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Don Quixote as World Emperor: Cervantes, Titian and Luca Cambiaso

Frederick A. de Armas

Although *Don Quixote* has been popular ever since it was first published, its canonization as a work that was more than just a funny book can be traced, according to Rachael Schmidt, to the 1738 deluxe edition published in England, with images that depicted Cervantes as a Hercules or Apollo surrounded by the Muses, and going to Mount Parnassus with the weapons of satire to rid literature of the monstrous structures and images of the books of chivalry. Don Quixote's madness was thus a tool for satire. And yet his folly was much more. It reflected an imperial vision that pervaded most of Europe during this period.¹ In the very first chapter of the novel, the reader learns the purpose of the chivalric exercise: "Already the poor man fancied himself crowned by the valour of his arms, at least with the empire of Trebizond" (33).² Thus, Don Quixote's troubled dream is rather ambitious. Trebizond, to which he aspired, was an empire derived from the Byzantine, which in turn was the more long-lasting eastern part of the Roman Empire. In not so subtle words, the text points to Don Quixote as heir to the Roman Empire, an empire that Virgil had predicted would have no limits in time or space.³ Thus, Don Quixote's veiled desire is to become World Emperor.

Of course, no work of fiction can be reduced to the play of power. The novel, as we well know, is multi-faceted, polyphonic. It captures the reader in ways that the romances of chivalry never could, for it also displays the play of humanity, from its mighty aspirations and hidden desires to the generative corporality of carnival. For Bakhtin, it is "the

coming down to earth," the bodily grotesque and the carnivalesque that stands out,⁴ while for Harold Bloom it is the work's humanity that must be remembered: "Cervantes's two heroes are simply the largest literary characters in the whole Western Canon."⁵ But Bloom also concedes that: "We cannot hope to surmise his [Cervantes's] attitudes precisely...Cervantes had to be very wary of the Counter-Reformation and the Inquisition."⁶ Indeed, when at the service of Cardinal Acquaviva in Rome, Cervantes certainly viewed Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* as censored by the Counter-Reformation. In his youth he would have read books such as the *Decameron* and *Lazarillo de Tormes* in their purged versions.⁷ In this manner, Cervantes learned not only about censorship, but also how to self-censor his own texts so as to grant them the artistic freedom to say what they could not say; what Bances Candamo, at the end of the seventeenth century, referred to as a "*decir sin decir*."⁸ This type of muted speech perforce generates countless readings.

Mute poetry was a term used in antiquity to refer to painting, thus underscoring the sisterhood of the arts, whereas poetry was described as a speaking picture. Frances Yates reminds us that this link can be traced to Simonides of Ceos, who believed that "the poet and the painter both think in visual images which the one expresses in poetry and the other in pictures."⁹ Indeed, Simonides was said to be the inventor of the Art of Memory, conceiving of "poetry, painting and mnemonics in terms of intense visualization."¹⁰ The Renaissance took up the association between the sisterhood of the arts and mnemonics. In *L'arte del ricordare*, published in Naples in 1566, Giovanni Battista Della Porta contends that one of the best ways to memorize is to use images by famous artists: "pictures by Michelangelo, Raphael and Titian, stay in the memory"¹¹ Indeed, Cervantes may well have read this work and met the author during his sojourn in Naples. Thus, this essay will seek to relate Cervantes's prose to painting, assuming that: (1) When Cervantes traveled to Italy in his youth he learned to preserve images from great artists in his memory;¹² (2) he would later use these images to infuse his writing with *energaia*, the power of visualization;¹³ (3) *ekphrasis*, or the presence of artworks within a literary text, was also used by Cervantes as *paragone*, setting off a rivalry between the verbal and the visual to celebrate the supremacy of the word;¹⁴ and (4) these images hidden in the text further provided him with a means to engage in simulated self-censorship while delving into mute writing. Thus, the image that painting is mute writing became for Cervantes a means to

infuse his work with mnemonic energy, to revel in the power of the word, and to conceal social, political, and religious questionings.

This essay will seek to observe some of the hidden pieces in Cervantes's museum of words and to listen to the text's muted language in order to envision Don Quixote as world emperor through two concepts that are often conjoined: *translatio imperii* and *translatio studii*.¹⁵ Such a link was foreshadowed in Spain by the Renaissance writer Antonio de Nebrija, author of the first grammar in 1492. *Translatio imperii* was a common notion in the West, starting in antiquity and continuing through the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and beyond. Although there are many versions of the concept, writers envisioned the rise and fall of empires, starting in the East¹⁶ and then moving to the West, that is, to Rome—the site that became the symbolic center of the last empire. Antonio de Nebrija refers to this movement “in his exposition of the transition from Greece to Rome, motivated by the dissipation of Alexander's empire.”¹⁷ If empire does not halt with the Virgilian image of an eternal Rome, and later with the Holy Roman Empire of Charlemagne and his followers, then Spain, being the westernmost European kingdom, might be heir to empire.¹⁸ Nebrija expresses his concern that: “just as the decline of empires had led to linguistic corruption and oblivion, the same thing could happen to Spain if the cycle were to be repeated.”¹⁹ His grammar would seek to halt any future *translatio*.²⁰

This notion of *translatio imperii* and its relation to Rome is far from being an esoteric Medieval and Renaissance ideal. Even in our contemporary world, comparisons between Rome and America abound, pointing to a transatlantic *translation* by way of the British Empire. For example, Andrew Bacevich clearly asserts that: “Like it or not, America today is Rome, committed irreversibly to the maintenance and, where feasible, expansion of an empire that differs from every other empire in history.”²¹ Historian Niall Ferguson explains: “Like Rome it [America] began with a relatively small core...which expanded to dominate half a continent. Like Rome, it was an inclusive empire, relatively (though not wholly) promiscuous in the way it conferred its citizenship. Like Rome, it had, at least for a time, its disenfranchised slaves. But unlike Rome, its republican constitution has withstood the ambitions of any would-be Caesars—so far.”²² Ferguson adds to the “so far” a second ominous note: “The dilemmas faced by America today have more in

common with those faced by the later Caesars than with those faced by the Founding Fathers."²³

If anxieties over empire pervade Cervantes's text, it is a most appropriate work for today's world, and some, such as the Mexican artist Andrés Salgó, would paint Don Quixote as deeply embroiled in the contemporary political landscape. Salgó was born in Hungary in 1909 and studied in Paris. He composed more than seventy canvases of Don Quixote in a period of six years. Indeed, in one of the paintings Don Quixote rides a rocket. But Salgó's works are pacifist in tone, transforming the knight from an heir to empire to a figure that defies the warlike.²⁴ On the other hand, Cervantes's novel repeatedly refers to Rome, offering implicit comparisons between it and Habsburg rule²⁵—from the speech of the Golden Age, with its Virgilian and imperial overtones, to the repeated references to Julius Caesar as model.²⁶

Both Cervantes and Charles V were particularly fond of Caesar's *Commentaries*. The Emperor took this work with him to Yuste in 1556, his final retreat, after he abdicated.²⁷ Mirroring Charles's interests, Cervantes refers to Caesar's *Commentaries* in the prologue to his novel.²⁸ The fact that the novel begins in July may not be a coincidence. Later in the work, when Don Quixote expounds on the fame of the Romans, including Julius Caesar, Sancho confuses some of these names with the months of July and August, unwittingly alluding to the fact that these two months were named after the two Caesars.²⁹ Indeed, this passage also includes an anecdote dealing with Charles V. Since Charles is a new Caesar, we may consider Julius's *Commentaries* as a possible model for the writing of Don Quixote's exploits.³⁰ Gian Biagio Conte explains that: "The term commentaries, a calque on the Greek *hypomnema*, indicated a type of narration intermediate between the collection of raw materials...and their elaboration in the artistic form typical of true historiography, that is to say, enriched with stylistic and rhetorical embellishments."³¹ In reality, Caesar's *Commentaries* do approach the latter although exhibiting "incomparable simplicity."³² It is no coincidence, then, that Cervantes's prologue bemoans the lack of embellishments in the book. And, the use of "ignoble" material in *Don Quixote* could have as an excuse the lack of selection and polish. On the other hand, Caesar knows precisely which events to include and which ones to suppress in order to give his cause a more noble intent. In Cervantes's novel, the "narrator" does the opposite, often delighting in depicting an ignoble Don Quixote.

And yet, the language of Caesar's and Cervantes's texts is deceptively simple, hiding intricate patterns of persuasion in a clear and limpid style. This serves to remind us that one of the tools of empire is the use of *one* language. During the Renaissance, Nebrija maintained that language was a companion to empire.³³ His grammar, as noted, seeks to stem the migration of empire by fixing the Spanish language so as to make permanent the location of empire. This notion is present in a veiled form in *Don Quixote*. We are first made aware of it when, in Chapter 2, the knight calls the innkeeper a *castellano* (Castellan); that is, the lord of a castle. But the innkeeper takes it to mean that he is from Castile (38–49). In reality he is from southern Spain. As the picaresque impetus of Andalusia is contrasted with the chivalric code of honor of northern Castile, so are the differences in speech through this confusion. Having been alerted to the fact that Don Quixote's Spain is not a univocal empire, as he would have it, it becomes easier to detect other cultural and linguistic clashes. The battle between the knight and the Basque in Chapters 8 and 9 once again recalls the differences in regions, languages, and cultures that empire seeks to amalgamate. Indeed, an authorial intrusion tells us that, as the two "warriors" stand with their swords held up in the air, we can envision one of them being cut in half like a pomegranate. The term *granada*, as Eric C. Graf has pointed out, has numerous referents, from the last Moorish kingdom in Iberia to an image used to celebrate Spanish unification.³⁴ Thus, Cervantes's novel reveals, through what may appear to be entertaining adventures, the fissures within the land. Needless to say, this only refers to the Iberian Peninsula, leaving out the other languages and cultures of the Habsburg Empire.

In addition to his attempt to fix the Castilian language as companion to empire and thus hold Spain as an imperial site, Nebrija also takes umbrage in the fact that Spain is the westernmost European country, so that there would be no future *translatio imperii*. Having fixed the language of empire, others can come along and adorn it with the discourse of hegemony; that is, Spaniards can imitate the ancient literary classics, such as Virgil's *Aeneid* with its myth of empire, so as to perfect the arts in Spain and thus create a *translatio studii*. But Cervantes's novel is a conflictive site where the urge to present his text as part of the genealogy of empire clashes with its republicanism, its use of Lucan's *Pharsalia* in an attempt to forge a different type of work—an epic of the defeated (using David Quint's terminology).³⁵ Furthermore, in the prologue to the novel, the fictive author tells the reader that he

is unable to adorn it and the whole text with appropriate authorities (including Homer and Virgil). The friend's advice that he should add random names from the heroic past, and steal classical citations, seems to be an ironic response to the *translatio studii*.³⁶ In proposing Cacus as a name to be included in the novel, this fictive author is foregrounding a thief who was defeated by Hercules, as portrayed in Virgil's *Aeneid*. In the novel, it is the picaresque innkeeper from Andalusia who is called a Cacus, and it is he who knights Don Quixote, thus placing into question the whole Castilian chivalric honor code as well as the imperial project.

In one of his earliest literary works, the pastoral romance *La Galatea*, Cervantes made it clear that he wants to become a Spanish Virgil, first by perfecting the Spanish language in its literature and second by following in prose Virgil's literary career. He would thus begin with eclogue or pastoral and move up the genres and styles in order to reach the imperial epic as a mature writer.³⁷ Publishing *Don Quixote* under Philip III, the grandson of would-be World Emperor Charles V, it should come as no surprise that Cervantes's would-be knight, in picking up the forgotten and rusted armor of his ancestors (33), could well be pointing to that moment in time when knighthood was revived and when there was a dream of universal empire under Charles V.³⁸ *Don Quixote*, then, can be read through its playful or even subversive use of epic, one that links its main character to Charles V and to other imperial rulers of the past, such as Alexander, Julius Caesar, Augustus, and Charlemagne.³⁹

Although, as Anthony Pagden reminds us, there was never a Spanish Empire,⁴⁰ Madrid was seen by some, long after Nebrija, as the site for the westward transmission of empire, one that went beyond the Holy Roman Empire by incorporating a newly encountered continent.⁴¹ In Italy, we have the famous prediction encountered in Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*, a vision that foreshadows Don Quixote's speech on the Golden Age. Indeed, Cervantes frequently cites this Italian epic romance, which Don Quixote uses as a model for his activities. In Ariosto's prophecy we discover the perfection of empire when Andronica tells Astolfo that there will come a time when "God places the world under the monarchy of the wisest and most just emperor who ever lived or shall live after Augustus."⁴² When she adds that Charles V will restore Astraea-justice, along with the other virtues that were exiled with her as the world grew more corrupt, he is once again underlining his debt to Virgil, who propounded the notion of a *Pax Romana*

achieved through the Romanization or civilizing power of empire. Ariosto may have thought that his epic poem, which praises Charles along with the Dukes of Ferrara, would constitute a *translatio studii*, locating the center of learning in Italy while maintaining a tone of praise for the Spanish monarchy. His famous epic paled, however, when compared to another text written half a century later. While Astolfo's hippogriff could fly the hero around the world and even to the moon, this vehicle was not sufficient to probe the limits of empire. It was up to another writer to summon up a scrawny nag named Rocinante to lead a new kind of hero who would contemplate the notion of the rise and fall of empires. And Rocinante, as in Chapter 19 of Cervantes's novel, was said to grow wings like a new hippogriff (144).

Echoing Ariosto's prophecy of Charles V as *Dominus mundi*, Tommaso Campanella wrote a prophecy of Spanish imperialism long after Charles's demise. While imprisoned in Naples, accused of plotting against the state, he composed *De Monarchia hispanica* (1600–1). Here he exhorted the Spanish ruler: "to learn to exercise more arcane skills: to read the signs that God had left in the star, in the scriptures and in the records of the past, so that he might predict the likely outcome of any of his activities."⁴³ One thing the ruler would learn is that the role of Augustus and Charlemagne would pass to a Spanish king-emperor in a clear *translatio imperii*. Modifying both Augustine's and Dante's notions of the Roman Empire as the site of Christian rule,⁴⁴ he seemed to acquiesce to the view that the Spanish king could be called Emperor of the Indies.⁴⁵ Searching the skies for confirmation, Campanella claimed to have found it in the astrologically meaningful Saturn-Jupiter conjunction of 1603.⁴⁶ At the same time Campanella was staring at the heavens and its miracles, Cervantes was imaginatively gazing at the landscape of La Mancha and considering the fate of empires.

It is thus not surprising that in a moment of lucidity, Don Quixote intones his prophetic speech of a coming Golden Age. He sees himself as the foreordained ruler that will bring about an imperial *renovatio* to the West. While such pronouncements may appear implausible, their presence gives us a key to his ideology and to how he positions himself in history. The seriousness of the speech and its comic contexts may be a way of coming to terms with censorship through self-censorship—what I have labeled above as mute writing.

If we are to search for other concealed allusions to Charles V's empire, then it is best to turn to a discussion of censorship within the novel: the famous "Inquisition" of Don Quixote's books by the priest and the barber. As they move through the knight's library, intending to burn numerous chivalric novels, pastoral romances, and epic poems, they hear Don Quixote, who has just awakened and is lashing out against his invisible enemies. Thus, the inquisitors must abandon their job. A number of books are not scrutinized for error and thus have no chance to be saved: "*The Carolea* and *The Lion of Spain*, with the *Feats of the Emperor* compiled by Don Luis de Avilas, went on the flames unseen and unheard" (63). In addition to not being heard, the third book is out of place since the other two are in verse while Avilas's is a historical treatise. This book was used by Titian to compose his famous painting *Charles V at Mühlberg*. I will argue that the painting (and perhaps even the book) is key to the portrayal of the knight.⁴⁷

In the first chapter of the novel, there is uncertainty as to the *hidalgo's* name. The narrator claims that it could be Quijada, Quesada, or Quejana. The novel foregrounds Quijada since it is the first one mentioned.⁴⁸ I believe that "Quijada" links Don Quixote to Charles V. Titian's *Charles V at Mühlberg* helps to clarify this relationship. When first asked to paint the emperor, Titian met the challenge of portraiture by his stress on decorum as opposed to *imitatio*. The difficulties were clear from the start since "we know that the ruler's extremely deformed jaw did not permit the upper and lower teeth to meet or the mouth to close."⁴⁹ We can clearly see the challenge of the jaw in a number of works by Lucas Cranach.⁵⁰ Titian solved this and other problems to the emperor's satisfaction in several paintings, being particularly successful in *Charles V at Mühlberg*. This portrayal transforms the misshapen jaw into a sign of determination. *Quijada* (the knight's name) means jaw, precisely the element that made it particularly difficult to portray Charles V and subsequent Habsburg monarchs. Thus Cervantes transforms an anatomical feature into an onomastic one. The jaw of determination that links him to the greatest of Spanish emperors also relates him to the Ganassa character at Carnival. Ganassa, a lean figure with a large jaw, stands for Lent and battles Bottarga, the spirit of Carnival itself. While Titian's painting stresses decorum in depicting character, Cervantes's novel points to Titian in order to draw idealized majesty and determination, and to break with decorum through laugh-



Titian. *Portrait of Emperor Charles V at Muhlberg*. 1548. Oil on canvas. Museo del Prado, Madrid, Spain.

ter, the representation of “unworthy” and carnivalesque situations and actions.

One of Titian’s innovations in his equestrian painting is to have the commanding general, Charles V, carry neither sword nor “field marshal’s baton.”⁵¹ Instead, the emperor is seen with a spear, an image that reflects the historical circumstances since he led the battle with this curious weapon. Panofsky explains that the lance or spear carried

by the emperor had a symbolic value: “the spear was the weapon of such valiant killers of dragons (that is to say, heresies) as St. George, and very often, St. Michael.”⁵² While a true knight uses the weapon as an extension of his will to conquer, Don Quixote’s use of the spear or lance is often comic and disastrous. In Chapter 4 a muleteer: “snatched his lance and broke it in pieces” (52); and in the adventure of the windmills, the wind turned the sails “with such violence that it shivered his weapon in pieces, dragging the horse and his rider with it, and sent the knight rolling badly injured across the plain” (68–69). In this last adventure Don Quixote clearly states that he is fighting a war “in the service of God” (68). His pronouncement echoes Charles V’s purpose at Mühlberg, where he fought against the Protestant League, and wanted to be seen as a Christian knight defeating those who were guilty of heresy.

The battle at Mühlberg was in many ways a combat akin to those found in the books of chivalry: “With a loss of only fifty men he [Charles V] had inflicted 2,000 casualties on his enemies and had captured most of their leaders.”⁵³ In chivalric fashion, a few “knights” can easily defeat a large army. Likewise, Don Quixote does not worry that many are against him. He holds firm to the chivalric belief that the knight can defeat a large number of enemies, be they thirty or forty giants/windmills or a whole army of pagans. But Cervantes’s knight consistently fails in defeating such foes, even if they are only armies of sheep. An imperial portrait, then, seems to inform the action of a novel, establishing intriguing parallels between Charles V and Don Quixote. (Let us not forget that Charles was an avid reader of the romances of chivalry.) While many of these links shatter through laughter (like the broken lance), others, like his jaw of determination, infuse the knight with a certain air of decorum that even his enemy and biographer, Cide Hamete Benengeli, cannot fully dispel. In an extended *ekphrasis* and a virtuoso *paragone*, Cervantes takes a famous imperial portrait and transforms it into the portrait of a very human figure that breaks the molds of an imperious society. It is clear, however, that Cervantes is inventing a new form of *ekphrasis*. No longer do we have a pause in the narrative that describes a work of art. Instead, Cervantes utilizes a painting to provide key elements for the portrayal of his knight. In so doing, he creates such a contrast between Titian’s decorum and Cervantes’s carnivalesque—yet paradoxically heroic—figure that the reader is struck by the writing’s ability to open up an image and provide it with a series of meanings. As *paragone*, the text surpasses the

image since it is clearly mnemonic, containing key features of what, according to Della Porta, is easy to remember: the heroic and the comic or grotesque.⁵⁴

Charles V believed that “war was an essential instrument for the enlargement of his power.”⁵⁵ His jaw of determination exposed his beligerent intent. Years before the battle of Mühlberg, the emperor talked of peaceful negotiations with the Schmalkaldick League, while in reality he was making alliances and preparing for war.⁵⁶ While Charles and the Pope thought they were using power in the service of God, those wishing to have a more open society would view this war as an abuse of power. Since Titian’s painting is a defense of imperial power, it casts a golden glow upon the emperor, as if this struggle would help him regain the mythical Golden Age. Again, we have an instance of decorum triumphing over *imitatio* since it also serves to conceal the yellowish countenance of the sick emperor.

Contrary to Charles’s painter, the knight’s “biographer” does not hide his sickness, both humanizing and questioning his struggle. Don Quixote is portrayed on a number of occasions as having a yellow and sallow appearance, thus contrasting with the golden hue of his ideals, gained by the force of arms.⁵⁷ His few victories are dedicated to his love Dulcinea, who may also be seen as an embodiment of the will to conquer. That there is no such person as Dulcinea outside of the knight’s imagination seems a critique of empire as an elusive quest for the impossible. Even though both knight and emperor were defeated (Charles had to flee Innsbruck not long after Mühlberg), some critics have seen in Don Quixote a defense of imperial ideals, while much of Europe believed in Charles’s quest as *Dominus Mundi*. Such a view is possible since Cervantes’s mute writing also used the technique of anamorphosis, prevalent in painting. Here, a work of art when viewed from one perspective could show meaningless lines but looked at from another angle it would reveal the Pope or the Emperor. A different painting may show a woman’s beauty from one angle and the shape of a skull when viewed from another perspective. According to Michel Jeanneret, this double or triple vision stems from the fact that artists were aware that “to escape from oblivion, the work had to keep on developing. They deliberately made room in their texts and paintings for the reader or spectator and left him the task of completing, arranging, elucidating.”⁵⁸ Thus, Cervantes’s *Don Quixote* is never allegorical. It merely suggests shapes and images through anamorphosis, allowing the reader to complete the *ekphrasis* and its meanings. And this

ekphrasis is often related to the emperor Charles V. As David R. Castillo states: "The extraordinary frequency with which Charles V is represented in anamorphic compositions has led some experts...to link the early developments of anamorphosis to the Emperor's courtly circle."⁵⁹ Indeed, an anamorphic design by Erhard Schön "hides and reveals portraits of Emperor Charles V, his brother Ferdinand of Austria, Pope Paul III and King Francis I against the background of a bizarre landscape."⁶⁰ In many ways, then, Cervantes's novel provides an anamorphic vision that leaves room for different perspectives, such as Titian's *Charles V at Mühlberg*—a painting that rejects such perspectivism.

Keeping in mind Cervantes's ability to transform a painting into an anamorphic *ekphrasis*, let us turn to other images of the emperor. Going beyond the Mediterranean, where the mythological Hercules had placed his device of "*Non plus ultra*," Charles V was conquering new lands. Turning south, the emperor had taken Tunis, which presaged "the southward expansion of the empire to Africa in emulation of the Roman heroes and emperors of antiquity."⁶¹ Thus, his device became *plus ultra*, urging further imperial conquest. Around 1594, a painting entitled *The Apotheosis of Charles V* depicts Charles as a figure that could defy Hercules and go beyond the pillars.⁶² While the pillars in the background carry the emperor's motto "*Plus Ultra. Victori Orbis et Urbis*," his left foot is on a globe and his left hand points to Africa. To his back, Europe is at his feet. Charles thus becomes the legendary universal emperor whose lands spanned at least three continents. Charles's ability to go beyond Hercules was not lost on Cervantes. In the very first chapter of the novel, the gentleman from La Mancha admires how Hercules can defeat Anteus. In Part II, Chapter 25, the "prophesying ape" leads Maese Pedro to kneel in front of the knight and exclaim: "I embrace these legs as I would embrace the twin pillars of Hercules, O illustrious reviver of the now-forgotten order of knight errantry!" (634). Thus, prophecies of imperial *renovatio* and images of conquest and apotheosis come together in this one moment. As if this were not enough, Maese Pedro is about to reenact a legend from the time of Charlemagne, of the rescue of Melisendra from the Moors, thus recalling Charles's wars in Africa. But Cervantes once again questions imperial and prophetic dreams through anamorphosis, exposing Maese Pedro as the disguised picaresque character Ginés de Pasamonte.

These two paintings, then, *Charles V at Mühlberg* and *The Apotheosis of Charles V*, allow us to visualize the mute prose of the novel and lead us to ponder its political meaning. There is yet one more painting that

will further clarify and problematize the situation. I began this essay with a mention of Trebizond, a land over which Don Quixote wanted to have dominion. Repeated allusions to this site alert us to its significance. In 1569, Cervantes entered Italy through the port of Genoa. At that time, the city's most famous artist was at work on a fresco entitled, *The Emperor of Trebisonda Constructing a Fondaco for Megollo Lercari*. Whether the fresco was completed before Cervantes's departure from Italy or whether he was even allowed to view it at the Palazzo may not necessarily be of concern. After all, the subject of the work was known to all those interested in art in Genoa, and preliminary drawings were certainly available for the curious.

Cambiaso's fresco serves to foreground the connection between Genoa and Trebizond. Starting with the thirteenth century, Genoa aggressively traded and gained commercial monopolies in the region. Cambiaso's painting contains a laudatory representation of one of the early members of the Lercari family, who owned the Genoese Palazzo for which the work was commissioned. The painting also depicts the profitable yet problematic relationship between Trebizond and Genoa. Sometime between 1314 and 1316, it is said that Megollo Lercari, a Genoese merchant, angered by Emperor Alexios, waged war against him, and the Emperor had to concede defeat. Alexios provided a number of concessions to the Genoese living in Trebizond, including the building of a large *Fondaco*, or place of lodging for merchants.

The Emperor of Trebizond ordered a painting to be done commemorating these events. Indeed, such a picture was known and described as late as 1480. Luca Cambiaso's fresco is then a second commemorative depiction of the event, done more than two hundred years later. This Renaissance fresco shows not only the building of the *Fondaco*, but also the fashioning of a structure of trade that made Genoa into a trading "empire." Thus, as Niall Ferguson has reminded us, there are many forms of empire.⁶³ While the fresco praises the Genoese trading domain, which began its expansion in the thirteenth century, it also provides the spectator with a vision of an ancient age in which an emperor rules exotic lands. The image of building within the fresco is related to empire building, be it by Trebizond or by the Genoese. This very much parallels Don Quixote's vision of his quest. The country gentleman wants to construct himself first into a knight and then into an emperor. He wants to quickly build his own imperial power.

Yet mercantile powers are often at odds with the enmities created by traditional (warlike) empires. While Venice and Genoa viewed with

equanimity the expansion of the Ottoman Empire and its threat to the Empires of Byzantium and Trebizond, the papacy and the Habsburg Empire reacted to these expansionist moves with alarm. The commercial powers, as Lisa Jardine has shown, "were reluctant to impede the healthy flow of goods across the Ottoman Empire to and from markets of the West."⁶⁴ Even the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans failed to slow the flow of merchandise: within days of its fall, the Ottomans and the Genoese were back in business.⁶⁵ This ability to coexist with other cultures and religions in order to further trade was totally alien to the Habsburg Empire, and particularly its Spanish component. But ironically, it was the Genoese banking system that made possible Charles V's and Philip II's imperial ventures. The Genoese concern with trade certainly conflicts with Don Quixote's vision of the world. His chivalric code could not tolerate the merchant's all-embracing, albeit covetous, stance.

In Chapter 4, the knight clearly demonstrates how his own conception of empire is inimical to a multicultural vision, what Lisa Jardine calls "global mercantilism."⁶⁶ Don Quixote's rage is directed against merchants from Toledo who were on their way to buy silk in Murcia.⁶⁷ The production of silk was one of the "crafts and skills of the Islamic nations."⁶⁸ More to the point, Carroll Johnson asserts that although Granada was once the primary source for silk: "Special permission was given for the establishment of a silk industry in the hands of *moriscos* in Murcia" (7).⁶⁹ Not only were *moriscos* engaged in the production of silk in this city, but Murcia was often associated during Cervantes's time with "judaising *conversos*."⁷⁰ Indeed, the very fact that the troop is made up of merchants creates in a society intent on purity of blood a suspicion of Jewishness. Don Quixote, as an Old Christian *hidalgo*, must oppose the mercantile.

The tripling of *otherness* (Islamic silks, Murcian Jewishness, and Tole-
dan picaresque materialism) and the "noxious" presence of the mercantile trade trigger in Don Quixote a "Catholic" reaction. He orders the merchants to "confess" that Dulcinea is the most beautiful woman in the world. When the merchants state that they need to see at least a portrait of the lady, Don Quixote claims that: "The essence of the matter is that you must believe, confess, affirm, swear and maintain it without seeing her" (51). This totalizing faith is what the knight requires of the multicultural and tolerant mercantile profession. They must confess their "Christian" belief or be destroyed. Of course, the irony of the situation is that in establishing Dulcinea as a kind of goddess, Don

Quixote becomes the proponent of a kind of paganism opposed to the Christianity he ostensibly supports. The clash between Don Quixote and the merchants is, then, the opposition between trading empires, such as the Genoese, and empires intent on totalizing faith and purity of blood, such as the Spanish. In Cambiaso's fresco, Genoese merchant capitalism triumphs over a traditional empire. The same occurs in the Cervantine episode in which Don Quixote is defeated by the merchants. In fact, Cervantes may be portraying the ascendancy of Genoese merchants in Toledo, a historical fact that has recently been detailed by Hilario Rodríguez de Gracia.⁷¹ As the Spanish empire fell further and further into debt, the Genoese merchants and bankers were there to reap the profits—and the hatred of the people. Much like other such groups, they became the *other* within Spain, as they attempted to erase difference by finding their way into the Spanish aristocracy.⁷²

In conclusion, Cervantes's *Don Quixote* is a complex meditation on the uses and abuses of power and on the meaning of imperial and commercial gain. The imaginative excesses of the gentleman from La Mancha lead us to ponder the excesses of imperial rule and to consider the futility of war by way of a comic epic that celebrates defeat. While the knight's determination seems to raise him above others and make his impossible and imaginary quest an attractive one, his own weakness may point to either the decline of Spain or the futility of an imperial mission. Laughter breaks the impetus for violence. The humanity of the characters leads us to seek the roots of strife. In the end, the ideal of a World Emperor appears as folly, since all empires, like the knight himself, are subject to decline. The knight's death may signal the death of the imperial ideal.

While providing us a melancholy view of *translatio imperii*, Cervantes's novel becomes a remarkable example of *translatio studii*. Indeed, Don Quixote can be seen as a World Emperor in the sense that he may be the best-known fictional figure in the world today. He would be proud to learn that twin buildings projected for Moscow are dubbed Don Quixote and Sancho.⁷³ He would also be surprised to discover that he holds sway not only over those who aspire to an almost quixotic monumentality, but also over the many who find it equally important to question the fabrics and consequences of such ideals, as they ponder the complex and artful weave of the novel—threads that can bind us together in a complex tapestry of difference. ●

Notes

1. Even Sancho comes to believe that Don Quixote can be Emperor. He explains to Mari-tornes in Chapter 16 that a knight-errant “is beaten up one day and made Emperor the next” (119).
2. This is not the only time Trebizond is mentioned. It appears, for example in the prologue and in Chapter 49, when the Canon relates this emperor to the books of chivalry (435).
3. Jupiter states: “For these I set neither bounds nor periods of empire; dominion without end have I bestowed.” Virgil, *Aeneid*, 1.278–279; 261.
4. Bakhtin, p. 22.
5. Harold Bloom, p. 136.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 120.
7. Boccaccio’s work suffered severe censorship. Several revised or “chastised” editions were published after the original was placed in the Inquisitional Index of 1559. The editions expurgated bawdy and anti-clerical elements, while adding a moral tone to the work (Dixon, pp. 185–96). *El Lazarillo castigado* was the expurgated version done in 1573 by Juan López de Velasco after the work was placed in the Valladolid Index of 1559. On the question of censorship in the Spanish Golden Age, see Pardo Tomás.
8. Pointing to Terrones del Caño’s advice to use prudence when dealing with royalty, Melveena McKendrick speaks of the “sort of critical restraint, of self censorship that operates in Lope’s theater” (105). Citing Bances Candamo, she asserts that her purpose is to study “linguistic theory, techniques and stratagems utilized by Lope to negotiate a path of prudence between the acceptable and the unacceptable political commentary in the commercial theater” (30).
9. Frances Yates, p. 28.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Della Porta traveled to Spain in the early 1560s, where he presented Philip II with his book on ciphers, *De furtivis literarum* (1563). The third edition of his *Magiae* (1561) also contains a brief dedication to the Spanish Philip. As his biographer, Louise George Clubb asserts that Della Porta “was well received by the Spanish king, a fact which added to his prestige at home in Spanish-ruled Naples” (1965: 13). Cervantes may have heard of Della Porta at this time since his trip to Spain put him in contact with learned men as the Italian savant searched for new secrets to include in later editions of his *Magiae*. But Cervantes would certainly have heard of Della Porta during his travels in Italy from 1569 to 1575. Although Cervantes does not refer to Della Porta, he was well aware of the humanistic milieu of Naples, referring to Telesio, another famous humanist and poet from Naples, in his *Galatea*. During the period Cervantes spent in Naples, Della Porta was composing plays, which may well have inspired Cervantes to write for the theater upon his return to Spain. For Cervantes’s use of Della Porta, see De Armas, “Cervantes and Della Porta.”
12. While in Rome, Cervantes may have learned the epideictic genre of classical rhetoric favored by humanists: “To admire, love and praise meant not to think but to gaze upon. Indeed, the use of *ekphrasis*—the detailed visual description, often of buildings or works of art...—aimed at bringing about ‘seeing through hearing’” (Stinger, pp. 73–74).

13. This power was at times interpreted in a Platonic sense. Marsilio Ficino came to believe that certain images allowed the viewer access to the intelligible reality of Platonic Ideas. Murray Krieger summarizes the role of the visual and the verbal for the Renaissance Platonists: "So, on one side, pictures as natural signs are rejected as imitations of the lowly sensible, and on the other, language-as-words, though seeking the intelligible, is rejected as symbolically empty. Between them are pictures as language—a sacred language of presence—which...indirectly reveal intelligible reality to us by speaking the unmediated language of God as the only possible sensible representation of Platonic Ideas" (21). Images, then, can reveal divine mysteries and thus writers sought to incorporate such images in their texts so as to conceal/reveal the divine mysteries.

14. The *paragone* embodied the notion of artistic rivalry. It could be the opposition between painting and sculpture or the rivalry between the verbal and the visual. Leonard Barkan speaks of "the rivalry among the media, often referred to as the *paragone*, which means both "comparison" and "competition" (5). For Rona Goffen, it is key to the success of four famous rivals: Michelangelo, Leonardo, Raphael, and Titian.

15. For the study of *ekphrasis* or of a text as a "museum of words," see Heffernan. For a typology of *ekphrasis*, see the first chapter of De Armas, *Ekphrasis in the Age of Cervantes*.

16. Empire was said to begin in the Middle East with the Assyrians, Medes, and Persians, and moves west to the Greeks.

17. Navarrete, p. 20; Nebrija, p. 4.

18. This notion is contrary to that of the Four Monarchies, a prophecy of biblical origin: "Through a vision, the prophet Daniel interpreted Nebuchadnezzar's dream of a man with a head of gold, back of silver, chest of copper and feet of clay as an image of the world's Four Monarchies. After these will come the realm of God, which will be eternal...it was expected that Christ's return would occur under the imperial rule of Rome—the Fourth Monarchy" (Tanner, p. 24). However, Tommaso Campanella will utilize this scheme and add the Spaniards, as will be discussed.

19. Navarrete, pp. 21–22.

20. Nebrija claims that the art or grammar of a language fixes it for eternity, and he thus wants to make Castilian a new Greek or Latin that can be read forever (6). Harald Kleinschmidt sees the care for grammars of "standard languages" as part of the sixteenth-century proto-nationalism that he contrasts with the notion of universal empire (70). I argue that the two are closely linked.

21. Andrew Bacevich, p. 243.

22. Niall Ferguson, p. 34.

23. Ferguson explains that the United States is engaged in a "kind of universal civilizing mission that has been a feature of all great empires" (ix), since the "freedom" we seek for others is not very different from the ideal of "civilization" sought by the Victorians. There are two problems here: freedom becomes a concept for "self-replicating" and by imposing it, we subvert it (viii).

24. "En el último cuadro de la serie, el futuro, don Quijote, multiplicándose en un escuadrón de Don Quijotes que pisan la tierra ensangrentada, opone sus escudos y sus lanzas a los enemigos de la paz, a los que traen dolor y muerte al hombre" (In his last painting in the series, the future Don Quixote, multiplying himself into a squadron of Quixotes, brings out their shields and lances to fight the enemies of peace, those that bring pain and death to humankind). See Salazar Mallén, p. 18.

25. Another instance of the emulation of ancient Rome can be found in the struggle between a Roman and Charles V for the acquisition of fame, which may well hide the Habsburg struggle to become an empire as global as that of Rome. On showing the Pantheon to Charles V, a Roman gentleman states: "A thousand times, most sacred Majesty, the desire seized me to clasp your Majesty and throw myself down from that lantern so that I might win myself eternal fame in the world" (517).

26. He appears, for example, in the prologue to Part I; in Chapter 48, where his valor is praised together with other emperors and epic heroes; and in Chapter 8 of Part II, where he is first recalled crossing the Rubicon (517) and then remembered through his ashes, which were said to be found in an obelisk in Rome (518). Julius was often associated with Charles V, as in the *Sala del Imperator* in Mantua, which showed "Scipio, Caesar, and Alexander—Charles's ancestors all" (Tanner, p. 116). Later, Philip II will associate himself with Caesar (Tanner, p. 164).

27. He abdicated from the Low Countries on October 15, 1555, while he was in Brussels. As for Castile, Aragon, Sicily and the Indies, this will happen privately on January 16, 1556 (García Simón, p. 37). A painting entitled, *Allegory on the Abdication of Emperor Charles V in Brussels, 25 October 1555*, was done by Franz Franken II (1581–1642), and is now at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. The painting was done in 1620 and is not historically accurate, but tends toward the allegorical. Charles is seated on a throne wearing both the imperial crown and the Golden Fleece. At his feet are symbols of power: globe, scepter, and sword. Although he is dressed in red and gold, historians record he was actually dressed in simple black. To his right is Ferdinand (who became emperor in 1558) and to his left is his son Philip II. See also Kleinschmidt, p. 225.

28. While we know that Charles V took the *Commentarii in bellum Gallicum* to Yuste, the "friend" in Cervantes's prologue seems to refer to both *Commentaries*, the one dealing with Gaul and the one of the Civil Wars. Both were readily available in Spanish, starting with one by Fray Diego López de Toledo (secretary of Ferdinand and Isabel), which was reprinted as late as 1621. There is a second translation by Pedro García de Oliván (Toledo, 1570), as well as a couple of compendia of maxims from these texts.

29. "[T]hese Julys and Augusts and all these heroic knights you spoke of, who are now dead—where are they now?" (518).

30. At the end of Ávila y Zúñiga's *Comentario*, we encounter a comparison between the German wars that he chronicles and Julius Caesar's Gallic wars. Here, Charles V is described as superior to Julius Caesar and can truly be seen as *Dominus mundi*. Of course, quite the opposite occurs with Don Quixote's sallies.

31. Gian Biagio Conte, p. 226.

32. *Ibid.*

33. Nebrija asserts that with the conquest of new "barbarian nations," it becomes necessary to provide them with a new language with which to know the new set of laws (8). The Canon from Córdoba, Bernardo Aldrete, in the prologue to his *Del origen, y principio de la lengua castellana o romance que oi se usa en España* (1606), a work dedicated to Philip III, shows how Castilian is the "noble daughter" of Latin, which is the language of empire. Consequently, this new language, like the former one, can unite kingdoms, "domesticate" men, and get rid of discord and diversity, thus making the Spanish empire "a portrait of heaven" (fol. 1).

34. Eric C. Graf, p. 44.

35. A very telling imitation of Lucan can be found in Grisóstomo's poem in Chapter 14. On this subject, see De Armas, "Cervantes and the Virgilian Wheel."

36. This ironic stance over *auctoritas* also tends to subvert the verisimilitude of the text. On this subject, see Rogelio Miñana (p. 158). Obviously, in the prologue, Cervantes undermines these authorities.

37. In the prologue to his pastoral, Cervantes declares that he wants to enrich the Spanish language, and how this process must begin with the lower forms (eclogue) as training for the highest (epic). Like Virgil, he considers himself audacious for including high elements within the low style of the pastoral. Indeed, the inclusion of Calliope, the muse of epic, is a foreshadowing of his future literary career. For a discussion of how Cervantes envisioned himself as a Spanish Virgil writing in prose, see De Armas, "Cervantes and the Virgilian Wheel."

38. Over the centuries, a number of critics have debated whether *Don Quixote* is to be viewed as an embodiment of the deeds and imperial conceptions of Charles V or as a satire on this emperor's ideals. Already in 1878, Díaz de Benjumea referred to critics of the previous century who claimed that Don Quixote "*era el retrato del alma española, la pintura de Carlos V*" [was a portrait of the Spanish soul, a painting of Charles V] (124). In 1973, Richard L. Predmore called Charles V's challenge of Francis I to single combat a "challenge worthy of Don Quixote himself" (15). Indeed, he added that Charles's ideal to restore Christian unity failed very much like Don Quixote's own ideals were doomed to failure (19). Antonio Maravall has also related the utopian elements of Cervantes's novel to the times of Charles V.

39. According to Ferguson: "Julius Caesar called himself *imperator* but never king. His adopted heir Augustus preferred *princeps*" (7). Charlemagne appears throughout Cervantes's novel, along with Augustus and Alexander. For Charlemagne, see for example, pp. 429 and 437.

40. Anthony Pagden, p. 3.

41. Even today, definitions of empire are in flux. Niall Ferguson argues that, "imperial power can be acquired by more than one type of political system." While he sees America as an empire "by invitation," he is concerned that recent events "presage transition to more direct and formal imperial structures" (12–13).

42. Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, Canto 15.

43. Pagden, p. 47.

44. "Augustine argued that the Roman Empire as the last of the four world empires would continue to exist as long as it remained a Christian empire. He believed that the divinity would not allow the world to come to its end as long as Christianity prevailed" (Kleinschmidt, p. 81). In *The City of God*, Augustine traces the rise and fall of four "Eastern" empires: the Assyrian, the Mede, the Persian, and that of Alexander (Book IV, Chapter 7, p. 115). Later he adds: "Wherefore, when the kingdoms of the East had been illustrious for a long time, it pleased God that there should also arise a Western empire, which, though later in time, should be more illustrious in extent and greatness" (Book V, Chapter 13, p. 163).

45. According to J. H. Elliott: "In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there was only one true empire in the western world—the Holy Roman Empire...and even after the imperial title passed in 1556 to Charles's brother Ferdinand rather than to his son, Philip

II, 'the empire' continued to denote for Spaniards the Holy Roman Empire, the German lands... But this does not mean to say that Spaniards lacked the capacity to think in imperial terms about the widespread dominions of their king. Already in 1520 Hernán Cortés was writing, in his second letter to Charles V from Mexico, that 'one might call oneself the emperor of this kingdom with no less glory than of Germany'" (7). "Philip II would later be urged to style himself 'Emperor of the Indies,' a title which was sometimes applied to him and his successors" (8).

46. Henry Méchoulan has argued that Campanella's prophecies concerning Spain's universal monarchy, which he began writing while in jail in Naples in 1598, were known in the Iberian peninsula by the second decade of the seventeenth century at the latest, as exemplified in Juan de la Puente's *Coveniencia de las dos monarquías* (1612) and Juan de Salazar's *La política española* (1619). See Méchoulan, p. 127. In *La monarquía hispánica*, Campanella states: "*Pero el eclipse y la gran confluencia en Sagitario, signo que es de España, revelará muchos secretos, que diré cuando me llegue el momento de hablar de ello*" (But the eclipse and the great conjunction in Sagittarius, which is Spain's astrological sign, will reveal many secrets, which I will disclose when the moment comes to speak about this") (26). The 1603 celestial event would help to vindicate in the eyes of many astrologers of the time the theory of conjunctions, for this was the year of Mohamed III's death and Elizabeth I's demise, thus portending great changes in politics and religion.

47. Luis de Ávila y Zúñiga's treatise has been called an "arrogant book" that helped to unify anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic sentiment in Germany (Fernández Alvarez, p. 151). Titian used a number of descriptive elements for his painting. For example, Ávila describes the Emperor's armor and arms as: "white and golden" (Ávila, p. 441). This is the way we find them in Titian, reflecting the purity of purpose and the need to re-establish an imperial Golden Age. Similar themes and colors appear in Cervantes's novel. The startling redness of the canvas derives from the particular heat of that day. We need not even comment on how heat "melted" Don Quixote's brain. Furthermore, Ávila's *Comentario* (used by both Titian and Cervantes) envisions Charles V crossing the Elba at the battle of Mühlberg as a new Julius Caesar crossing the Rubicon (441), a comparison also used by Cervantes (517). For a discussion of Avila's book as a model for Titian's painting, see Fernando Checa.

48. Don Quixote also points to this name in reference to his genealogy when he tells the canon in Chapter 49 of "Pedro Barba and Gutierre Quixada—from whose stock I am descended in the direct male line" (438).

49. Wethey 1971, p. 19.

50. One such illustration is encountered in García Simón, p. 103. Cranach first portrayed Charles V as a boy in Brussels, dated 1508. There is another painting, dated 1533, with a much-exaggerated jaw. Although Cranach was on the Protestant side, during the siege of Wittenberg in 1547, Charles V remembered Cranach from his childhood and summoned him to his camp at Pistritz. Cranach later pleaded with Charles for the release of a leader of the Protestant rebellion.

51. Panofsky 1969, p. 85.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 86.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

54. Della Porta 1996, p. 79.

55. Kleinschmidt, p. 93.
56. As Manuel Fernández Álvarez asserts, Charles was “motivated by his strong desire to reunite Christendom—which, in fact, meant the reduction of dissenting elements” (131).
57. Thus, a key to Don Quixote’s never-ending struggles may also be based on the necessity of war, which aligned him with Charles V’s vision, but set him against the humanistic ideals of the period.
58. Michel Jeanneret 2001, p. 257.
59. David R. Castillo 2001, p. 11.
60. *Ibid.*, also Jeanneret 2001, pp. 258–61.
61. Kleinschmidt, p. 163.
62. This painting is by an anonymous artist from Linz. At this Austrian location there were negotiations with Lutheran princes who accused Charles and Ferdinand of making the empire a hereditary monarchy. Another painter from Linz was Jacob Seisenegger, who did a portrait of Charles V (with dog), which served as model for Titian’s more famous one.
63. Citing Dominic Lieven, Ferguson views empire as: “first and foremost, a very great power that has left its mark on the international relations of an era...a polity that rules over wide territories and many peoples since the management of space and multi-ethnicity is one of the great perennial dilemmas of empire” (10).
64. Lisa Jardine 1996, p. 41.
65. “[T]he Genoese had sent two ambassadors...to renegotiate their own peaceful coexistence with the new power in the land... . They were granted an imperial firman, a solemn undertaking, which gave them the right to trade within the Ottoman Empire, and freedom to continue to practice the Catholic faith” (Jardine, p. 45).
66. Discussing the nine panels of Caro Crivelli’s *Demidoff Altarpiece*, painted in 1476, and particularly *The Annunciation with Saint Emidius*, Jardine states: “This meticulous visual inventory of consumer goods is not merely a record of acquisitiveness limited to Italy...They announce with pride Italian access to markets from northern France to the Ottoman Empire. Here is a world which assembles rugs from Istanbul, tapestry hangings from Arras, delicate glass from Venice, metalwork from Islamic Spain...celebrating global mercantilism” (9–10).
67. The journey to Toledo may in itself be significant. As Giancarlo Maiorino has shown, the first Spanish picaresque novel, *Lazarillo de Tormes*, also traces a journey to Toledo, “the city of business” (6). Cervantes reverses the journey since his merchants have already acquired the riches wanted by Lazarillo. They go from the city of business to a place where they can acquire goods for sale.
68. Jardine, p. 83.
69. Johnson further explains that: “following an epidemic that decimated the mulberry trees and the expatriation of most of the *morisco* labor force to Castile following the successful revolt in the Alpujarra in 1568, Grenadine production suffered an abrupt decline and the Toledo merchants had to find another source” (7).
70. Kamen 1997, p. 84; see also pp. 73, 235.
71. From 1561 on, the Genoese are the leading lenders to the Habsburgs. This ends in 1627, when repayment is forfeited under Philip IV and the Portuguese take over the

banking business (Rodríguez de Gracia, p. 167). Rodríguez de Gracia follows the rise of three Genoese families in Toledo: Doria, Bocangelino, and Palavesín. The latter were involved in the manufacture of silk (181).

72. Philip II had to delay payments to the Genoese a number of times and incurred bankruptcies in 1557 and 1560. There was a crisis in 1576, when the Genoese withheld funds from the King (Cruz 235). For a vision of the Genoese in Golden Age literature, see Ruth Pike. See also, Cruz, pp. 99–103.

73. In an article published in the *Chicago Tribune*, Jim Heintz reports on the construction of what is to be Europe's tallest building in Moscow: "With two curved-wall buildings sloping away from the central tower" it has been compared to "Don Quixote and Sancho Panza jointly holding a spear" (Section 16 C, p. 71). I have been unable to find the date of the article. During the Colloquium, Mary Gossy pointed to parallels between the twin columns of Hercules, which formed the imperial device of Charles V, and the two towers envisioned for Moscow. A member of the audience went on to relate the two edifices to the Twin Towers in New York.

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