpretations available. The purpose of this thesis has been to examine this possible intended meaning and to determine whether the evidence for it justifies its interpretation. I believe the evidence does just that. If meaning is, as I think Hirsch is correct in arguing, intended by the author, and is stable and determinate, making interpretive knowledge possible, then significance is something altogether different. We have seen the results of readers who have assigned dubious significance to unintended or misconstrued meanings of *Don Quixote*. While I have not endeavoured to discuss the significance of Cervantes' reputed parody of Loyola in this thesis, I hope I have opened the door for further explorations and scholarly criticism of the novel to shed light on the ultimate purpose of this witty and subversive satire based apparently on the life and adventures of the founder of the Society of Jesus.

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Appendix A

From Burlesque Comedy to Romantic Tragedy, and Beyond: Revolution in the Interpretation and Understanding of *Don Quixote*

by

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Canada

The theme of our colloquium is revolution. I want to talk to you today about a revolution of sorts that has taken place in the interpretation and understanding of *Don Quixote de la Mancha*.

Don Quixote is one of the great works of world literature and as such attracts an enormous amount critical attention. In the short time I have today I can only hope to paint this revolution for you in broad strokes and offer a few examples as illustrations. Fortunately for me, better students have already investigated this phenomenon. To them I am greatly indebted.

I would say we are mostly all familiar with the basic premise of *Don Quixote*, whether we have read it or not. An older country gentleman, of rather modest means and background, over-indulges in his favourite pastime, reading books of chivalry, and goes mad. Or, as the narrator puts it, from “too little sleep and too much reading his brains dried up, causing him to lose his mind. His fantasy was filled with everything he had read in his books, enchantments as well as combats, battles, challenges, wounds, courtings,

loves, torments, and other impossible foolishness, and he became so convinced in his imagination of the truth of all the countless grandiloquent and false inventions he read that for him no history in the world was truer” (I, 1, 21).¹ This leads the impressionable hidalgo to “the strangest thought any lunatic in the world ever had, which was that it seemed reasonable and necessary to him, both for the sake of his honour and as a service to the nation, to become a knight errant and travel the world with his armour and his horse to seek adventures and engage in everything he had read that knights errant engaged in, righting all manner of wrongs and, by seizing the opportunity and placing himself in danger and ending those wrongs, winning eternal renown and everlasting fame”(I, I, 21).

When the first part of *Don Quixote* was published in 1605, it was received as a brilliant comedy, a parody of chivalric romances conveyed by the hilarious imitations of a mad reader. It quickly ran through four editions after it first appeared and went on to become a touchstone of Spanish literary culture.

Testimonies of the initial public reception of *Don Quixote* abound. Cervantes’ ironic treatment of his protagonist and lampooning of the conventions of chivalry books struck a chord with readers and listeners. The figures of Don Quixote, his squire Sancho and lady Dulcinea were often humorously represented in short theatrical productions and other works of fiction. These accounts unanimously attest to the novel’s ability to meet the aim set out in its Prologue: to “move the melancholy to laughter” and “increase the joy of the cheerful” (Prologue, 8).

One such testimony comes to us from an account of the festivities held in Salamanca to celebrate the beatification of Ignatius of Loyola in 1610. This was a week-long affair which, in addition to solemn religious ordinances, included fireworks, bullfights, elaborate displays of art and other entertainments. On the final Sunday of the fiestas, a procession of triumphal cars and allegorical works in honour of Ignatius and the Society of Jesus took place. Towards the end of this procession, students from the

¹ Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. *Don Quixote*. Tran. Edith Grossman. New York: Ecco, 2003.

University of Salamanca presented a dramatic work entitled “El triunfo de don Quijote.” Described by one spectator as “an amusing picaresque masque” (qtd. in Buezo 96),² the work combined the familiar comedic elements of Cervantes’ novel with the witty antics of adolescent mummery, to great effect. The students, not having much money, adorned their home-made costumes in absurd fashion with every-day items such as goats’ horns, onions, chicken feathers, and oranges. Don Quixote, Sancho and Dulcinea were each represented and, together with a retinue of other characters, circled the plaza making references to famous scenes from the novel. The fiesta account records that this student masque “made the people perish with laughter, and especially those who had read [Cervantes’] book” (Buezo 97).³

Quixote critics occasionally cite another anecdote which further illustrates the novel’s legendary comic appeal. As the story goes, Philip III, king of Spain from 1598 to 1621, was one day gazing out the window of his palace in Madrid. As he was doing so, he saw a man walking on the banks of the Manzanares River. The man was holding a book in his hand. Now and then, as he turned its pages, he burst forth into lusty fits of laughter. The king upon seeing this is purported to have said, “Either that man is mad, or he is reading *Don Quixote*” (Anonymous 313).⁴

Every indication we have tells us that Cervantes’ contemporaries interpreted and understood *Don Quixote* as a funny book. The comedy that made these people laugh was burlesque. A burlesque comedy sends up the target of its jests by affecting seriousness or grandiloquence. It treats absurdity with solemnity and brings pretentiousness back down to earth by confronting it with commonplace reality. It is a sophisticated rhetorical strategy that, when employed well, fully exploits the comic potential of a ridiculous situation. Cervantes may be said to be a master of the form.

² “yna graciosa máscara a la picaresca”. See Catalina Buezo. “El triunfo de don Quijote: Una máscara estudiantil burlesca de 1610 y otras invenciones.” *Anales Cervantinos* 28 (1990): 87-98.

³ “hazían parecer de risa a la gente, y en particular a los que auían leído su libro”.

⁴ Anonymous. “Don Quixote.” *The Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review* New Series, 30.2 (1868): 299-327.

“Good fortune is guiding our affairs,” says Don Quixote, “better than we could have desired, for there you see, friend Sancho Panza, thirty or more enormous giants with whom I intend to do battle and whose lives I intend to take, and with the spoils we shall begin to grow rich, for this is righteous warfare, and it is a great service to God to remove so evil a breed from the face of the earth.”

“What giants?” said Sancho Panza.

“Those you see over there,” replied his master, “with the long arms; some of them are almost two leagues long.”

“Look, your grace,” Sancho responded, “those things that appear over there aren’t giants but windmills, and what looks like their arms are the sails that are turned by the wind and make the grindstone move.”

“It seems clear to me,” replied Don Quixote, “that thou art not well-versed in the matter of adventures: these are giants; and if thou art afraid, move aside and start to pray whilst I enter with them in fierce and unequal combat.”

And having said this, he spurred his horse, Rocinante, paying no attention to the shouts of his squire, Sancho, who warned him that, beyond any doubt, those things he was about to attack were windmills and not giants. But he was so convinced they were giants that he did not hear the shouts of his squire, Sancho, and could not see, though he was very close, what they really were; instead, he charged and called out:

“Flee not, cowards and base creatures, for it is but a single knight who attacks you” (I, 8, 59).

The understanding of *Don Quixote* as a burlesque comedy intended to ridicule the trite silliness of chivalry books existed throughout the 17th century. Don Quixote’s vulgarization of the lofty themes of chivalry, and the mock gravity with which his adventures are narrated, exemplified for readers the novel’s burlesque nature. This, however, was a popular understanding; no real literary criticism of *Don Quixote* was produced until well into the 18th century. Yet when learned analysis did come, from scholars like Don Gregorio Mayans y Siscar in 1738, Vicente de los Ríos in 1780 and the Reverend John Bowle in 1781, the original understanding of *Don Quixote* was upheld. In his editorial notes published in 1798, Juan Antonio Pellicer y Pilares writes that,

The principal aim that Cervantes set himself was, as he says, ‘to undo the sway and authority that books of chivalry had over the world and the vulgar’. To achieve it he feigns a lunatic knight-errant who, agitated by these chivalric ideas, leaves home in search of adventures with the maniac notion of restoring the now-forgotten order of chivalry. And to ridicule these works more fully he ridicules the hero, arranging things so that the acts and adventures, which when they are performed by other knights-errant, appear grave and dignified, are absurd when performed by Don Quixote and have a ludicrous ending. Consequently, Don Quixote de la Mancha is a true Amadís of Gaul, depicted in burlesque fashion; or what amounts to the same, a parody or ridiculous imitation of a serious work.⁵

⁵ Quoted in Anthony J. Close. *The Romantic Approach to Don Quixote: A Critical History of the Romantic Tradition in Quixote Criticism*. Cambridge, Eng.; New York: Cambridge UP, 1978, p.16.

This was how *Don Quixote* was interpreted and understood for two hundred years. But it was not to last. The revolution in interpretation and understanding of the novel begins, perhaps not surprisingly, with the advent of revolutionary movements in politics, philosophy and the arts that swept across Europe in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The Romantic movement in particular—“serious, sentimental, patriotic, philosophical, and subjective”(Close 2)—to quote the description of English *cervantista* Anthony Close, utterly changed the course of *Quixote* criticism, and continues to influence how many interpret Cervantes’s work today. Close’s 1978 study, *The Romantic Approach to Don Quixote. A Critical History of the Romantic Tradition in Quixote Criticism*, traces this movement from the turn of the 19th to the middle of the 20th century. He identifies its roots in the work of German intellectuals, literary historians, translators and critics like F.W.J Schelling, Ludwig Tieck, the brothers Friedrich and August Wilhelm Schlegel and Jean Paul Richter. These men found in *Don Quixote* a spiritual forebear, a visionary who anticipated their thinking on the opposition of subject and object, spirit and matter, freedom and necessity. They admired the Don’s will to pursue an impossible Ideal in the face of uncompromising Reality and they discounted the characterization of his adventures as insane. Furthermore, they identified him with his creator, Cervantes. Cervantes’ own heroism at the battle of Lepanto, years spent prisoner of Muslim renegades in North Africa and lack of recognition as a writer suggested to them a quixotic nature that he had immortalized in his famous novel. They did not regard *Don Quixote*’s bungled feats of chivalry as Cervantes’ way of humorously deflating a swollen ego addled with base literature. Rather, they saw these defeats as symbolic of man’s fruitless struggles to overcome the mundane, grasp hold of the Ideal and receive due recognition for superior insight into reality.

As Close writes in *The Romantic Approach*:

The consecration of Cervantes’s novel as a Romantic work came with Schelling’s interpretation of it, according to which Cervantes is a philosopher-poet treating through the symbolism of the hero’s adventures the universal struggle of the Ideal and the Real. (35) [...] The Romantics conceived themselves as heroic seekers after visions of beauty which they were doomed to fail to make actual in art or life. *Don Quixote*’s career, especially his love for Dulcinea, symbolized for them a martyrdom on the altar of the Absolute. The ironic angle from which *Don Quixote* was portrayed

suggested to them a form of Romantic irony, in which the artist mocks his own most cherished illusions. Their ideal conception of the genre of the novel as the intimate confessional of a genius led them to see Cervantes's novel as a spiritual autobiography, wherein the author ironically commemorates his youthful ideals as poet and soldier, or bids a wry farewell to an expiring age of heroism. Its apparently self-deriding humour made *Don Quixote* a bedside book for the world-weary. We are told by Heinrich Heine, in his retrospective survey of the Romantic generation, that its favourite reading was *Hamlet*, *Faust*, and *Don Quixote*. The youthful Romantics identified their *mal-de-siècle* with Shakespeare's hero; the middle-aged admired the intellectual boldness of Goethe's. Cervantes's novel attracted 'those who have seen that all is vain, and that all human efforts are useless . . . for they see all inspiration satirised in it; and all of our knights who fight and suffer for ideas appear to them as so many Don Quixotes' (37).

The idea that Don Quixote is a true hero, a figure worthy of admiration for his idealism, determination and insight, began with German critics but soon entered into vogue with other European Romantics. The English poet, Lord Byron, for example, was an eloquent proponent of this view. In the thirteenth Canto of his satiric poem *Don Juan*, written in 1823, Byron celebrates Don Quixote's noble purpose, laments the failure of his heroic efforts and blames Cervantes' mockery for the downfall of chivalry in Spain. The picture he paints no longer evokes the burlesque comedy that induced riotous laughter in previous generations, but rather tells of a Romantic tragedy.

I should be very willing to redress
Men's wrongs, and rather check than punish crimes,
Had not Cervantes, in that too true tale
Of Quixote, shown how all such efforts fail.

IX.[656]

Of all tales 't is the saddest--and more sad,
Because it makes us smile: his hero's right,
And still pursues the right;--to curb the bad
His only object, and 'gainst odds to fight
His guerdon: 't is his virtue makes him mad!
But his adventures form a sorry sight;--
A sorrier still is the great moral taught
By that real Epic unto all who have thought.[lx]

X.

Redressing injury, revenging wrong,
To aid the damsel and destroy the caitiff;
Opposing singly the united strong,
From foreign yoke to free the helpless native:--
Alas! must noblest views, like an old song,
Be for mere Fancy's sport a theme creative,

A jest, a riddle, Fame through thin and thick sought!
And Socrates himself but Wisdom's Quixote?

XI.

Cervantes smiled Spain's chivalry away;
A single laugh demolished the right arm
Of his own country;--seldom since that day
Has Spain had heroes.⁶

The lament for the loss of Spain's heroes was taken up later by the Spanish Generation of '98 intellectual and writer, Miguel de Unamuno. In his 1905 work, *The Life of Don Quixote and Sancho*, Unamuno shuns traditional literary criticism to extol a new secular religion in which Don Quixote is exalted as the foremost figure in a pantheon of heroes Spain must learn from in order to restore her former glory.⁷ He places him in the company of real-life luminaries from Spain's past, like Sts Teresa of Ávila and Ignatius of Loyola. He argues that Don Quixote must be rescued from the sepulchre in which he has been buried by men he contemptuously calls "los hidalgos de la Razón"—i.e. critics who refuse to embrace the Romantic interpretation he advocates. In fact, Unamuno's entire thesis is characterized by a kind of *quixotism*, a "mantle of consciously cultivated irrationalism," as James Iffland describes it.⁸ In contrast to critics from previous centuries, Unamuno's interpretation of the *Quixote* is not motivated by faithfulness to Cervantes' authorial intention. Instead he endeavours to take Romantic subjectivity to new heights, to find in the *Quixote* the lost character of Spain, as he conceives it, and to redeploy it in the struggle for her existence. Famously he writes:

What do I care what Cervantes intended or did not intend to put there and what he really put? Life is what I discover there, whether Cervantes put it there or not. Life is what I put and 'overput' and 'underput' and what we all put. I wanted to track down our philosophy in that book (qtd. in Close 147).

The adoration of Don Quixote as a misunderstood hero and the ardent justification of subjective interpretation bring us to a completely new order of critical appreciation. As Anthony Close demonstrates in *The Romantic Approach*, very few modern critics of the

⁶ Baron George Gordon Byron. *Don Juan*. A new ed. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, and Co, 1858, p.407.

⁷ Miguel de Unamuno. *Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho*. 12th ed. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, (1905) 1964.

⁸ James Iffland. "On the Social Destiny of "Don Quixote": Literature and Ideological Interpellation: Part II." *The Journal of the Midwest Modern Language Association* 20.2 (1987): 9-27, p.13.

Quixote have not been influenced by this revolution. Gone is the quaint notion that *Don Quixote* is a droll satire on chivalry books intended to move readers to laughter; it is considered too profound and serious for that. It tells us about life, and what it is like to live it without reservation. Francisco Navarro y Ledesma, José Ortega y Gasset, Ramón Menéndez y Pidal, Américo Castro, Salvador de Madariaga, Juan Bautista Avallé-Arce—these are but a few who have guided critical opinion of the *Quixote* in the 20th century. They and other distinguished readers of the novel have inspired the lesser lights of *Quixote* criticism, the perspectivists, existentialists, and postmodern critics who explore the impenetrable mysteries of a mad reader who seemingly knows more than we do, for we cannot see what he sees.

My copy of Edith Grossman's 2003 English translation of *Don Quixote* includes a forward by the American critic Harold Bloom. In it he makes the familiar Romantic comparison of Don Quixote to Shakespeare's Hamlet. "We cannot know what Don Quixote and Hamlet believe," he writes, "since they do not share in our limitations" (Introduction xxxiv). The inside cover of this edition also features praise for *Don Quixote*, including a quote from Vladimir Nabokov. He says "*Don Quixote* is greater today than he was in Cervantes's womb. [He] looms so wonderfully above the skyline of literature, a gaunt giant on a lean nag, that the book lives and will live through [his] sheer vitality . . . He stands for everything that is gentle, forlorn, pure, unselfish and gallant. The parody has become paragon."

This is how *Don Quixote* is interpreted and understood today. But how might it be in the future? I think our interpretation and understanding will move beyond the Romantic, subjective and perspectivist approaches that currently dominate critical discourse. I think we will come full circle, and complete a full revolution, to once again appreciate the witty humour and comedic purpose of Cervantes' novel. If anything, the past four hundred years of interpretation and criticism have taught us that the *Quixote* is more than just a parody of long-forgotten books of chivalry. The rich novelistic world it recreates, the vividness of its characters and language and its sympathetic portrayal of humanity have earned the *Quixote* the admiration of generations of readers and provided

much material for many to ponder just what lies at the heart of its message. But surely, surely it was intended to make us laugh. The question is, about what?

With this question in mind, I am exploring in my master's thesis the intriguing association of Don Quixote de la Mancha and St Ignatius of Loyola. It is an association that has been made by readers in every century since the publication of Cervantes' novel. Ignatius, the founder of the Jesuit Order, was the author of a memoir and the subject of a biography that were widely read in 16th and 17th century Spain. Over the centuries, readers of these two works have called attention to the striking parallels between them and *Don Quixote*: Ignatius, like Don Quixote, was an avid reader of chivalry books, *Amadís of Gaul* in particular; after being wounded in battle at Pamplona in 1521, Ignatius found solace in reading—not books of chivalry, unavailable to him at the time, but the lives of saints; he subsequently experienced a dramatic conversion and felt compelled to do as they had done. In his words, Ignatius says, “Saint Dominic did this, so I have to do it too. Saint Francis did this, so I have to do it too”;⁹ the wound Ignatius suffered in Pamplona came from a French cannon blast, the lead ball passing between his legs, shattering one and severely injuring the other; the word “quijote,” in its original sense, refers to that part of a knight's armour which covers the thigh; and so on, and so forth.

By identifying these and other parallelisms with Loyola's story, and applying them to our interpretation of *Don Quixote*, I think we will deepen our understanding of its satirical message. I believe this message is worth knowing, for it does not inspire ill will or malice, but rather uplifts and instructs, as well as amuses. It is a wonderful gift to humanity from a man deeply concerned about freedom. Perhaps no one has articulated this better than the anonymous *Quixote* critic in the April, 1868 issue of *The Westminster Foreign and Quarterly Review*. Cervantes, he says,

strove to teach his countrymen through joyous hearty laughter, and to reform abuses by ridiculing them; hence ‘Don Quixote’ is a satire without bitterness, for it sprang in a heart large and loving, and full of generous purposes. He warned mankind of the horrors of madness, to save men if it were possible from going mad; and if that could

⁹ Saint Ignatius of Loyola. *A Pilgrim's Journey: The Autobiography of Ignatius of Loyola*. Tran. Ed. Joseph N. Tylenda, SJ. Collegeville, Minn: The Liturgical Press, 1991.

not be, then to guard the world from madmen's schemes, reforms, and promises. He designed and manfully carried it out in spite of neglect, poverty, and sorrow, to teach men that if they would do well and see good days they must live free,—free of all holy Inquisitions, or the enforcing of Levitical laws by means of pincers and boots, free to love flowers and smiles and gladness as well as the weightier matters of the law (327).

The prospect of understanding this message still awaits us. Let us continue to carefully read this great, funny book, *Don Quixote de la Mancha*.

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Appendix B

Excerpts from *Ignatius of Loyola: the Psychology of a Saint*

The following excerpts from *Ignatius of Loyola: the Psychology of a Saint*, by W.W. Meissner, SJ, illustrate key aspects of Ignatius' psychological development and transformation, and the psychology of the *Spiritual Exercises*.

The Conversion

Meissner's analysis of Ignatius' conversion highlights the devastating effect his wounding in Pamplona had on his heroic self-image. This setback put enormous strain on his ego and precipitated the radical changes he would make in his life:

A traumatic series of events led to Iñigo's conversion experience: his physical wounds, the humiliating experience of defeat, the long and painful journey back to Loyola to recuperate, the frustration of physical immobility (not an inconsiderable burden for this man of action) compounded by the enforced passivity and dependence on his caretakers, the added trauma of the failure of the bones to knit properly, followed by the agony of refracturing the leg without anesthesia, leading to more months of immobility and dependence, and his life-threatening illness, probably due to infection related to the wounds and the subsequent surgery. The final blow was the disappointing outcome of the second attempt to set the bone properly, which left him with a deformed leg and noticeable limp.

All these details compose a picture of severe narcissistic trauma and depletion, the outcome of which could be nothing less than a profound depression. We need to recall his largely narcissistic and phallic personality structure and the inherent vulnerabilities of such character structures. The physical trauma was a castration-like experience that shattered his image of himself as a dashing, gallant ladies' man and romantic knight and soldier. His dreams of glory and conquest, both sexual and aggressive, were dashed. The effect had to be extreme narcissistic depletion, a depressive reaction, and a regressive dynamic that left him vulnerable to a host of drive-derivative and impulse-based influences, and possibly even to a regressive loss of a sense of self-cohesion, resulting in a degree of self-fragmentation. The narcissistic disequilibrium required redress and rebalancing—this much seems obvious.

But I would also suggest that his faltering ego may have been assaulted by a surge of libidinal pressures threatening in the extreme, both because of the taboo against any form of sexual repression toward the beautiful and nurturing Magdalena and, at a deeper and more unconscious level, because of the incestuous urges stirred by the figure of Magdalena. She was, after all, his third mother, and the unconscious links between her and his lost mother of infancy would have tapped into forbidden oedipal and preoedipal wishes for the lost and yearned-for mother, infantile wishes that were reactivated and intensified in his regressive condition. We recall that Ignatius later in his life had to cover the picture of our Lady so that his libidinal wishes would not be

stirred, precisely because the picture so resembled Magdalena. The same instinctual urges that could arise so readily and intensely in his later years were presumably also active in the sickroom of Loyola.

All these troublesome issues were resolved by the conversion experience. The basic elements of that experience were a hallucinatory vision of the Blessed Mother with the child Jesus, followed by the massive repression of all libidinal desires. The details can be telling. When Magdalena came to Loyola as the betrothed of Martín García, she brought with her as a royal gift a painting of Our Lady. We can wonder whether Iñigo's vision cast in the image of this portrait, so intimately associated with the figure of Magdalena?

The resolution of this narcissistic crisis took the form of abandoning the phallic narcissistic ego ideal of the past and replacing it with a new ego ideal based on spiritual values and cast in a mold of highly religious ambitions and desires. If his deformity and crippling injury had deprived him of following the ideal of the romantic knight and achieving fame and glory by his physical prowess and skill at arms, he could substitute another powerful ambition—to become a warrior in the service of a heavenly king rather than a mere earthly one. The resolution has all the earmarks of a manic defense—like Oedipus at Colonus, Iñigo “turns to omnipotence and is able to defeat his inner despair by becoming a holy man. It is a manic triumph which frightens us by its power and ruthlessness, and which impresses us through its grandeur” (Steiner, 1990, p.230). As this renewal of narcissistic investment was taking place, is it any wonder that the models that he so fervently embraced were found in the books provided by Magdalena?” (366-367).

The *Spiritual Exercises*

Meissner makes a detailed analysis of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*, including its various component parts, such as the First and Second Weeks, the Ignatian credo, the examination of conscience and imitation of Christ. Where his insights are particularly valuable, however, are in his analysis of Ignatius' intention in the *Exercises* to mortify his narcissism by imposing a radical humility on himself by force of his own will:

Insofar as pride and narcissistic grandiosity hold such a central place in our reconstruction of the personality of Iñigo de Loyola, it is hardly surprising that the opposite virtue, humility, should become a central facet of Iñigo's postconversion spiritual outlook. In fact, Ignatius' meditation on humility [164-168] is a pivotal point in the whole program of the *Exercises*. Spiritual commentators generally regard the so-called third degree of humility as the pinnacle of spirituality (De Guibert 1964) (102).

As Meissner explains in the following excerpt, this intentional effort to embrace the opposite of his natural inclinations is fundamental to Ignatius' ascetic practice. What is

more, he is not satisfied with ordinary expressions of humility in this regard but must impose the highest form of it on himself:

The Ignatian principle of *agere contra*, fundamental to Ignatian asceticism and spirituality, here reaches its apogee. Its application is part of the approach to overcoming inordinate attachments that stand in the way of spiritual growth. In the *Spiritual Exercises* he wrote: “For this—namely, that the Creator and Lord may work more surely in His creature—it is very expedient, if it happens that the soul is attached or inclined to a thing inordinately, that one should move himself, putting forth all his strength, to come to the contrary of what he is strongly drawn to” [15]. The primary vulnerabilities of human nature, which we have already noted were evident in the preconversion Iñigo, are here again put under attack by the embracing of their opposites. In the third degree of humility, the desire for riches is countered by the wish to be poor, excessive ambition and the desire for worldly honors are countered by the wish for opprobrium, and the wish to be respected and praised in worldly terms is countered by the wish to be thought worthless and a fool for Christ’s sake. These values dictated Ignatius’ spiritual ascent, but they also underline the conflicting vulnerabilities that plagued his journey, particularly those that pertain to his narcissistic conflicts. These dynamics were embedded in the heart and mind of Ignatius from his earliest years, and they remained permanent fixtures of his psychic landscape until the moment of his death.

One might argue that the second degree of humility is sufficient for meaningful spiritual development. Ignatius is not satisfied with this but must go even further. This ultimate degree of humility presses the principle of the imitation and identification with Christ to its limit, a stripping from the self of all narcissistic trappings, all honor and admiration the world can deliver. Acceptance of and commitment to spiritual values that run counter to those of the world achieve their greatest realization (103).

Meissner next shares his psychoanalytic considerations concerning this strategy of the *Exercises*, which for him evinces the obsessional quality of Ignatius’ techniques. The feelings of guilt that motivated Ignatius’ penances instigated the coordinated attack of his superego on his worldly self:

The ascetic tactic of the Ignatian *agere contra* raises some interesting psychoanalytic questions, especially since this seems without doubt to have been the repeated strategy of the saint himself. In psychoanalytic terms there are certain risks in the general approach of rooting out inordinate attachments and vices by practicing the opposite virtue. We can translate the process of *agere contra* into terms of drive and defense. An attempt to regulate libidinal desires, for example, by the mechanics of *agere contra* would seem to repress or suppress such impulses and rule them out of court—at least out of the court of conscious access. Internal psychic management of such impulses, as well as external behavioral adaptations—ascetic practices either denying or disciplining such desires of the flesh—would seem necessarily to have a strong defensive cast. In the cave of Manresa, Iñigo set about a program of fasts, sleepless nights, vigils, penitential practices like flagellations and inflicting pain—standard practices in the lore of ascetic spirituality—as punitive attacks on the body as the seat and source of physical desire and pleasure. The enjoyment of eating was to be countered by the denial of food through fasting. The gratification of the senses was to be punished and denied through inflicting pain.

One can question how effective such practices may really be. Does the oppositional practice really root out the inordinate desire? Or does it merely drive the desire out of conscious awareness, only to disguise it and displace it into unconscious fantasies and their possible derivatives? If this is the case, increasing psychic tension may be created—the tension of drive versus defence—that calls for an ever-higher level of defensive organization and relatively pathological degrees of compromise formation. In addition, the effort to resolve pride by resorting to humility may only drive the narcissistic impulses underground, so that they find equivalent satisfaction in the exercise of a humility that can make one feel unconsciously superior to the rest of men—who have not achieved such a high degree of humility!

We have reason to wonder what may have been the effect of such practices on the disposition of conflicts and compromises in the inner life of Ignatius. The techniques he proposes in the Exercises for implementing the *agere contra* have an obsessional quality. Repeated, frequent, and detailed examinations of conscience are recommended. We are reminded of Iñigo's own scrupulous torments, and the fact that these obsessional practices remained a primary feature of his spiritual teaching and activity to the end of his life. The unremitting pressure of unresolved drive derivatives calls for heightened defensive control and continued obsessional vigilance.

Ignatius was motivated in large part by guilt. From the postconversion perspective, there was much to be guilty about: his libidinous desires and amorous adventures; his flamboyant aggression that kept sword and dagger at hand for any adventure. We remember the troubling murder at Azpeitia, the numerous sword fights; any opposition or insult would call forth an aggressive response that would hardly balk at inflicting injury, even death. There was also the overweening pride and ambition. And, as I have already suggested, there was the ineradicable guilt of having possibly contributed to his mother's death.

Against these guilt-laden impulses, desires, and ventures, which he now saw as sinful and hateful, the pilgrim launched his grim attack. The ascetic onslaught against every facet of his former life and behavior rode on a current of guilt and shame. The guilt was a reflection of the turning of superego aggression against the self; the shame came from the narcissistically based failure to live up to the demands of his newly acquired ideals in his postconversion life.

The terms of Freud's equation relating internal and external aggression seem to bear themselves out in the pilgrim's turning of his immense aggression against himself. Freud had suggested that the more its external expression is denied and inhibited, the greater would be the internally directed aggression. The outcome for the pilgrim was an overwhelming sense of guilt and the sadistic, destructive assault of the superego—reflected particularly in his pathological scrupulosity, his intensely self-punitive ascetic practices, and especially his suicidal impulses.

One might be tempted to say that this was essentially masochism, in which the pilgrim's sadistic and destructive impulses had been transformed into a punitive and guilt-inducing attack on himself. Undoubtedly, this transformation of instinctual derivatives was part of the picture. However, we must also consider that the pilgrim's ascetic effort took place in the context of a highly specific value system and in relation to a powerful and newly formed ego ideal. In addition, Iñigo de Loyola was a child of the Catholic culture of sixteenth-century Spain, both in his role as sword-swinging, amorous courtier and hidalgo, and in his role as penitential ascetic (103-105).

In his concluding remarks on the *Spiritual Exercises*, Meissner reviews the psychodynamic forces that played a role in the radical transformation of Ignatius' identity:

The *Spiritual Exercises* make it clear that the pilgrim of Manresa passed through a spiritual crisis that involved a radical restructuring of his personality. Out of this regressive crisis, with its concomitant dissolution of psychic structures and the weakening of repressive barriers, a new identity emerged. The transformation, as we have noted, does not rule out a powerful and decisive continuity between the character of the dashing and daring hidalgo and the later ascetic and mystic. The dynamic forces at work in his personality, particularly the narcissistic components, persisted. But the transformation nonetheless involved a radical alteration through the exchange of value systems and the integration of the pilgrim's ego ideal. The alteration was not limited to these aspects, however. The changes that accompanied this remarkable transformation also found their way into the organization of his superego, with a marked increase in the powerful guilt dynamic and the internalizing of aggression. Remarkable changes must have occurred in his ego as well—replacing the impulsive intolerance for opposition or frustration with long-suffering, quiet determination, and fortitude—much of this distilled into his remarkable capacity for discernment.

If the spirit of the proud hidalgo reverberates at all, it is in the fanatical determination with which the pilgrim stormed the castle of virtue. He brought to this spiritual struggle and conquest the same spirit of undaunted courage and fierce determination that had set him apart from his fellow soldiers. Once he had set his mind to the goal, nothing would stand in his way—not an enemy army, the legions of the devil, or his own human vulnerability and weakness. That ruthless fanaticism was a quality that greater wisdom and experience would teach him to modify. But in the first flush of his spiritual campaign, moderation was not part of his code. The struggle was one of life and death for him, calling for an all-out assault meant to sweep the enemy from the field and to inflict a final and irrevocable defeat.

The reshaping of identity that the pilgrim sought in the cave of Manresa was distilled into the practices of the *Spiritual Exercises*. He proposed to his followers and to those whom he directed in the Exercises the same end—a restructuring of the self, of one's sense of self, one's identity, in terms of total commitment to God's will and to unstinting enlisting in His service. The entire corpus of the *Exercises* is organized and directed to this end. It proposes nothing less than a restructuring of one's life, one's ideals and values, one's goals and hopes, and the commitment of that life to the service of the King of Kings (107-108).