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THE AENEID AND THE QUIJOTE: ARTISTIC
PARODY AND IDEOLOGICAL AFFINITY

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

Albert G. Richards, B.A., M.A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University
1973

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iv
INTRODUCTION

It is almost tautological to mention the fact that Renaissance humanism in Spain was imbued in no uncertain manner with something more than mere inspiration from authors of classical antiquity, especially the writers of Rome's Golden age of literature. True though it may be, that the Spaniards were introduced to the ancient classicists by the Italians, the fact remains that Spain's Golden Age writers found no meagre affinity with Rome's Augustan bards. Hispanists for a long time have recognized the influences of the latter on the former, as shown in such works as Menéndez y Pelayo's Horacio en España; Schevill's Ovid and the Renaissance in Spain; Marasso's La Invención del 'Quijote'; Forcione's comparatively recent work Cervantes, Aristotel and the Persiles, and Vilanova's Las Fuentes y Los Temas del Polifemo de Góngora.

By and large, the studies of these hispanists, which have shown affinity between the Spanish Renaissance literature and ancient classical literature, are basic but introductory in that they have limited themselves to being general surveys or depicting influences based on the most obvious level of verbal and phraseological correspondences. The dearth of comprehensive studies seeking to compare
individual protagonists or the conception of life of individual authors is very noticeable. This is very much the case with the Quijote though its affinity with the classical mold has not gone unnoticed.

From Carlos Varo's work Génesis y Evolución del 'Quijote', we get an idea of the number of noteworthy men of literature of other centuries and varied nationalities who have seen this affinity as Hegel, Heine, Gioberti, Victor Hugo, Vicente de los Rios, Von Herder, and Gregorio Mayan y Siscar. To this list could be added other critics who conceive of the Quijote within the epic tradition as L. G. Salinger, in his article "Don Quijote as a Prose Epic" FMLS, II, pp. 53-68, and Lester Crocker, in his article "Don Quijote, Epic of Frustration," Romanic Review XLII, pp. 178-88. On this matter, Edward Riley's Cervantes's Theory of the Novel is especially helpful as the critic summarizes the situation with the following comment:

By a stroke of irony that Cervantes might have appreciated, posterity has judged not Persiles y Sigismunda but Don Quijote to be his 'epic'. In the eighteenth century the epic nature of the Quijote was seriously discussed and there was a good deal of debate over whether Cervantes had imitated Homer or not. In the nineteenth century the German romantic critics divined something of the wider, more elusive poetry of Don Quijote. It was seen as a derivation of the chivalresque romance and also as an epic.

It turns out however, that only one critic, Marasso, in his work Cervantes y Virgilio which was elaborated into La Invención del Quijote, (Buenos Aires: Librería Hachette
S. A. 1954), has devoted a book to the study of the Virgilian influences which came to bear on the Quijote. Though on a few occasions Marasso does mention the word "parody", the orientation of his study is really that of the source analyst and to this extent is very helpful in showing that Cervantes does in fact use similar phrases, descriptions, devices and episodes which evoke the classical bard. Other source analysts as Clemencín in his critical edition of the Quijote and Schevill in his article "Studies in Cervantes" (Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 13, 1907), concur with the Argentinian critic to a greater or lesser degree. The verbal and episodic aspects of this study incorporate and even recapitulate the observations of the source analysts who have done the necessary ground work. Our study is distinct however, not so much for its additional features and opposed value judgements but rather for the fact that it transcends the depiction of 'fuentes' and seeks to portray by more profound analysis the intricacies of Cervantes's art or theory of imitation.

Though this study is not one on the history of poetics, at the outset it seems necessary without belaboring the issue to present at least in summary fashion some theoretical considerations. Such a recapitulation is not merely to form an erudite theoretic base, but to allay a possible objection on the grounds of difference of genre,
and, on a more positive note, to account for the feasibility of the novelist Cervantes choosing an epic as a model.

The first area of our study-(Chapter 2) considers verbal parallelisms in (a) literary formulas, (b) phrases, and (c) names. Comparison of this kind is based on the belief that writers work within a universal tradition and that poets imitate poetry. It will be shown however, that Cervantes did more than merely follow a tradition or evoke a model, but rather that his imitation is a studied and meticulous one inculcating definite attempts at (a) reader orientation, (b) transference of circumstances, (c) incongruous miscegenation, and (d) alleviation of pathos with the smile replacing the tear—all contributing to the most pervading effect of parody. Here as elsewhere in the study, the term "parody" will be used in its basic etymological sense. It is contended that to understand the art of parody, one only has to look at the serious as exemplified in Virgil and the comic as exemplified in the Quijote, joined by similarities that are readily observable.

The second area of our study (Chs. 3 and 4) treats of episodic correspondences. While the verbalistic aspect needs no justification, in positing correspondences between episodes the critic must present a sufficiently large number of parallel elements and significant criteria to ensure conviction. I wish to show that the necessary requirements are met in two cases — (1) the parallel between Aeneas'
stay in Carthage and Don Quijote's stay in the ducal palace
(2) Aeneas' descent into Hades and Don Quijote's descent
into the cave of Montesinos. The suffusion of elements will
make the evocation undeniable, but once again the novelty of
our analysis will hinge on depicting the hand of contrast
in the Spaniard's continuous quest to project originality.
At this stage we will be introduced into a new facet of
Cervantes's art of imitation, namely, that the humorous
element or the aspect of parody exists only at the textual
level. We wish to show that beyond the superficials of the
textual, Cervantes perceived the wider implications of
Virgil's art and the novelist was not remiss in his repro­
duction of the symbolic ramifications and thematic content
of his model. Thus in the Carthage-Ducal Realm parallel we
will consider the themes of deception, duty and purpose,
mercy and justice, and in the Hades-Montesinos parallel we
will be showing the relationship between the episodes and
the trajectory of the heroes.

While corresponding themes would be considered in the
episodes in which they are a vital ingredient, Chapter 5
most fittingly deserves to be considered the thematic
aspect of our study. For the themes that will be treated
here--arms and religion, traverse the entire masterpieces
and seem fundamental to the creations. These themes are
not merely germane to the genre of literature, but they
could be justified in the light of the cultural matrix,
for the similarities of the two ambients though separated by a span of sixteen centuries cannot be dismissed cursorily. The fact is that both works were conceived amidst bellicose vibrations and religious polemics. It should be emphasized however, that critical analysis of this sort need not be limited to the aspect of overt manifestations of social consciousness, for a work of literature can reflect its culture in many different ways, not only by direct representation of the contemporary scene, but also in less obvious manners. As R. A. Hall says:

It may symbolize various aspects of human behavior and character by indirect representation. More or less conscious symbolism has played a major role in modern literature and has been the object of extensive critical discussion.... There is however, another type of symbolism, which is fully as important (if not more so) namely, that which involves unconscious symbolizations of problems with which an author is concerned inasmuch as he is part of a given culture at a given time and place, but of which he may remain unaware at the level of over-expression, because the problems are too deeply rooted...... This kind of symbolism is often extremely revealing of underlying cultural situations and conflicts.

It goes without saying that any consideration must include an analysis of the two protagonists who in true epic fashion have given their names to the respective masterpieces. For whatever else the works may be, they undoubtedly revolve around the heroes as pivotal points. True enough, there are episodes in which the heroes are absent altogether or play a passive role, but even then, the reader is never allowed to completely forget them. Their
dominance in the works has been so magnanimously developed that they are conspicuous even in their absence, and should therefore be given special and detailed consideration. The make-up of Don Quijote is a composite one to be sure, and so it has not been difficult to see features of an Orlando Furioso or an Amadís as aspects of his being. From a consideration of the particulars of the text, a case can be made that Cervantes in the creation of Don Quijote had not forgotten Aeneas whose affirmative characteristics seem beclouded in the don through the subtle art of parody. We hope to show however, that when we delve into considerations beyond the mere particulars of the textual, we find that the two protagonists mutually exemplify certain basic similarities fundamental to the very essence of human nature and existence. These characteristics are worthy and legitimate objects of literary analysis—a viewpoint supported by the theorist Julian L. Ross who states:

Good literature is among other things, a combination of abstract ideas with a concrete presentation; it relates specific individual persons and things to general concepts—"The object of art" it has been said, "is a particular that contains a universal".5

In other words, we shall try to find what universals of the human condition are mutually exemplified by the two protagonists. The vogue in comparative literature has been to see similarities but with the ultimate aim of highlighting particulars of the individual works. It seems no less legitimate to see differences highlighting the
universals, for it is well accepted that the survival of a
great masterpiece owes much to what it portrays by way of
universals which transcend literary mode, or a particular
historico-cultural situation, or particular time.

We could probably find support for our viewpoint in the
statement of Jean Cassou that:

True culture is that collaboration through the
centuries of expression and meaning, which estab­
lishes a clear dialogue between the situations of
today and the past, not by searching for texts but
by taking the most famous of them in all the living
richness of their content. Our sufferings find an
echo in those of Don Quijote, and we may without
falsifying his idiom, lend it certain meanings
from our own vocabulary, just as he lends ours
some of the inflection of his noble speech.6

At the outset, there are some basic limitations which
must be acknowledged in making a comparison of this kind.
Riley mentions three main difficulties in tracing the deriva­
tion of Cervantes's theory:

He (Cervantes) refers to no authority except to
a few standard ancient authors like Plato, Horace,
and Ovid. Secondly, extensive passages trans­
posed with minimum alteration from the works
of literary theorists or other authors are lack­
ing.... The third difficulty is that the princi­
pal literary tenets were common currency.7

Further difficulties accrue from the fact that we have no
knowledge that Cervantes ever studied Latin literature; we
have no direct knowledge that a Virgilian text found a rest­ing
place in Cervantes's library; we have no direct knowl­
dge of Cervantes stating that he had read, or was reading,
or even intended to read the Aeneid. These are difficulties
fourth eclogue. No less a poet than Dante would choose Virgil as his guide through the infernal regions and Virgil has truly been considered the poet's poet:

Virgil is par excellence the poet's poet. Not all good and great poets are such. Some are great in themselves but sterilized. They produce few or no poetic offspring, no line of succession, no tradition. Virgil is perhaps the most prolific poet in this way who ever lived.11

Virgil's adoration was in no way lessened in Spain in the Renaissance period. We get an idea of the prestige of his masterpiece, the Aeneid, merely from the number of translations and reprints made:


2. Los doce libros de la Eneida, tr. Gregorio Hernández de Velasco. Toledo, 1555. (14 printings were made between 1555 and 1614.)

3. La Eneida...Háse añadida en esta octava impresión lo siguiente: las dos eglogas I y IV, tr. Gregorio Hernández y Velasco. Toledo, 1574.

4. Virgilio, Las Obras, tr. Diego López. Valladolid, 1600. (13 reprints made between 1600 and 1698.)


Beardsley, summarizing the situation with respect to the Aeneid in the Renaissance of Spain, states:

The total number of complete translations of the Aeneid prior to 1700 is 4, plus 2 incomplete versions, with a totalling of 31 printings. In the third quarter of the sixteenth century, a major shift in the reading taste is indicated by the fact that with 9 printings Virgil suddenly emerges as the author most in demand. By the last quarter of the sixteenth century, with 8 printings Ovid occupies first place, but Virgil approaches the
based on extra-textual considerations but on the other hand there are also extra-textual considerations which support a knowledge of the Aeneid by any conscientious writer of Spain's sixteenth century. For there existed both the opportunity and the motivation.

The motivation which Cervantes received was due to the sentiments of the ambient in which he grew up. As a child of the Renaissance he could not help but be imbued with the classics. Rudolph Schevill in one of his works on Cervantes states that in the university, the language of the classroom was almost entirely Latin. For the bachelor of arts degree, the chief subjects were Latin to be passed as a preliminary subject, followed by logic, philosophy, the physics of Aristotle and ethics. While there is no certainty that Cervantes ever attended university, it is well attested that his tutor was the famous Latinist López de Hoyos. Moreover if Cervantes was not acquainted with, he at least did have knowledge of the self-educated negro slave who became Professor of Rhetoric and Latin at Granada, Juan Latino (died 1573) who is mentioned in the Versos Preliminares. In the humanistic society in which Cervantes was fostered, he would have realized that a knowledge of the classics was a sine qua non for the man of letters.

The question to be considered now is Virgil and the Renaissance. Throughout the middle ages the name of Virgil was a household word, due in large measure to his famous
The popularity of Ovid with the Aeneid accounting for 5 of the Virgilian printings. Vergil regains first place in the first quarter of the seventeenth century with 8 printings.12

Beardsley therefore continues:

The access of the reading public to Classical literature, and their apparent predisposition to make use of it, made possible a national literature extremely rich in terms of classical allusions. It is in such a climate that the Soledades, the mythological ‘comedia’ and the Virgilian content of the Quijote became possible.13

Schevill collaborates the viewpoint of Beardsley with the statement:

The influence of the Aeneid on Spanish literature is of importance in any study of fiction preceding the Persiles, because the Latin epic was not only maintaining its traditional position as a standard classic among the learned, but had become a part of popular literature somewhat after the fashion of the romance of Heliodorus.14

A realization of all these facts—the number of noteworthy men of literature, writers, philosophers, critics who have seen shades of the epic in the Quijote; the motivation of any conscientious writer of Cervantes’s period to avow the classical mode because of the strong classical sentiments; the availability of the work in question, the Aeneid, would no doubt help towards acceptance and acknowledgement of the feasibility of this study.

It should be admitted that Cervantes’s was a very fertile mind and necessarily his composition is a very eclectic one. While strongly admitting the existence of other sources, influences and models, we will not be
concerned with them. The *Aeneid* will be our only concern. By this limitation, what we lose in hue we hope can be compensated for by a gain in brightness.

It is true that the wealth of critical observation is abundant as is to be expected in the case of masterpieces which have elicited the interest of critics from their moment of appearance. In the case of the *Aeneid*, almost twenty centuries have elapsed and in the case of the *Quijote* almost four centuries. We do believe however, that to discuss the *Quijote* in the light of the *Aeneid* is as valuable a perspective as any for this is precisely what perspectivism is—the seeing of one thing in the light of another. It is the *raison d'être* of and justification for comparative literary studies. If by this method, results are reached which agree with those attained by other erstwhile critics, this fact in itself should be considered as contributing to the justification of the perspective. In its own way, however, it would at least be helping to a more thorough understanding of things more or less known, for, as the renowned Virgilian critic Viktor Poschl notes "juxtaposing related forms is always the best way to an individual appreciation of created works—comparison becomes the proof of criticism".¹⁵
Footnotes on Introduction


3The term "parody" is very elastic, and the clarification of usage in this study could begin with the etymology. On this, we can note the study of Dorothy Van Ghent, The English Novel, form and function, (New York: Reinhart & Co., 1953), p. 11-13. On the basic meaning of "parody", Van Ghent states that the word 'parody' is formed from a prefix meaning 'beside' and a root meaning 'song', or 'poem' and referred originally to a song or poem placed in sequence with another song or poem, p. 11 .... Loosely we tend to mean by parody a burlesque imitation of something, p. 13. For clarification with other terms as "burlesque" and "mock-epic" we advocate the views of Arthur Pollard in Satire, (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1970), p. 41. Pollard recalls Boileau's differentiation of low burlesque in which Dido and Aeneas are made to speak like fishwives and ruffians, and high burlesque or mock-epic in which conceivably fishwives and ruffians would speak and act like Dido and Aeneas. The same association is made between mock-epic and high burlesque as differentiated from low burlesque by David Worchester, The Art of Satire, (New York: Russel and Russel, 1968), p. 46. In other words "parody" for us would be considered as burlesque imitation of whatever kind. If a differentiation is to be made, "mock-epic" or "high burlesque" would be attributed to the situation when the smaller subject is treated with more lofty circumstance than expected; low burlesque would be when the original model is obviously defiled or when the writer resorts to touches of the vulgar, grotesque, unsavoury or obscene. Elements giving a key to parody are (1) Evocation of the model (2) incongruity or contrast. The latter feature could be brought about by unlikely miscelenation, or transference of circumstance, eminence or mood.


9. In the work "Historia y relación verdadera de la enfermedad, felicísimo tránsito y sumptuosas exequias funebres de la serenísima reina de España dona Isabel de Valois," (Madrid: Pierres Cosin, 1569), Lopez de Hoyos refers to Cervantes as "amado y caro discípulo".

10. Versos Preliminares: Pues al cielo no le plue que salisses tan ladí como el negro Juan Latí parler latines rehu - (1,40)

Taken from Miguel de Cervantes, Don Quijote de la Mancha, ed. Rodolfo Schevill y Adolfo Bonilla, (Madrid: Gráficas Reunidas, S.A., MCMXXVIII), 4 Volumes. All references to the Quijote are taken from this edition.


13. ibid., p. 134.


CHAPTER 1
Theoretic Aspect

In beginning any study which treats of literary masterpieces, it seems almost unavoidable to reflect on the literary theories which were prior to or in vogue at their moment of conception. True enough, a writer may eschew or go athwart of certain aspects of the current literary thought, but he cannot be totally ignorant of or uninfluenced by what are considered esthetic niceties of a particular movement or genre.

The voluminous studies of Weinberg and Baxter Hathaway have contributed to a realization of the affinity between the epic and other narrative compositions with special reference to the Italian scene. On a less extensive scale two hispanists and critics of the Quijote, Riley and Forcione, have charted the same course. However it seems that a cursory summarization of the literary theories and history of poetics is necessary in this study of two works separated by a span of sixteen centuries and now acknowledged to be of two distinct genres. With an emphasis on the generic aspect, we hope to dismiss any objection which may be raised, based on the fact of difference of genre. From this consideration of the history of poetics, we hope to show that the Quijote, a novel of the seventeenth century could and did have definite lines of affinity with the

15
Likenesses: 1) epic too must be a complete whole and possess unity of action (not, as in history, a chronicle of all events in a given period, whether causally related or not); 2) epic has the same types as tragedy—simple, complex, character, suffering; 3) epic has the same parts, except melody and spectacle; 4) epic uses peripety and discovery; 5) epic employs the same thought and diction.

Differences: 1) length—epic is longer than tragedy; 2) the epic meter is solely dactylic hexameter; 3) objectivity of epic poet; 4) media—only language and rhythm; 5) combination of indirect and direct manner (narrative and speeches); 6) more room for the marvelous and improbable in epic, since it is listened to or read, not performed and seen.

Since differences characterize the species, it would seem that the distinctive formal features of the epic as depicted by Aristotle are length, dactylic hexameter, and narrative form. These three features would subsist as the bases for generic affinity. To these could be added the element of lofty diction, for, even though Aristotle does not distinguish the thought and diction of tragedy and epic, he does apparently observe something distinctive in Homer whom he acknowledges as the model of diction:

Moreover the thoughts and diction must be artistic. In all these respects Homer is our earliest and sufficient model. (Poetics XXIV:2).

The viewpoints of Aristotle survived throughout the centuries because the Roman literary theorists on the question of genre merely followed their Greek predecessor. Horace, the most renowned theorist of the Augustan period, introduced nothing new to aid delineation of the formal features
Aeneid, an epic of the first century B.C., by showing that lengthy narrative literature whether in prose or verse, from Homer to Cervantes, is held together by the same poetic cannons as espoused originally by Aristotle.

In the case of works prior to the nineteenth century, it has been fairly well acknowledged that the unquestioned starting point in any theoretic consideration has to be the Poetics of Aristotle. At the very outset we encounter somewhat of a problem, for we are dealing with an epic and a novel, while Aristotle devotes most of his work to tragedy. It seems less of an objection however, when it is realized that the Greek critic has himself mentioned the affinity between tragedy and epic:

Epic poetry agrees with Tragedy in so far as it is an imitation in verse of characters of higher type. They differ, in that Epic poetry admits but one kind of meter, and is narrative in form. They differ, again, in their length: for Tragedy endeavors, as far as possible, to confine itself to a single revolution of the sun, or but slightly to exceed this limit; whereas the Epic action has no limits of time. This, then, is a second point of difference, though at first the same freedom was admitted in Tragedy as in Epic poetry.

Of their constituent parts some are common to both, some peculiar to Tragedy: whoever, therefore, knows what is good or bad Tragedy, knows also about Epic poetry. All the elements of an Epic poem are found in Tragedy, but the elements of a Tragedy are not all found in the Epic poem. (Poetics V. 4-5)

Reinhold in his work Essentials of Greek and Roman Classics summarizes Aristotle's views on the matter:
of the epic. On the question of the epic genre, the most significant verses of Horace's *Ars Poetica* reacknowledges Homer as the standard model and defines the themes of the epic as politics and war:

*Res gestae regumque ducumque et tristia bella quo scribi possent numero, monstravit Homerus.*

Thus D'Alton commenting on Horace's views on the Epic states:

> Horace's discussion of Epic poetry is valuable as showing how the influence of a great master (Homer) could impose laws on succeeding generations of poets.

It is not surprising then, that Virgil would look to Homer (the indubitable model of the epic for both Greek and Roman theorists). But Virgil, the poet as opposed to the theoretician, would look into the workshop of Homer. With his poetic eye, he would see a poetic methodology which he would absorb and make his own, standardizing it to construct what is to become the formal criteria for the epic mode. Virgil's eye would see beyond the length, meter, and mode of narration. He would absorb the Homeric language and motifs which constituted the elevated tone of epic diction, and pass it down to future generations of narrative writers.

Considering the tremendous prestige that Virgil enjoyed during the Middle Ages, it is quite understandable that he would have left his influence on writers of the
period, especially those of a heroic nature. Cervantes's knowledge of heroic literature prior to his time is very evident in his creation, but Virgilian influences on him could be attributed to more forceful stimuli. For Cervantes and the other writers of his epoch were conscientious literary theorists, and for them the main impetus came from Italy where the prevailing thoughts were once again Roman and Aristotelian, as Weinberg noted "there is no doubt but that the signal event in the history of literary criticism in the Italian Renaissance was the discovery of Aristotle's Poetics and its incorporation into the critical thinking".  

As seen in the works of Weinberg and Hathaway the tradition of Aristotelian doctrines on the narrative was a lively and varied one. The scope of this study does not allow us to delve into the many theorists of the period. As an example of what the theories were, we can consider Torquato Tasso since his views were discussed, reiterated, and commented upon by many others. His Discorsi dell'arte poetica, composed probably in 1564 and first published in 1587 reveals his indebtedness to Aristotle. This influence of Aristotle is again seen in his Discorsi del poema eroico completed in 1587 and first published in 1594. Thus, Tasso, commenting on heroic poetry in general and comparing the Italian 'romanzo' with the classical epic enumerates the same standard features of narration, versification and diction:
Diremo dunque che 'l poema eroico sia imitazione d'azione illustre, grande e perfetta, fatta narrando con altissimo verso. 

Imita il romanzo e l'epopeia con l'istessa maniera: nell'uno e nell'altro poema vi appare la persona del poeta; vi si narrando le cose, non si rappresentano; ne ha per fine la scena e l'azioni degli istrioni, come la tragedia e la comedia. Imitano co' medesimi instrumenti; l'uno e l'altro usa il verso nudo. 

Of great significance for our purpose is the fact that in Tasso, we find that Virgil is considered the divine poet, the supreme model of poetic diction. Thus, he uses the Aeneid as exemplar for what he would term "semplicissimi concetti," liberally citing from the Aeneid phrases as "forma pulcherrima Dido" and dawn descriptions as "humentenc·e Aurora polo dimoverat umbram" and "Oceanum interea surgens Aurora reliquit". And again, almost with ecstatic appreciation of Virgil, Tasso exclaims: "Ma chi é che, leggendo quest'altra, non gli paia di vedere e d'udire un furioso?" as he cites the Virgilian line "Arma amens fremit, arma toro tectisque requirit". It is this same veneration which is reflected by Julius Caesar Scaliger's "petenda sunt exempla ab eo qui solus Poetae nomine dignus est. Virgilum intelligo."

It turns out that these doctrines as reflected in Tasso were bequeathed to the Spanish Renaissance theorists, so that what the Spanish theorists inherited was a narrative literature of elevated tone traditionally cast in a versified mold, with Virgil's Aeneid recognized as the exemplar
of the proper diction. It means that without any other lengthy narrative form inciting the interests of literary men, a work as the Quijote being a lengthy narrative could not help but be conceived within a Virgilian mold if it were written in verse and displayed a loftiness characteristic of epic diction. The latter feature could be and was affected but the problem of versification could also be dismissed within the area of poetics.

It must be recalled that the Italian theorists were polarized on the question of versification as a necessary criterion in generic categorization. Among the defenders of the limitation of epic poetry to verse forms can be listed Tometano, Speroni, Giraldi Cinthio, Scaliger, Castelvetro, Segne, Frachetta, Patrizi, Mazzoni, Buonamici, and Faustino Summo, while those advocating the extension of the definition to include prose writings include Trissino, Varchi, Minturno, Paolo Beni, Bonciani, Malatesta Porta, and Michele. To justify their respective positions the former group would recall that Aristotle had stated that the hexameter is the fitting meter for the epic, while the latter group would also cite passages from Aristotle where the question of versification is made prescindible as the following:

People do indeed add the work "maker" or "poet" to the name of the meter, and speak of elegiac poets, or epic poets, as if it were not the imitation that makes the poet, but the verse
that entitles them all indiscriminately to the name. Even when a treatise on medicine or natural science is brought out in verse, the name of poet is by custom given to the author; yet Homer and Empedocles have nothing in common but the meter, so that it would be right to call the one poet, and other physicist rather than poet. (Poetics, I:7-8)16

and

The poet and the historian differ not by writing in prose or verse. The work of Herodotus might be put into verse and it would still be a species of history with verse no less than without it. (Poetics, IX:2)17

Objections based primarily on the criterion of versification are further diminished when we turn to the Spanish Renaissance theorists, the most significant of whom, López Pinciano, transferred the sentiments echoed by the Italians into the Spanish ambient. Pinciano's treatise Philosophía Antigua Poética is more than anything a commentary on Aristotle's Poetics from where he would find the same justification to disavow the necessity of versification as former adherents had done. Furthermore, it seems that Pinciano was incited to his position or reinforced in his viewpoint by his knowledge of Helidorus's Ethiopica, an anonymous translation of which appeared in 1554, and twice reprinted in 1563 and 1581. This work serves Pinciano as exemplification model in his reiteration of Aristotle's statement that history is not differentiated from poetry merely because one is written in prose and the other verse, as the Spanish theorist observes:
He caydo en la cuenta que la Historia de Ethiopia es un poema muy loado, mas en prosa; y tambien las comedias italianas en prosa son poemas y parecen muy bien; y los que dizien entremeses tambien lo son, y parecen mucho mejor en prosa que parecerian en metro.  

In Pinciano, Cervantes would have found the most immediate source of tutoring to convince him that the epic may be written in prose as the novelist testified "la epopeya puede escrebirse en prosa". (II, 345) The situation as it appears, is that the lengthy narrative composition, inextricably associated with versification and a lofty tone throughout the ages, sees itself now degarbed of one of its traditional elements. What remains is a lengthy narrative of elevated tone and the way is opened for the conception of the "prose epic".

The first impact of the novelty as is to be expected, was an unsettling one for the Renaissance theorists who sought to realign the genre-picture. The "prose epic" later to be known as the novel is born, but not without the necessary birth pangs, for it was not readily accepted. The problem was one of justification since the authority of tradition was needed for the defence of any literary work, as Corstius notes:

The idea of genre and the principle of a mutual order of the genres ranked high in Western literary criticism between 1500 and 1800: to plan a literary work was to choose one or another genre; to criticize a poem or a piece of prose was to judge it by the well-defined and generally acknowledged criteria of the genre to which the author asserted his work belonged. For students
of texts written during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, there are obvious reasons for starting by paying attention to the genre a given text belongs to. In a wavering tide of uncertainty with respect to generic categorization, the most expedient or natural solution was to realign the new form with what existed before—the traditionally secure, prestigious epic, as Riley observes:

The novel took over a theory of essentials ready made and the fit was not all that could be desired. It was the newest of the genres having scarcely existed in antiquity and its prestige was low. The fit may not have been perfect but considering the needed uplift which would have been gained from association and the obvious factor of resemblance, the epic was the logical choice as Shephard notes:

La generación de Pinciano ignora el término "novela" en su sentido moderno y, por lo tanto, cualquier narración larga, ficticia y en prosa pertenece, en su opinión, al género épico. Los protagonistas de las novelas mencionadas por él, como los épicos, son ejemplos de nobleza y virtud. La longitud de la novela es equivalente a la del poema épico, y el elemento de sabiduría enciclopédica que se relaciona con él .... Pinciano no tiene una teoría de la novela pero allana el camino por el que transferir los preceptos de la teoría épica a una nueva forma literaria...

The critic Salinger reinforces this viewpoint as he comments:

The late sixteenth century conception of the prose epic appears to rest on the assumption that the fundamental property of poetry is invention rather than verse. It need connot nothing more precise than a large scale narrative with some semblance to classical verse epics.
From a consideration of the literary theories it becomes evident that the novel is the daughter, errant perhaps, of the classical epic. The erstwhile critic Menéndez y Pelayo in his work *Orígenes de la Novela*, must have noticed the genealogical affinity as he states:

La novela, el teatro mismo, todas las formas narrativas y representativas que hoy cultivamos, son la antigua epopeya destronada...La novela, considerada como representación de la vida familiar, puede insinuarse en la epopeya misma. ¿Qué es *La Odisea* sino una gran novela de aventuras?

A realization of this genealogical affinity on Cervantes's part can readily be inferred from a look at the *Quijote*. The "portavoz" of Cervantes's literary doctrines within the novel, the canon, portrays this very clearly as he describes the novels of Chivalry:

..... y dijo que, con todo quanto mal auia dicho de tales libros, hallaua en ellos vna cosa buena, que era el sujeto que ofrecian para que vn buen entendimiento pudiesse mostrarse en ellos, porque dauan largo y espacioso campo por donde sin empacho alguno pudiesse correr la pluma, descubriendo naufragios, tormentas, recuentros y batallas; pintando vn capitán valeroso, con todas las partes que para ser tal se requieren, mostrandose prudente, preuiniendo las astucias de sus enemigos, y eloquente orador, persuadiendo o dissuadiendo a sus soldados, maduro en el consejo, presto en lo determinado, tan valiente en el esperar como en el acometer; pintando ora vn lamentable y tragico suceso, aora vn alegre y no pensado acontecimiento; allí una hermosissima dama, honesta, discreta y recatada; aqui vn cavallero chrismano, valiente y comedido; aculia vn desaforado barbaro fanfarron; aca vn príncipe cortes, valero y bien mirado; representando bondad y lealtad de vassallos, grandezas y mercedes de señores. Ya puede mostrarse astrologo, ya cosmografo excelente, ya musico, ya inteligente en las materias de estado, y tal vez
le vendrá ocasión de mostrarse nigromante, si quisiere. Puedo mostrar las astucias de Vlixes, la piedad de Eneas, la valentía de Aquiles, las desgracias de Ector, las trayciones de Sinon, la amistad de Burialo....II, 343-4.

It is because of the realization of this affinity which we traced and because of the need for generic association that Cervantes earlier in the prologue, had intimated his use of the epic as a referential point as he remarks:

Si tratáredes de ladrones, yo os dire la historia de Caco, que la se de coro; si de mugeres rameras, ahí está el Obispo de Moncloa que os prestará a Lamia, Layda y Flora, cuya anotación os dara gran credito; si de crueles Ouidio os entregará a Medea; si de encantadores y hechizas, Homero tiene a Calipso, y Virgilio a Circe .... 1,35.

It is no surprise that the protagonist himself as "portavoz" would state:

quando algun pintor quiere salir famoso en su arte, procura imitar los originales de los mas unicos pintores que sabe. Y esta misma regla corre por todos los mas oficios o exercicios de cuenta que siruen para adorno de las republicas. Y así lo ha de hazer y haze el que quiere alcanzar nombre de prudente y sufrido, imitando a Vliises, en cuya persona y trabajos nos pinta Omero vn retrato viuo de prudencia y de sufrimiento, como también nos mostro Virgilio en persona de Eneas, el valor de vn hijo piadoso y la sagacidad de vn valiente y entendido capitán.... 1,351-2.

The implications are very obvious. The novelist's position on the imitation of classics is a blatantly positive one. It does not mean that the classics would be the only model, quite the contrary. The realization of the existence of other models and the feature of literary cross-currents imply an awareness of a certain amount of necessary over-
lapping. We hope however, that the selection of the
_Aeneid_ would prove its own justification, in serving to
portray the Cervantine methodology of imitation.
Footnotes on Chapter 1


5Aristotle's *Poetics* XXIV:2 in S. H. Butcher op. cit., p. 90-1.


8Bernard Weinberg, op. cit., p. 349.


10*ibid.*, p. 130.

11*ibid.*, p. 224.

12*ibid.*, p. 226.

13*ibid.*, p. 248.


16 Aristotle's *Poetics* 1.7-8 in Butcher *op. cit.*, p. 8-9.

17 *ibid.*, IX:2, in Butcher, p. 34-5.


CHAPTER 2
The Verbal Aspect

The first chapter of this study was devoted to a consideration of the literary doctrines from the Poetics of Aristotle to the sixteenth century theorists of the Renaissance period. Our aim basically has been to support this study with a theoretic and doctrinary base of classical lineage. The necessity for this emphasis is due to the facility of locating the Quijote within the more immediate tradition of the novels of chivalry, which undoubtedly formed a fertile source, and also to allay the objection of the difference of genres. Our conclusion has been that the novel, being a lengthy narrative, could have found no other classical model but the epic, also a lengthy narrative, in an age in which the classical model seemed to have been a sine qua non for the conscientious creator of a literary work. In this chapter, using the model epic, the Aeneld as exemplar, we hope to show Cervantes's own peculiar treatment of the general classical and the particular Virgilian mode and methodology.

Literary Formulas of Epic Modality

In view of the lack of any enumeration of precise formalistic features of the epic by Greek or Roman theorists, modern day critics, such as Reinhold,\(^1\) have opted for a definition of the genre on the basis of existence of
recurrent formulas. Some of these formulas however are not germane to our study as the aspect of versification for obvious reasons and the extended simile in the Homeric mode which Cervantes has eschewed completely. The devices which would therefore elicit our consideration are (1) Invocation, (2) The poetry of Dawn, (3) Ternary repetition, (4) The cataloging device. It should be noted that formulas as such have a built in universality to the extent that they are not the unique property of any single writer. A comparison on this basis does not seek to prove Virgilian influence but only to use the Virgilian masterpiece as a referential to assist clearer perception of the Quijote.

Invocation:

The author's invocation for divine inspiration and guidance was an almost indispensable element of all classical epic and extended to other compositions as well, so that even Lucretius, who did not believe in the efficacy of the Gods, enigmatically began his De Rerum Natura with an invocation. Virgil, following the august tradition of his predecessors is not to be remiss as he pleads "Musa, mihi causas memora" 1:8. The muses would lose their inspirational power in the Christian world, but invocation to them would persist if only in formulaic guise, as can be seen in later adherents of the classical tradition as Dante, Spenser, Ercilla, Ariosto.
Whether the writer believed in the "furor divinus" of poetic inspiration or not, the appeal to the muses reflected the poet's pride in his task, the desire for specious accomplishment. Cervantes also feels the poet's pride as he states in the opening lines of the prologue:

Desocupado lector: sin juramento me podras creer que quisiera que este libro, como hijo del entendimiento, fuera el mas hermoso, el mas gallardo y mas discreto que pudiera imaginarse. 1, 29.

Cervantes' posture however is a rationalistic one— he sees his work as "hijo del entendimiento". He rejects the muses on the ground that his supposedly incarcerated condition could hardly compare with the conditions necessary for their effectiveness and fecundity:

El sossiego, el lugar apazible, la amenidad de los campos, la serenidad de los cielos, el murmurar de las fuentes, la quietud del espiritu, son grande parte para que las musas mas esteriles se muestren fecundas. 1, 29.

Cervantes could have avoided the convention without evoking it. But precisely by his evocation, patently reflected in his mentioning of "las musas," we get an insight into his penchant for presenting to his readers a recollection of the classical mode. The writer states that the muses are worthless to his particular situation but this is not enough. He will reinforce his negative attitude through his usual method which consists of actually using a device in his own way. Thus he will invoke the leader of the muses, Apollo, as he says:
¡O perpetuo descubridor de los antipodas, hacha del mundo, ojo del cielo, meneo dulce de las cantimploras, Timbrio aquí, Febo allí, tirador aca, medico aculla, padre de la poesía, inventor de la música, tu que siempre sales y aunque lo parece nunca te pones! ¡A ti digo, o sol, con cuya ayuda el hombre engendra al hombre!: a ti digo que me favorezcas y alumbres la escuridad de mi ingenio, para que pueda discurrir por sus puntos en la narración del gobierno del gran Sancho Panza; que, sin ti, yo me siento tibio, desmacalado y confuso. IV,78.

True enough, Cervantes follows the classical tradition of appealing to Apollo for aid in his writing, but analysis of his usage reveals somewhat of a playful artist. On one hand there is parody of the many names attributed to Apollo "Timbrio aquí, Febo allí, tirador aca, medico aculla". On the other hand, Cervantes resorts to a typical manner of parody—the play of contrasting styles as the lofty tone of "O perpetuo descubridor de los antipodas" is terminated by the prosaic "tu que siempre sales y aunque lo parece nunca te pones," and again the contrast between "O sol con cuya ayuda el hombre engendra al hombre" and the prosaic "me siento tibio, desmacalado y confuso".

The formula was fairly common and we need not attribute its existence in Cervantes to Virgilian influences, though such influences may have existed, for apart from the opening invocation, on two other occasions the Augustan bard had made similar invocations to specific muses—Calliope, the muse of epic or heroic poetry and Erato, the muse of love poetry, hymns, etc.
From the mutual appeal to the muses one could infer no more than that Cervantes was working within the same literary mold, but by comparing the two usages, the particular quality of Cervantes's art can be noticed and this is our aim. Virgil had used the device of invocation in Bk. 7 at a moment of serious human conflict as an anticipatory device to the reader of "exordia pugnae," and again in Bk. 9 for "ingentis oras pugnae". For the one remembering the Virgilian, it is the height of incongruity to associate such a device with the mock-governorship of Sancho Panza, a farcical situation treated in a quasi-humorous vain, so diametrically opposed to the aura of tragedy and pathos in the Virgilian depiction. To understand the art of mock-heroic parody, one must see the serious as exemplified by Virgil and the comic as exemplified by Cervantes, joined by a similar formula.

Highet in his discussion on parody observes "In mock-heroic parody, the story must be smaller than the pomp and circumstance surrounding it". Pomp and circumstance overwhelm the non-essentiaity of Sancho's governorship. "Pomp and circumstance" is also a fitting description for the
embellished language called by Tasso "semplicissimo concetto," and perhaps no finer embellishment can be found in the literary world than the description of dawn.

The Poetry of Dawn:

Two hispanists Edward Riley and Maria Rosa Lida have made significant contributions in annotating the classical descriptions of dawn in Spanish literature. The poetry of dawn though certainly not unique to the epic seems to have had a special place and a special function in this genre. Virgil would extend Homer's rosy fingers of dawn to the utmost—the list is rather extensive:

(1) Postera Pheobea lustrabat lampade terras umentemque Aurora polo dimouerat umbram. 4:6-7.

(2) Postera iamque dies primo surgebat Eoo umentemque Aurora polo dimouerat umbram cum subito. 3:588-90.

(3) Et iam prima nouo spargebat lumine terras Titroni croceum linquens Aurora cubile. 4:584-5; 9:459-60.

(4) Iamque rubescebat stellis Aurora fugatis cum procul obscuros collis humilemque videmus/ Italiam. 3:521-3.


(6) Oceanum interea surgens Aurora reliquit. 4:129; 11:1.

(7) Expectata dies aderat nonamque serena Auroram Phaetonis equi iam luce uehebant. 5:104-5.

(8) .... Cum primum crastina caelo puniceis inuecta rotis Aurora rubebit. 12:76-77.
Pinciano had shown the difference between the lyrical and epic descriptions of dawn, choosing Juan de Mena and Petrach as examples, describing as the difference "la frasi lirica tiene más de lasciva y blandura en sí," while E. Riley sees the difference in terms of background.

Cervantes may have looked within the workshop of Virgil to notice that what truly seems to characterize the Virgilian usage is not only a lack of effusiveness in background description but also an emphasis on creating the effect of immediacy. For Virgil's patterned concise descriptions could prove the surest model for several of Cervantes's examples which savor of the same mode:

(1) Mas apenas dio lugar la claridad del día para ver y diferenciar las cosas, cuando ...

(2) Acabo en esto de descubrirse el alba y de parecer distintamente las cosas y vio don Quijote que estaba entre unos árboles altos ...

(3) Mas apenas comenzó a descubrirse el día por los balcones del oriente cuando ...

(4) Apenas la blanca aurora habíá dado lugar a que el luciente Febo con el ardor de sus calientes rayos las líquidas perlas de sus cabellos de oro enjugase, cuando ...

One of Cervantes's descriptions however seems to reflect the miscegenation of the lyrical and the epical and substantiates Hatzfeld's view that "Cervantes se da perfecta cuenta de la belleza barroca que consiste en fundarlo todo, lo épico, lo lírico y lo cómico en una obra épica". It is Cervantes's first use in the Quijote of the mythologi-
cal dawn as he sends out his hero to begin his mission:

Apenas avía el rubicundo Apolo tendido por la faz de la ancha y espaciosa tierra las doradas hebras de sus hermosos cabellos, y apenas los pequeños y pintados pajarillos con sus harpadas lenguas avía saludado con dulce y meliflua armonía la venida de la rosada Aurora, que, dexando la blanda cama del zeloso marido, por las puertas y balcones del manchego orizonte a los mortales se mostraba, quando...(1,58).

Cervantes repeats the commonplace terminologies as "los balcones del oriente," "la blanca aurora," "luciente Febo," "el rubicundo Apolo," "la rosada Aurora". But Cervantes was also conscious of creating the epic immediacy. Thus where Virgil creates the effect through words as "uix," "iam," "iamque," "prima," "cum primum," Cervantes translates into "acabo" and more consistently into "apenas... cuando".

The Spanish novelist was obviously knowledgeable about the classical way, but what seems to come out here again is his silent art of incongruity. There is the incongruity of the association of Aurora leaving her bed and the poor hidalgo leaving his, and as Riley puts it "the descriptions of dawn here is high style, Don Quijote and his nag are comic spectacle".12 This incongruous association belongs to the same mold as the incongruous mixture of the poetic and the prosaic as noted earlier. Once again the most significant analysis will hinge on a comparison of usage.

Virgil had used the arrival of dawn as a moment of discovery. At dawn, (3:588-90) after a terrifying night in
the woods Aeneas discovers that he is in the region of the Cyclops; at dawn (9:4590460) the Trojans discover the death of Nisus and Euryalus as their heads are paraded on stakes before them, at dawn (4:584-5) Dido discovers that her lover is departing, at dawn (3:521-23) there is the first sight of Italy, at dawn (11:182-83) there is revelation of the last day's slaughter. Cervantes also uses the dawn as a device for discovery: it is dawn when Don Quijote discovers that the object of his ill-founded fear was the beat of the fulling hammers, providing humor both for the protagonists and the readers; it was dawn also that discovered the distorted nose of a faked squire, the parody of which is reflected in the contrast as Riley points out between "the dawn landscape in all its radiant beauty and the hideous appendage which is the nose of Tome Cecial." Maria Rosa Lida's observation is also very much to the point, "La nariz de Tomé Cecial pertenece a toda una categoría de la realidad que ni la epopeya clásica ni su imitación renacentista admite, y se convierte, a la inexorable luz de la ironía de Cervantes, en el grotesco símbolo de un nuevo criterio artístico".

Virgil has also used the description of dawn to demarcate a dramatic event; the funeral games for Anchises (5:104-5), Dido's hunting party (4:129)—the road to her destruction; the battle between Trojans and Rutulians (11:1); the final duel of Aeneas and Turnus (12:76-77). In all of these cases, the immediacy of dawn descriptions is
understandable and the lofty tone of the poetry is commensurate with the pathos of the situation. Turning to the Quijote the device palls in significance. Not only had rosey Aurora demarcated the beginning of the adventures of a ludicrous knight, but the Cervantine dawn is not so eagerly awaited. In one case, Don Quijote awakens his snoring squire to attend the wedding of Camacho, and in the other case the hero himself has to be awakened by a goatherd to attend Grisóstomo's funeral. Cervantes and Virgil use the same embellishment but from every viewpoint there is contrast. A device which in Virgil is generally associated with pathos and urgency becomes associated with the mundane and even with the comic. The device has lost its immediacy and solemnity, its essence and dignity. What amounts to a conscious misplacement of the formula is the key here to the creation of the parody by the Spanish imitator.

Ternary Repetition:

This formula which we have termed for convenience "ternary repetition" is really a numerical anaphora. In its depiction of heroic effort, it is perhaps more intricately associated with the epic genre of poetry than any other, for as Clarke notes "where there is humanized striving, there is epic". Virgil, again working in the Homeric tradition uses the device liberally, the key words being "bis," "ter," "quater". It could be observed that
there are indeed situations in which Virgil uses these key words without reflecting the element of epic effort per se, but even then the situations are always of deep critical concern. Thus he describes the billows of the Scylla and Charybdis "Ter scopuli clamorem inter caua saxa dedere/ ter spumam elisam et rorantia vidimus astra" 3:566-7; and the movement of the Greek horse into Troy "quater ipso in limine portae/ substitit atque utero sonitum quater arma dedere" 2:242-3; and Dido in her show of agony "terque quaterque manu pectus peroussa decorum" 4:589. More often, however, the device is used to depict pathetic epic frustration as that of Daedalus who tries to portray in sculpture the death of his son and fails "Bis conatus erat effingere in auro/ bis patriae cecidere manus" 6:32-3. Similarly, the poet recalls the tragic struggle of Dido to rise from her death agony "Ter sese atollens, cubitoque adnixa levavit/ ter revoluta toro est..." 4:690-91, and Turnus' frustrated attempts to commit suicide "Ter conatus utramque uiam/ ter maxima Iunc/ continuat iuvenemque animi miserata repressit" 10:685-6. The device as used in these cases by Virgil reflects situations of desperation, striving, and failure.

Cervantes had not forgotten this device as can be seen in the following examples. The writer annotates his hero's challenge to the empty air "Dos veces repitio estas mismas razones, y dos veces no fueron oydas de ningún aventurero"
IV, 239. Rather than being in a situation of difficulty and striving as we find in the epic, the device is used here in a situation of an exalted hero uttering his egotistical boast. The negation of the first part of the phrase by the second half is its own defilement as the airy nothing which receives the challenge frustrates and nullifies both the boast and the device which is employed. Other examples are no less significant of Cervantes's methodology. As comic relief after the realization of false fear in the episode of the fulling-hammers, it takes an almost superhuman effort for Sancho to restrain from bursting out laughing and this is the "epic" effort which the writer describes "Quatro veces sossego, y otras tantas volvió a su risa con el mismo ímpetu que primero" I, 277. It is most significant that this same device is once again associated with the least epic-like personality Sancho, as the latter makes his "epic" effort to recall his master's letter to Dulcinea, "Tornóla a decir Sancho otras tres veces, y otras tantas boluio a decir otras tres mil disparates". I, 381. Marasso suggests that Sancho's effort here is a parody of Dido's effort as he says, "es una graciosa parodia de la desesperación de Dido". In its formulaic universality, it is in fact as much a parody of all the other heroes that struggled in vain. Once again the parody results from a transference of circumstances creating a totally different effect as the groan of tragedy has been replaced by the smile of comedy. Cervantes has
evoked the classical formula but apparently only to destroy it, as Durán notes in another context "Cervantes deshace con una mano lo que edifica con la otra".23

The Cataloging Device:

Epic poetry has, however, a great— a special— capacity for enlarging its dimensions. (Poetics XXIV:4).24

As the Aristotelian verse states, epic poetry does indeed have a special capacity for enlarging its dimensions. The standardized device for portraying magnanimity of space and numbers probably owed its origin to Homer's cataloging of ships from whence it found its way to Virgil's Aeneid, as Adam Parry notes:

The Catalogue is an Homeric form, and Virgil here exploits it in the Homeric fashion, drawing out a ringing sense of power from place-names, epithets of landscape and valor, names of heroes. He endeavors further, again in the Homeric fashion, to give individuality within the sense of multitude by singling out some characteristic of each Latin warrior.25

The device is found in the Aeneid on two occasions— (I) in Bk. 7:647-817, and (2) in Bk. 10:163-214. A few examples will suffice. Mezentius is "Contemptor divum," his region "ab oris Tyrrhenis," and his military feature "agmina armat"; Aventinus, son of Hercules is "pulcher," his region "collis Aventini," and his arms "clipeoque insigne paternum"; Messapus is "equum domitor," from the region of Fescenium, and his military feature— invincibility with fire and sword: "Ignem neque fas igni cuique nec sternere ferro" 7:692.
Cervantes had studied the formula and realized the elements, testimony of which is given in the narrator's description of Don Quijote:

fue nombrando muchos caudillos del uno y del otro esquadron, que el se imaginava, y a todos les dio sus armas, colores, empresas y motes. (1,238)

As the true artist that he was, Cervantes uses the device with artistic consciousness. In conformity with Virgil's manner of particularizing individual warriors, the Spanish novelist is very consistent in describing with an epithet, mentioning the arms and their locale:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME &amp; EPITHET</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION OF ARMS</th>
<th>LOCALE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Laurcalco, valeroso</td>
<td>de las armas jaldes, en el escudo un león</td>
<td>señor de la puerta de una Plata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>coronado</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brandabarbaran de Bobiche, nunca medrosso</td>
<td>tiene por escudo una puerta</td>
<td>señor de las tres Arabias</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Micocolemo, temido</td>
<td>las armas de las flores de oro,</td>
<td>gran duque de Quirocia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timonel de Carcajom siempre vencedor</td>
<td>las armas partidas a quarteles azules, verdes, blancas ...</td>
<td>príncipe de Nueva Vizcaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esparatafilardo del Bosque, poderoso</td>
<td>en el escudo una esperaguera, las armas de los veros azules</td>
<td>duque de Nerbia 1,236-7.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Less precise than the serialization of individuals is the serialization of groups characterized by what can be termed the "anaphoric those who" device. For examples we
can turn once again to the Virgilian depiction:

qui Nomentum urbem, qui Rosea rura Velini,
qui Tetricae horrentis rupes montemque Seuerum
Casperiamque colunt Forulosque et flumen Himellae,
qui Tiberim Fabarimque bibunt, quos frigida misit
Nursia, et Ortinae classes populique Latini,
quosque secans infaustum interluit Allia nomen;

Cervantes must have been particularly impressed by the
potentials of this device to create the impression of mag-
nanimity as demonstrated by the following extensive
serialization:

los que beuian las dulces aguas del famosa Xanto
los montucos que pisan los masilicos campos
los que descubren el finissimo y menudo oro en la felize
Arabia
los que gozan las famosas y frecas riberas del claro
Termodonte
los que sangran por muchas y diuersas vias al dorado
Pactolo

los numidas, dudosos en sus promessas
los persas, en arcos y flechas famosos
los partos, los medos, que pelean huyendo
los arabes de mudables casas
los citas tan crueles como blancos
los etiopes de horadados labios

In another squadron

los que beuen las corrientes cristalinas del olivifero Betis
los que tersan y pulen sus rostros en el licor del siempre
rico y dorado Tajo
los que gozan las provechosas aguas del divino Genil
los que pisan los tartesios campos, de pastos abundantes
los que se alegran en los eliseos xerezanos prados

los manchegos, ricos y coronados de rubias espigas
los de hierro vestidos, reliquias antiguas de la
sangre goda

los que en Pisuerga se bañan, famoso por la mansedumbre
de su corriente
los que su ganado apacientan en las estendidas dehesas
del tortuoso Guadiana, celebrado por su escondido curso
los que tiemblan con el frío del silvoso Pirineo y con los blancos copos del levantado Apenino 1,238-40.

With the eye of the writer, Cervantes had studied the varied facets comprising the formula and had extended the device to its utmost possibilities using as many examples as possible to recall the formula to the reader. Blanche Brotherton notes Virgil's avoidance of tedium by his variety, the constant changing phraseology in the introduction of heroes, the infinite variety in the type of equipment, the interweaving of myth and legend, the geographic miscegenation. Cervantes is no less the artist, for by his careful handling he has succeeded in allaying what could otherwise have been a tedious and cumbersome repetition through variations of the different modalities as the diagram seeks to reflect. What Virgil achieved through miscegenation of names and geography finds a parallel in the Quijote. But Cervantes's art is true to itself, for the novelist modulates the device to his own literary and historical ambient. Thus he chooses names of the ancient classical mold as well as those of romance tonality; those of ancient Spanish significance as well as those of more propinquous circumstance. The Cervantine play is very much present in the ridiculous assortment of names as Laurcalco, Brandabarbaran, Micocoleumbo and Esparatafilardo. The fact that these names savor of chivalric modality while
the methodology of the catalogue is classical, reflects the miscellany of Cervantes's art and the multifaceted nature of his parody.

Turning once again to specific comparison with the usage in the *Aeneid*, we find that on both occasions Virgil had used the device as a prelude to true war. In Cervantes, the basic element of war persists but only in the mind of the demented hero who metamorphosizes a flock of sheep into armies of soldiers. Thus the anticipation of human suffering and conflict has been lost. Tragedy is replaced by comedy—a majestic device is associated with the mental aberration of a raving knight. Majesty and madness are united creating that incongruous association which is of the essence of parody and which Cervantes has undoubtedly succeeded in creating.

This overall analysis shows that both compositions are aligned in the use of the same formulas more befitting the epic genre. A comparison of usage reveals definite contrasts, contrasts which result from a transference into less dignified circumstances, from the eschewing of pathos, from the substitution of the serious by the comic and the purposeful by the trivial, from incongruous associations—all contributing to the overriding effect of parody.
Analysis of Names Common to the "Aeneid" and the "Quijote"

Appendix A shows that Cervantes mentions Virgil on several occasions and on one occasion refers to him as "diuino Mantuano". The names of Virgil's major characters are also mentioned as well as a host of other names are parallel to the two works. Because the majority of these names could have been found in other locations and many of them formed the common currency of the men of letters of Cervantes's epoch, a certain caution is necessary in assigning significance to such a concordance. On the more positive side, it should be remembered that the aforementioned names are more likely to be found in an epic rather than a lyrical or pastoral composition and this is of special interest since we are dealing with a novel of epic lineage (as shown earlier) as opposed to the lesser genres in verse of a Garcilaso or Góngora, whose compositions would reflect closer affinity with an Ovid or Horace. Such a concordance at least implies an indebtedness on the part of the Spaniard to the classical tradition, and in view of the acknowledged predominance of Virgil and the Aeneid over all classical authors and compositions, it is certainly not without justification to consider the concordance as in some way associating the two masterpieces.

Earlier in our consideration of common literary formulas, it was seen that Cervantes evokes the classical in
an almost studied manner, but making the classical sub-
servient to his purposes. Perhaps we can add to our knowl-
edge of Cervantes's treatment of the classics from a closer
observation of certain onomastic correspondences. It must
be admitted that several of the names of the concordance
are mentioned only in passing without allowing the possi-
ability of implications into the Cervantine art; some as
Aeneas, Dido and Palladium are extensively drawn in epi-
sodes and so deserve treatment beyond the narrow limits
of this verbal area. Our treatment here will be limited to
those cases in which Virgilian names are used quasi-
metaphorically and take on special significance because
of the implications on an analogical basis.

Cacus:

Cacus belongs to the realm of classical heroic litera-
ture and though mentioned by other writers, a case can be
made that Virgil's elaborate depiction of the Cacus-
Hercules episode may have contributed most of all towards
the dissemination of this character. In Cervantes's day,
Cacus was considered the epitome of roguery and "mas ladron
que Caco" was proverbial. Cervantes was conversant with the
attributes of the character as he states in the prologue
"Si trataredes de ladrones, yo os dire la historia de Caco,
que la se de coro..." I,35. Thus it is that on several
occasions he would use the proverbial "mas ladron que Caco"
as when the priest says "ahi anda el señor Reynaldos de Montaluan con sus amigos y companeros mas ladrones que Caco" 1,98, and during Sancho's governorship, the gambler is described as "el socarron, que es mas ladron que Caco" IV,128.

Because of the analogical possibilities, the most significant occasion on which the expression is used, is to describe the very first character encountered by the protagonist after setting out on his travails, namely, the innkeeper who is described as "no menos ladron que Caco". 1,63. We wish to reiterate that in and by itself, it merely infers that Cervantes recalled a proverbial expression of likely Virgilian indebtedness in defining the features of his characters. However in the light of other details which imply identification between Hercules and the don, the feasibility exists that such an analogy is consciously constructed, for in the analogy of the innkeeper-Cacus, Don Quijote is obviously Hercules. It may even imply an identification between Don Quijote and Aeneas, for Cervantes could have perceived the Hercules-Aeneas affinity so carefully drawn in the Virgilian composition.

In this sort of analysis, the case is never clear-cut, but acceptance of the analogy would reveal to us one more case of the patterned Cervantine transference. The classical opposition between Cacus and Hercules has been transformed into harmony in the Cervantine depiction. Roles are
inverted as a Spanish Cacus becomes tutor and patron of the Spanish Hercules. The anger, the death and the violence in the Virgilian situation have vanished as conflict becomes comedy. The metaphorical association between hero and hero is linear but contrast is ever present, and this duality of association and contrast as we have noted, is a basic facet of parody.

Nisus and Euryalus:

Whereas Cacus had become the standard for roguery, Virgil had created what would become the indubitable models of friendship in Nisus and Euryalus. Cervantes's recognition of this can be seen from the words of the canon, who, mentioning one of the good aspects which he had observed in the novels of chivalry states:

Puede mostrar las astucias de Vlixes, la piedad de Eneas, la valentía de Aquiles, las desgracias de Ector, las trayciones de Sinon, la amistad de Euraiolo .... (11,344).

Thus it is that when Cervantes sought a comparison for the friendship of Rocinante and Rucio, from the classical repertory he would recall that of Nisus and Euryalus: "Digo que dizen que dexó el autor escrito que los auia comparado en la amistad a la que tuvieron Niso y Euraiolo." III,155-6.

True enough, the element of friendship is what forms the basis for comparison. However, when one compares the representatives, Nisus and Euryalus in all their youthful splendor and exuberance, bounded by their friendship to
attempt a task of transcendental proportions with death as their conjoined destiny, with the two pitiful nags, con­
joined for nothing more elevating than obviously mutual pleasure, the most pervading effect is one of mock-heroic parody. On the other hand, if the analogy is extended to incorporate the two protagonists it can be noted that the two youths were in the service of Aeneas as the two nags can be said to be in the service of the don, thus forming one more link tying in the two protagonists. Again the ana­
logical association between the two protagonists is linear but here the parody-producing contrast is not so much that of the inversion of roles but that of a transference of station and eminence, in identifying the two youthful heroes with two pitiable nags.

Troya:

As in the other cases, the name "Troya" in reference to the destruction of Troy had become of formulaic pro­
portions in the literary world. Much attention has been given to the expression "Aqui fue Troya". Source analysts have been more interested in eking out a corresponding phrase from the Aeneid. In this analysis, however, emphasis would once again be directed to analogical implications.

Cervantes uses the fall of Troy as an analogy for tragedy on several occasions and significantly in reference to his protagonist. Referring to what could have been the
death of master and squire, the narrator observes, "Si no fuera por los molineros que se arrojaron al agua, y los sacaron como en peso a entrambos, allí auia Troya para los dos". III,366. It is therefore not surprising that the ultimate defeat of Don Quijote is thus recorded:

Al salir de Barcelona, boluió Don Quijote a mirar el sitio donde auia caydo, y dixo: ¡Aquí fue Troya; aquí mi desdicha, y no mi cobardia, se llevo mis alcanzadas glorias; aquí vso la fortuna conmigo de sus bueltas y rebueltas .... IV,328.

By identifying Don Quijote's tragedy or pseudo-tragedy with the fall of Troy, Cervantes identifies his hero with the Virgilian hero. This contention is reinforced when we notice that on another occasion Cervantes has his protagonist make the incongruous association of Dulcinea with Helen, and Toboso with Troy:

Dulcinea es principal y bien nacida, y de los hidalgos linajes que ay en Toboso, que son muchos, antiguos y muy buenos, a buen seguro que no le cabe poca parte a la sin par Dulcinea, por quien su lugar sera famoso y nombrado en los venideros siglos, como lo ha sido Troya por Elena .... III,404.

It would seem then that the evocation of Troy achieves significance in the Quijote beyond the narrow limits of a phraseological correspondence. It is used for identification of the Cervantine creation with the epic genre, identification of secondary personages of both works, and most significantly, identification of the two protagonists. However, when we compare Dulcinea with
Helen, and when we realize that the fall of Troy leads Aeneas to leave his home and begin his wandering, while for the don it leads to a cessation of wandering and a return to home, we see the hand of contrast once again at work—and contrast is indeed the essence of parody. In this consistency, one suspects that these three Virgilian elements which had come to represent trickery, friendship, and tragedy, as used in the Quijote had transcended the realm of mere formulariness.

Comparison of Phrases

Appendix B shows the great number of phrases common to both works. The list is a compilation of those parallels purported by source analysts as Schevill, Marasso and the critical edition of Clemencín. There is general agreement among these observers, and no differentiation is really needed. Inserted is the translation of the Virgilian phrases by Hernández de Velasco, the most likely Spanish version used by Cervantes.

Once again a certain caution is necessary, for several of the phrases are of little significance in reflecting the art of Cervantes. Some are so common that their appearance may be nothing more than coincidental; others (though undoubtedly of Virgilian origin) had become literary commonplaces or were used so commonly that Cervantes could have used them from memory as any other
artist. Our analysis is therefore limited to cases which seem to imply the conscious attempt on the part of the artist for specific reasons.

The first case in point is to be found in the windmill incident in which the Virgilian phrase "Di, talem terris auertite pestem" 3:620 is reflected in the words of Don Quijote "quitar tan mala simiente de sobre la faz de la tierra" 1,114. Cervantes' phrase is almost an identical translation but what holds up the contention is the similarity in the fact that Virgil had used the phrase in his protagonist's encounter with giants—the Cyclops, and Cervantes also uses the phrase in his hero's encounter with what the latter perceives to be giants. To emphasize this inference that Cervantes looks to the classical model or often has it in mind, we can consider a very similar situation.

Source analysts have noted a similarity in the following:

Virgil: Noctem illam tecti silvis immania monstra perferimus, nec quae sonitum det causa videmus 3:583-4.32

Cervantes: Era la noche, como se ha dicho, escura, y ellos acertaron a entrar entre unos arboles...1,261 Sintio tambien que el golpear no cesaba pero no vio quien podia causar...1,274.

Though there are several common elements as night, woods, noise, ignorance of the cause on the part of the beholder, yet, to posit Cervantine evocation purely on this is
debateable. What has not been pointed out and what really seems to uphold the assertion is the similarity in that the Virgilian description comes from the Cyclops incident, and Cervantes here again had the image of giants in mind as noted in the protagonist's words "hazed vos que estos seys mozos se bueluan en seys iayantes" 1,277. This would support the contention that the fulling mills incident is a parallel of the wind mill incident, for it implies that in both cases in which the image of giants was perceived, the writer recalled another hero's encounter with giants, namely Aeneas and the Cyclops. This sort of subtle identification is continually at work but the farcical is just as often present. Phenomenon has been substituted by an errant noumenon, warranted fear by unwarranted fear. Tragic suspense has given way to risible comedy.

In the Quijote, there is only one direct quotation from the Aeneid. The phrase in question as it occurs in the Quijote is: "Quis talia fando temper et a lacrymis" IV,18. This phrase occurs in Book 2 of the Aeneid in the following manner:

```
quis talia fando
Myrmidonum Dolopumue aut duri miles Vlixi
temperet a lacrimis? 2:6-8.33
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Critics could not believe that Cervantes was merely borrowing a hyperbolic expression from Virgil. The question obviously was, what was the situational parallel justifying
Cervantes's usage, and the critics have met with no agreement. In the Aeneid, the situation is that in which Aeneas is about to narrate his difficulties to Dido in a rather lengthy tale. In the Quijote, the words are voiced by Countess Trifaldi in her farcical rendition. It may be suggested that the part of Trifaldi's story dealing with the death of the queen Maguncia could have recalled to Cervantes's mind the death of the Virgilian queen, Dido. Whatever the motivation may have been, the fact remains that the end of Aeneas' tale was marked by the appearance of the Grecian horse and similarly the end of Trifaldi's tale introduced the appearance of Clavileño. For the analyst however, the most significant aspect is the mock heroic effect which results from the transference of orders, associating the plebian mundane with the lofty realm of the epic. By his use of the Latin, Cervantes is careful to transfer the reader to the classical situation, and in this dual vision of the classical serious and the immediate jocose—both identified in an incongruous juxtaposition, lies the parodial intent of the artist.

The strong desire on Cervantes's part to orient his readers to the classical situation becomes unmistakeable as we meet with the phrase "Callaron todos, tirios y troyanos, quiero decir, pendientes todos los que el retablo miraban....". (III, 327) The verse in question
"Callaron todos, tirios y troyanos" is found in the translation of the Aeneid by Gregorio Hernández de Velasco in 1557. But in the Latin text of the Aeneid, it is only stated: "Conticuere omnes intentique ora tenebant" 2:1. The "omnes" in the quote above of course refers to the Tyrians and Trojans, but "tirios y troyanos" could have been gotten from an immediately preceding passage: "ingemiant plausu Tyrii, Troesque sequuntur" 1:747. It seems rather that Cervantes was not looking at the latter phrase but at the former "conticuere omnes intentique ora tenebant" since the second half of the verse "intentique ora tenebant" finds an echo (as Clemencín notes) in the Cervantine continuation "pendientes estaban todos...de la boca...". Though "tirios y trojanos" as a substitution or clarification of "omnes" is from Velasco, it does not mean that Cervantes merely inserted his recollection of Velasco's translation, for Cervantes's own translation of the Latin "intentique ora tenebant" is much closer to the text than Velasco's rather free version "atentos escucharon en silencio". What it means is that Cervantes takes pains to make the readers recall the classical situation. Marasso puts it very accurately:

si lee: 'Todos callaron...'; nadie, por más devoto de Virgilio que fuera, sabría que traduce el Conticuere omnes. Y lo que Cervantes quiere es que se sepa, que el oyente o lector se diga: "Así,
empieza, en el libro II de la Eneida, el relato de la destrucción de Troya." Con "tirios y troyanos," la dificultad queda vencida.\(^{36}\)

Once again critics are at variance as to the situational parallel justifying the evocation. Clemencín justifies it on the basis of composition of audience, Schevill considers it merely a commonplace and Forcione makes his analysis from the theoretic standpoint.\(^{37}\)

Comparing the two situations, we find that in the Aeneid, the audience is attentive, about to listen to the trials of the hero Aeneas. The common feature in the Quijote is that of an attentive audience and only on this meagre similarity\(^{38}\) Cervantes could have found sufficient reason to evoke the classical situation. Again what seems significant is not so much the parallels but the contrasts. For the audience in the Quijote is now attentive not to the worthy Aeneas, the instrument of divine providence, but to the lackey of the deceiving Maese Pedro, otherwise known as Gines de Pasamonte, instrument of deceit. The listeners hear not deep, heart-rending personal trials and suffering but pure farcical fantasy. The reader who would recall the picture of Aeneas in the lackey and the audience of "tirios y troyanos," could not help but smilingly squirm at that pseudo-Aeneas. Again the imitable art of Cervantes has juxtaposed the realm of the farcical and the worldly with the elevated realm of the epic.
Perhaps the most significant of the Virgilian phrases which exist in translation form in the Quijote is that which appears in the Aeneid as:

tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento (hae tibi erunt artes), pacique imponere morem parcere subiectis et debellare superbos 6:851-3.

The phrase in question which has excited the interest of many critics is "parcere subiectis et debellare superbos". It is the doctrine of majesty which Anchises bequeaths to his son Aeneas in the underworld. The context of this verse may have become a motto of knight errants leading Hatzfeld to comment "tomando prestada la fraseología a las novelas de caballería se van desenvolviendo en Cervantes cada uno de los particulares miembros del gran tema de su obra artística". One must suggest that Hatzfeld was being consciously or unconsciously anti-classical in his contention, for he has shown no convincing corresponding phraseology in any novel of chivalry. Osterc provides the most pungent detraction of Hatzfeld's ubiquity and other critics as Entwistle, Schevill, Clemencín, and Marasso give justified credit to Virgil's work as the source of influence. However Maldonado de Guevara's study, (which also acknowledges Virgilian indebtedness) is especially worthwhile in portraying the number of representations of this phrase in the Quijote as enumerated below:
1. han de perdonar los sujetos y supeditar y acocear los soberbios
2. desfacer fuerzas y socorrer y acudir a los miserables
3. acorrer a los miserables y destruir a los rigurosos
4. perdonar a los humildes y castigar a los soberbios
5. valer a los que poco pueden y vengar a los que reciben tuertos, y castigar alevosías
6. los caballeros andantes tomaron a su cargo ... el castigo de los soberbios y el premio de los humildes.

Though expressed in many different ways, the meaning and idea of the phrase have not been changed and the Virgilian influence seems undeniable. The contrast which exist in the Aeneid as "subiectis" and "superbos" is echoed by "sujectos" and "soberbios", "miserables" and "rigurosos"; "humildes" and "soberbios" etc., and that which appears as "parcere" and "debellare" finds an echo in "perdonar" and "destruir"; "perdonar" and "castigar"; "castigo" and "premio".

Preceding examples had shown that the element of mock-heroism is associated with the Cervantine borrowing of Virgilian phrases. The situation is no different in this case and is again effected through a transference of orders. What was to be considered in the Aeneid as the highest and noblest imperial ideal becomes the motto of a decrepit knight-errant, totally ineffective at its execution. To fittingly describe such a hero the device must undergo some change which is successfully accomplished
by Sancho's inversions "¡Oh humilde con los soberbios y arrogante con los humildes..." II, 396, and again in terminologies more to his liking "Don Quijote de la Mancha que desfaze los tuertos y da de comer al que ha sed, y de beuer al que ha hambre." III, 131. Cervantes has made the Virgilian borrowing, he shows it to his readers in the original form, then he adapts it to his protagonist by inverting its content, and adapts it to the squire by plebianizing its terminology. Cervantes not only adapts his model to his purposes but plays with his model and when the model is serious and lofty, such play could only spell mockery.

The above example shows an inversion of both form and content but such a duality is not always the case as is reflected by another parody of a Virgilian phrase again associated with Sancho. What was expressed in the Aeneid as:

O terque quaterque beati
Qui ante ora patrum Troiae moenibus altis
contigit oppetere 1:94-96.44

comes through Sancho as:

¡Miserables de nosotros, que no ha querido nuestra corta suerte que muriésemos en nuestra patria y entre los nuestros ......! IV, 200-01.

Cervantes changes "beati" into "miserables" but he "negativizes" the entire sentence to uphold the same meaning of the Virgilian phrase. Instead of saying "blessed
are those who died" he says "miserable are we who didn't
die". It reflects that continuous striving to be differ­
ent and here the parodic effect results, not from an in­
version of the content, but from a denigration of the de­
gree of pathos and the attribution of words voiced by
Aeneas to the non-Aeneas-like Sancho. Sancho himself
points out his misplacement in such distinguished company
to which his master belonged noting the difference between
his descent and his masters "Alli vio él visiones hermosas
y apacibles, y yo veré aquí, a lo que creo, sapos y
culebras". IV,200.

There is one other example of phraseological evocation
involving parody. The word "sabeo" seems to be the key to
the comparison. Recalling the situation in the Aeneid,
Venus had just deceived Aeneas and was returning to her
celestial abode suffused with befitting aromatic fragrance
"centumque Sabeo ture calent arae" 1:416.45 The Cervantine
protagonist would like to conceive of his lover in the
same light and so he asks Sancho of Dulcinea's aroma
"¿No sentiste un olor sabeo?" (11,66). It could not be
that the perfumes of Saba were as well-known in the Spain
of Cervantes as in the Rome of Virgil's day for both
Clemencín and Marasso cite this correspondence as a Virgilian
evocation.46 It would seem then, that Cervantes's pro­
pensity for distortion of the classics is consciously at
work as he associates what was the aromatic aura of Venus
with what Sancho describes as "un olorzillo algo hombruno, que deuia de ser que ella, con el mucho exercicio, estaua sudada y algo correosa". (11,66) Contrast smarts the nose to emerge as the most eloquent clue to the writer's search for originality.

Conclusion

In this verbal analysis we have seen that the Quijote is aligned with the Aeneid on the basis of common formulas, names and phrases. A comparison of usage reveals that there is contrast in manifold guises. Consistency in methodology leads to the conviction that the artistry is conscious. It implies that though the Quijote may be a parody of other molds and other compositions, it is also very much a parody of the classical in general and the Aeneid in particular.
Chapter 2 Footnotes


4 Marasso, op. cit., p. 118.

5 *Aeneid*, 7:37-40: Awake now, Erato! Who were the kings, what was the tide of events, how stood ancient Latium, when first that stranger host beached its barques on Ausonia's shore—this will I unfold; and the prelude of the opening strife will I recall.

6 *Aeneid*, 9:525-8: Do thou, O Calliope, thou and thy sisters, I pray, inspire me while I sing, what slaughter, what deaths, Turnus dealt on that day, and whom each warrior sent down to doom; and unroll with me the mighty scroll of war.


10 Riley, "Dawn Description," op. cit., p. 129.

12 Riley, "Dawn Description," op. cit., p. 133.

13 *ibid.*, p. 135


16 *Aeneid*, 3:566-7: Thrice amid the rocky caverns the cliffs uttered a cry; thrice we saw the showered spray and the dripping stars.

17 *Aeneid*, 2:242-3: Four times at the gate's very threshold it halted, and four times from its paunch the armour clashed.

18 *Aeneid*, 4:589: Thrice and four times she struck her comely breast with her hand.

19 *Aeneid*, 6:32-33: Twice had he essayed to fashion thy fall in gold; twice sank the father's hands.

20 *Aeneid*, 4:690-1: Thrice rising, she struggled to lift herself upon her elbow; thrice she rolled back on the couch.

21 *Aeneid*, 10:685-6: Thrice he essayed either way; thrice mighty Juno stayed his hand and held him back in pity of heart.

22 Marasso, op. cit., p. 77.


24 Aristotle *Poetics* XXIV:4, in Butcher, op. cit., p. 91.

Aeneid 7:712-7. They who dwell in Nomentum's city and the Rosean country by Velinus, on Tetrica's rugged crags and Mount Severus, in Casperia and Foruli, and by Himella's stream; they who drink of Tiber and Fabaris, they whom cold Nursia sent, the Ortine squadrons, the Latin peoples, and they whom Allia, ill-boding name, severs with its flood.


Marasso, op. cit., p. 115.


Clemencin, op. cit., Vol. 8 p. 160, footnote 1. The analyst referring to the origin of the phrase "Aqui fue Troya" cites the Virgilian verse "Litora tunc patriae lacrymans portusque relinquo" and says "De aqui hubo de nacer la expresión de texto". It seems to me that a better choice would have been the phrase "fuit Ilium et ingens/gloria tenerorum" 2:325-6 which Velasco translates as "ya Troya fue, y su gloria en cumbre vimos" p. 89.

Aeneid, 3:583-584: All that night we hide in the woods enduring monstrous horrors, and see not from what cause come the sound.

Aeneid 2:6-8: What Myrmidon or Dolopian, or soldier of stern Ulysses, could in telling such a tale refrain from tears?
See Diego Clemencín, op. cit., Tomo VII, p. 25. Clemencín in Footnote 5 states: "Rios en su análisis del Quijote, dice hablando de la presente aventura: El extraño suceso de Trifaldi y su continuación son un espectáculo tan divertido como la relación del saco de Troya: la aparición del Clavileño Aligero no es menos oportuna ni agradable que la descripción del Paladín troyano, y los amores de Alcídidas son comparables en su línea con la pasión de Dido (Par. 45, Tomo III, p. 320) Clemencín's reaction is thus: "Lo creo elogio exagerado y aún ridículo. ¿Qué conexión hay ni qué punto de comparación entre los trozos citados de Virgilio y los de Cervantes?"

Clemencín, op. cit., Vol. 6, p. 157, Footnote 1—Primer verso de la traducción del segundo libro de la Eneida, hecha por Gregorio Hernández de Velasco, de que iban hechas varias ediciones desde el año de 1557, en que fue la primera y era, por lo tanto, muy conocida. En las palabras siguientes del texto acabó Cervantes de traducir el verbo original de Virgilio, "Conticuere omnes, intentique ora tenebant".

Marasso, op. cit., p. 135.

Clemencín, op. cit. Vol. 6, p. 131. The analyst states "Fue graciosa ocurrencia aplicar el principio de la pomposa y solemne relación de los ruidosos sucesos de Troya, hecha ante la reina y príncipes en el alcázar de Cartago, al romance de la libertad de Melisendra, representada en el portal y ante el consistorio de la venta—Maese Pedro o su criado es Eneas, Don Quijote Dido, Sancho el fiel Achates etc." Schevill however, in the aforementioned Connecticut Studies, v. 13, p. 500 f. 3, after mentioning Clemencín's views says "the phrase was a common one and Cervantes had used it before in Bk. 1 Ch. 1, "nos tenía a todos la boca abierta pendientes de las hazañas que nos iba contando". Schevill didn't realize that in the Cervantine use on both occasions there is the common feature of an attentive audience similar to the appearance in the Aeneid. For a purely literary interpretation see Alban K. Forcione: Cervantes, Aristotle and the Persiles, op. cit., pp. 147-8. Forcione states "The evocation of Virgil is appropriate for the literary implications of the scene, for the youthful narrator begins his narration observing carefully the rules for epic composition which contemporary theorists had codified on the basis of Aristotelian—Horatian dogma and the example of Virgil. He
offers a concise proposition, a summary of his subject and proceeds to an in medias res beginning. Moreover, in accordance with the rules he demonstrates an acute concern for verisimilitude, etc.”

38 See Marasso, op. cit., p. 135. The critic carries the analogy further, noting the Cervantine substitution of epic by Romance as he says, "No es Eneas quien narrará sus desdichas, sino el criado de maese Pedro, las de Melisenda. Las crónicas francesas y los romances substituirán la narración épica de la Eneida. .... Si en lugar de "retablo" leemos "Troya", asistiremos a su destrucción. Maese Pedro, que no conoce la Eneida, se comparará con el rey Rodrigo, el de la pérdida de España. Y el lector se dirá "Maese Pedro quedó, a causa de la destrucción de su retablo, lo mismo que Eneas después de la toma de Troya por los dálmaos".

39 Aeneid, 6:851-3. Remember thou, O Roman, to rule the nations with thy sway—these shall be thine arts—to crown Peace with Law, to spare the humbled, and to tame in war the proud!


41 Ludovik Osterc, El Pensamiento Social y Político Del 'Quijote', (México: Ediciones de Andrea, 1963), p. 21. Osterc states: "La misión principal de Don Quijote es, por lo tanto, una misión de carácter profundo y señaladamente social y política, y justamente en ella reside, en nuestra opinión, el quid del contenido de la obra, ya que los libros de caballería no tienen nada que ver con la tarea esencial de Don Quijote de restablecer el imperio del bien y de la justicia en el mundo. En efecto, cabe preguntarse ¿Cuándo y dónde había caballeros andantes que se propusieron luchar por tal ideal? ¿Qué libro caballeresco tuvo jamás tal propósito? ¿Cuándo un caballero andante, categoría propia de la sociedad feudal tuvo por misión social restablecer los ideales de una sociedad diametralmente opuesta a la suya, es decir, del comunismo primitivo? Evidentemente que nunca y en ninguna parte."
William J. Entwistle, *Cervantes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 156. "The most absolute unbending justice is Don Quijote's guiding star 'to crush force and succor and aid the wretched'. This Virgilian principle is accounced in the episode of the galley slaves whom the knight freed on the ground that no one should be constrained against his will. It was not a principle to be applied to a singularly sinful world and it lead to ingratitude and lapidation." Schevill in *Connecticut Studies*, op. cit., p. 545, states "two passages in Don Quijote, Bk. II, Chapt. 18: "enseñarle como se han de perdonar, los sujetos y supeditar y acocear los soberbios," and Bk. II, Chap. 52: "mi profesión es perdonar a los humildes y castigar a los soberbios," and perhaps the humorous inversion of Bk. I, Chap. 52: "Oh humilde con los soberbios y arrogante con los humildes" are aptly compared by Clemencín with *Aeneid*, VI, V. 853 "parcere subiectis et debellare superbos". Marasso, op. cit., p. 132, cites Schevill and Clemencín on this point.


*Aeneid*, 1:94-95: O thrice and four times blest, whose lot it was to meet death before their father's eyes beneath the lofty walls of Troy.


See Clemencín op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 142, f. 9; also Marasso, op. cit., p. 84.
CHAPTER III

EPISODIC ASPECT A.

It should be re-emphasized at this point that the artistry of any great masterpiece is multi-dimensional and there is no difference in the case of the Quijote. In keeping with our aforementioned intention, however, our interest in this area of our study is not to show the relative position of the Aeneid among other sources acknowledged to be utilized by Cervantes. Neither is it our aim to analyze every aspect of the selected episodes as they exist individually. It is our intention rather, to treat of the areas in which the parallel episodes come together, highlighting the implications purported by such affinity as it pertains to the art of the Quijote.

Comparison between two works on the basis of phrases and names is fairly easy to justify because of the obvious perceptibility. The situation is much more difficult and demanding on the basis of episodes for the critic must present a sufficiently large number of corresponding elements and significant criteria to ensure conviction. Several circumstances and incidents have been suggested to be Virgilian parallels—the house of Don Diego has been seen by Marasso as a reflection of Evander because of the
common element which the critic describes as "una sencillez arcádica"¹ and the same critic conceives of the city of Barcelona as paralleling the city of King Latinum because of the common element of "fuerza con los ejercicios bélicos".² Such criteria though undeniable are certainly not conclusive.

The comparative analyst must go beyond the facile observations which are enough for the source analyst. Thus, the novelty of this analysis hinges on depicting that Cervantes's initiative art on an episodic basis is one which invites conviction with a suffusion of parallel elements, but with definite attempts at originality, and reflecting a consciousness of the themes of his model.

Carthage and the Ducal Realm

Aeneas' stay in Carthage, comprising books 1-4, is the single episode of most extension in the Aeneid and the same can be said of Don Quijote's stay in the Ducal realm comprising Chapters 30-57 of the second book. From the very outset, certain parallels come readily to mind. Aeneas with his companion, Achates, on setting foot in Carthage meets with a huntress in the woods (Venus)—a parallel of which is the meeting of the don and his squire with a huntress in the woods (the duchess). The friends of Aeneas form an embassy suing the host (Dido) for a kind reception, the Cervantine parallel is Sancho's embassy to
the duchess with similar intent on behalf of his master. Both heroes are preceded by their fame for akin to Dido's foreknowledge of Aeneas is the duchess's foreknowledge of Don Quijote. Dido says "quis genus Aeneadum, quis Troiae nesciat urbem/uitutesque uirosque aut tanti incendia belli?" 1:565-6, and "tempore iam ex illo casus mihi cognitus urbis/Troianae nomenque tuum regesque Pelasgi" 1:623-4, while the duchess referring to the don says "de quien ya tenemos aca mucha noticia" III,370. In both depictions, the guests are received with a banquet in their honor, and in both cases there is a washing ceremony with the servants bringing water to the protagonist, so that the description in the Aeneid of "dant manibus famuli lymphas Cereremque canitris/ expediunt tonsisque ferunt mantelia uillis." 5 1:701-702, finds a parallel in the Quijote's "llegaron quatro donzellas: la vna, con vna fuente de plata, y la otra, con vn aguamanil assimismo de plata, y la otra, con dos blanquissimas y riquissimas toallas al ombro" III,394-395.

The elements mentioned are not out of the ordinary, and one could suggest that their parallel existence is nothing more than coincidental. We wish to dismiss such a contention of coincidence by noting more stringent areas of identification as the recall of the Dido-Aeneas episode and the episode of the Grecian horse.
Dido-Aeneas and Altisidora-Quijote

The famous amorous episode of Dido and Aeneas has served as the source of countless depictions in several literary works. In the creation of the ducal realm parallel, Cervantes recalls this amorous aspect in the famous Altisidora farce. Before he introduces Altisidora, the novelist sets the stage carefully by referring to Dido and Aeneas in a preceding incident in which Don Quijote says to Señora Rodriguez:

A vos y de vos la pido—replicó don Quijote—porque ni yo soy de marmol, ni vos de bronce, ni acora son las diez del día, sino media noche, y aun un poco mas, según imagino, y en una estancia mas cerrada y secreta que la deuio de ser la cueva donde el traydor y atreuido Eneas gozó a la hermosa y piadosa Dido. IV,115.

The evocation leaves nothing to the reader's imagination with the direct mention of Dido and Aeneas, and the cave here mentioned recalls what in the Aeneid is "speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem deveniunt" 4:165-6. "El traidor y atrevido Eneas" recalls Dido's description of Aeneas as "crudelis" and "perfidus". Despite Schevill's observations about versions of the Dido story which considered her as a chaste mtron, in this context it would seem rather that the parodic subtlety of Cervantes's art is again manifested as the epithet of piety ineluctably assigned to Aeneas is transferred to Dido who is called "piadosa Dido". For the evocation of the parallels
between Don Quijote-Señora Rodríguez and Aeneas-Dido falls within the same parodical vein as the already-mentioned parallel of the nags and the two friends Nisus and Buryalus. Four images are held up to the reader—a regal Dido, a virile warrior Aeneas, a bespectacled old female servant, and a decrepit knight. The reflection resulting from analogy is that of a distorted mirror as it presents an Aeneas in breeches and a bespectacled Dido. This incongruous association, this contrast is what a knowledge of the Aeneid serves to portray in Cervantes's art. Indeed it is this incongruous association that creates the parodical dimension of the Quijote.

The episode of Don Quijote and señora Rodríguez forms the unobstrusive anticipation for the Altisidora's farce in which evocations of the Aeneas-Dido interlude become almost superfluous. Considering this passage in which Altisidora says:

-No me porfíes, ¡Oh Emerenciana!, que cante, pues sabes que desde el punto que este forastero entró en este castillo y mis ojos le miraron, yo no sé cantar, sino llorar; quanto más que el sueño de mi señora tiene más de ligero que de pesado, y no querría que nos hallase aquí por todo el tesor del mundo. Y puesto caso que durmiese y no despertase, en vano sería mi canto si duerme y no despierta para oyrle este nuevo Eneas, que ha llegado a mis regiones para dexarme encarnida. IV,72-73.

and the passages in which Dido says to Anna:
Anna soror, quae me suspensam insomnia terrent!
quis nouus hic nostris successit sedibus hospes
quem sese ore ferens, quam forti pectore et armis?

and her later words "pro Iuppiter! ibit/ hic, et nostris
inluserit aduena regnis?" there are obvious
parallels of the key elements—the third parties Emerencia
and Anna; the aspect of sleeplessness; the newcomer ex­
pressed in the Quijote as "extranjero" and in the Aeneid
as "nouus hospes," who is conceived of as a "burlador".
Cervantes uses the word "escarnida" the same word that
Hernández de Velasco uses to translate the Virgilian word
"inluserit". Continuing the interplay of parallels, just
as the newcomer, Aeneas, had stirred the mind and feelings
of Dido who confesses to Anna "Solus hic inflexit sensus
animumque labentem/ impulit ...

Cervantes has Emerencia describe the pseudo-impact on
Altisidora of his protagonist who has become "el señor de
su corazón y el despertador de su alma". IV,73. One
could also suggest that the tension in Dido of amorous
passion and public purpose, with the resulting tragedy to
the recalcitrant chooser was evoked by Cervantes. In his
own farcical manner, the novelist eschews the pathos but
acknowledges this tension in the words of the pseudo-Dido,
Altisidora "mas vale verguenza en cara que manzilla en
corazon" IV,73.
The most significant or at least the most obvious parallel between Dido and Altisidora lies however in their representation of the "woman scorned". There are striking parallels in the depictions of the reactions of both characters. In the first place, there is a bitter tirade deprecating the parentage and birthplace of the protagonists. In Dido's case, it is stated:

\[ \text{nec tibi diuā parens generis nec Dardanus auctor perfide, sed duris genuit te cautibus horrens Caucausus Hyrcanaeque admirunt ubera tigres } \text{4:365-7.} \]

and Altisidora:

\[ \text{Dime, valeroso joven} \\
\text{que Dios prosperse tus ansias,} \\
\text{si te criaste en la Libia;} \\
\text{o en las montanas de Jaca;} \\
\text{si sierpes te dieron leche;} \\
\text{si a dicha fueron tus amas} \\
\text{la aspereza de las selvas} \\
\text{y el horror de las montanas. IV,74.} \]

The comparison of the disdainful lover to a wild beast is not a unique correspondence, but the common elements of birth on mountains "duris cautibus" and "aspereza de las selvas y el horror de las montanas," as well as the suckling aspect of "admorunt ubera tigres" and "sierpes te dieron leche" align the Cervantine and Virgilian depictions in no uncertain manner.

Continuing the parallels, in both cases there is an attempt to detain or delay the departure of the protagonists. In the Virgilian work Dido hopes "espectet facilemque fugam uentosque ferentis" 4:430, but she knows it is
in vain "tempus inane peto". Her futile attempt is reiterated by Altisidora who pleads:

Escucha mal caballero;
detén un poco las riendas;
no fatigues las ijadas
de tu mal regida bestia.
Mira, falso, que no huyes
de alguna serpiente fiera, ....
Cruel Vireno, fugitivo Eneas... IV, 219-220.

The identification of Don Quijote with Aeneas who had departed from Dido becomes unmistakable with Altisidora's refrain "Cruel Vireno, fugitivo Eneas". Finally, in both cases supplication changes to malediction. Dido's curse (4:615-620) was not to be forgotten by Cervantes as can be noticed from these words of Altisidora:

Tus más finas aventuras
en desventuras se vuelvan,
en sueños tus pasatiempos,
en olvidos tus firmezas.
Cruel Vireno, fugitivo Eneas,
Barrabás te acompañe; allá te avengas. IV, 220.

Cervantes would continue his version of the Dido episode even to include the aspect of Dido in the lower world. The Spaniard would refer to the Stygian lake, the waters of forgetfulness, the judges Minos and Rhadamonte. Thus, Cervantes in a most detailed manner had recreated the Dido story—the stranger hospitably welcomed, love spurned, suicide for love, and vision of the after-life.

Cervantes however is no slavish pedant—his art of imitation is a very delicate one. As much as he takes pains to bring into focus the classical situation, he is
just as interested in, and conscious of, original creativity. Both Dido and Altisidora utter curses but no one could accuse Cervantes of plagiarizing Virgil, for Virgil's Caucasus is substituted by the mountains of Jaca and his suckling tigers have been vilified into suckling serpents. True enough, Cervantes evokes the amorous element of the Virgilian creation but Dido suffers, agonizes, becomes mad, and finally dies because her love is spurned. In the Cervantine Dido, namely Altisidora, no love is spurned because there was no love in the first place. Altisidora's death is merely a pretended faint and in the entrance to her hell, the devils play "pelota". Death itself becomes a game. Cervantes had transformed pathos into comicality, dignified tragedy into burlesque comedy, literary pseudo-reality into literary farce—all contributing to an overriding effect which can best be described as parodical.

Palladium—Clavileño:

The reader will recall that it was at Carthage also that Virgil (through Aeneas' long narration), recalls the fall of Troy, highlighting the role of Sinon and the deceptive horse. As could be expected, the horse which was instrumental in bringing about the destruction of Troy does not fail to receive attention within the evocative art of Cervantes, as we see in the incident involving Don Quijote's ride on Clavileño:
Y, sacando un pañuelo de la faldriquera, pidio a la Dolorida que le cubriese muy bien los ojos, y, auéndose los cubierto, se boluió a descubrir y dixo: "Si mal no me acuerdo, yo he leydo en Virgilio aquello del Paladion de Troya, que fue un cauallo de madera que los griegos presentaron a la diosa Palas, el qual yua preñado de cavalleros armados, que despues fueron la total ruyna de Troya; y, assi, sera bien ver primero lo que Clavileño trae en su estomago ....... IV,36.

Without quibbling over the somewhat trite detail that "el caballo de madera preñado de caballeros armados" was really supposed to be a replacement for the Palladium rather than being one and the same, as Cervantes seems to imply, the fact remains that the novelist is evoking the description in the Aeneid of the fall of Troy and the part played by the well-known horse. The size, the wooden material, the stomach pregnant with soldiers, are all parallel elements which are summarized in the Virgilian verses "includunt caeco lateri penitusque cauemas/ ingentis uterumque armato milite complent". Cervantes even recalls the element of mechanism associated with the horse. Laocoon in the Aeneid suggests:

Aut hoc inclusi ligno occultantur Achiui aut haec in nostros fabrica ta est machina muros

and Priam:

quidue petunt? quae religio? aut quae machina belli

and again:

Scandit fatalis machina muris/ feta armis.
In the *Quijote*, the knight and squire are invited to mount Clavileño with the exhortation "Suba sobre esta maquina el que tuviere animo para ello" IV, 31. Though the Clavileño episode is imbued with elements of other molds reflecting the eclecticism of Cervantes's art, yet the suffusion of parallelistic elements with the Virgilian depiction makes the evocation undeniable. Once again contrasts provides the most significant analysis, and this contrast is to be seen most perceptibly in the subdual of the tragic. The Virgilian horse was fraught with suspense and tragedy, bringing about the destruction of Troy and the dislocation of the Virgilian protagonist with the subsequent trials. No such tragedy pervades the Cervantine evocation, which, on the contrary, is associated with pure mirth, providing laughter for the audience both within and without the pages of the *Quijote* as Sancho creates his multi-colored goats.

The identification of Aeneas and Don Quijote seems complete with the Altisidora-Dido recall and the Clavileño-Palladium recall. Considering the plethora of additional incidents which by themselves seem trivial, it can very well be held that Cervantes makes unequivocal his attempt at paralleling his ducal realm with Carthage, and in a wider sense his masterpiece with Virgil's. But time and again we have seen the hand of contrast in that
pathos has been transferred into comicality as a basic facet of Cervantes's art of imitation.

Episodic Correspondence of Themes—Deceit: Duty: Mercy and Justice.

At this stage we wish to discuss certain thematic correspondences of both episodes. Though the themes may be seen in other areas of the masterpieces, their treatment here is to be justified, for, in these particular areas of the respective compositions they appear to be especially manifest and of sufficiently overt significance in contributing to the overall tonality of the episodes.

Deceit:

Perhaps the most rudimentary form of deceit is disguise. Virgil had certainly remembered Homer's enshrouding of his heroes in clouds of smoke, for this is exactly what Venus does to Aeneas as the latter made his way through the city of Carthage. Venus herself would don the guise of a Tyrian maiden to meet her son, forcing him to complain "Quid natum totiens, crudelis to quoque, falsis ludis imaginibus?" 1:407-8. Venus also would be responsible for the deception of Dido as the latter fondles Cupid in the guise of Ascanius—Cupid had followed his mother's advice, "falle dolo et notos pueri puer indue uultus" 1:684, so that Juno rightly charges "una dolo diuum si femina uicta duorum est". 4:95.
In the Cervantine episode, disguise which we have considered a common element of deception receives noteworthy representation. Apart from the ducal servants who perform the many farces, it can be recalled that Sancho could not recognize Ricote who was garbed in a clown's outfit "trage de moharracho" IV,189. There is also the case of the Diego de la Llana's daughter who disguises her sex to tour the city, as Aeneas was disguised to tour Carthage, and perhaps the most stringent similarity is the substitution of Tosilos with amorous overtones akin to the substitution of Cupid.

If disguise is the most rudimentary form of deception, a knowing sort of self-deception bordering on rationalization is perhaps the most subtle. This is the case of Dido who hoping to allay her pangs of conscience calls her unlawful union with Aeneas a marriage "coniugium uocat, hoc praetexit nomine culpam" 4:172. It is difficult to posit unequivocally in the Cervantine episode that almost conscious self-deception with which Dido has been charged. The nearest approach to this seems to be a deception redirected against the original perpetrator in the case of Sancho who is caught in the snares of his own deception of Dulcinea, "el buen Sancho pensando ser el enganador, es el enganado" III,416.

Not all in the Virgilian episode is successful or fulfilled deception. The Trojans making preparations to
leave Carthage try to dissimulate their activities "arma parent et quae rebus sit causa nouandis dissimulent". 27
4:290. In vain, because Dido foresees it all: "regina dolos (quis fallere possit amantem?) praesensit". 28
4:296-7. For, as the poet says "who can deceive a woman in love?". Paradoxically, Virgil himself may have pro­
vided the answer in Sinon, the one instructed in every manner of deceit and Pelasgian craftiness: "ille dolis instructus et arte Pelasga" 2:152. In Sinon, deceit becomes an art and perhaps even a science. He knew that man's susceptibility to deception was ingrained in his very nature, "man's primeval and perennial folly," 29 and so he played on the sentiments of pity, of curiosity, of religion; in his bravery, he knew how to affect cowardice; in his mendacious deception, he would advocate truth.

In the Cervantine parallel, there are many Sinon-like characters who crop up everywhere in Sancho's governorship—the subtle debtor with the cane; the peasant who sought to wheedle money from Sancho called "el labrador pintor y socarron" IV,123; the case of false rape; the gambler described as "el socarron que no es mas ladron Caco" IV,128. In these cases, the only common feature with Sinon is that of deception, but where we have to look for what amounts to a very definite parallel of Sinon's tale is the tale of Trifaldi.
It is to be doubted whether any tale can match that of Sinon whom Cervantes himself acknowledged as the model of deception, but the Spaniard does make an attempt in the deception by Trifaldi. The use of the Virgilian phrase "quis talia fando temperet a lacrymis" IV,18, as used by Trifaldi, apparently is not merely for erudite affectation but to orient the reader to the classical situation. The classical affinity becomes even more patent when it is recalled that Trifaldi's servants come from the direct line of Trojan Hector "aunque vengamos por linea recta, de varon en varon del mismo Hector, troyano" IV,29, and as noted earlier the denouement of Sinon's tale was the entrance of the deceitful horse into the city and similarly the denouement of Trifaldi's tale was the entrance of Clavileño, the Cervantine counterpart.

More profound analysis reveals other parallels. Sinon's deception was affected through the agency of a carefully devised and very interesting tale so that the Trojans ironically were burning with curiosity to hear it all "ardemus scitari et quaerere causas"30 2:105. Sancho reflects the same enthusiasm and curiosity for Trifaldi's tale "ya me muero por saber el fin desta tan larga historia" IV,16. Furthermore, where Sinon had affected victimization and cowardice to lend more credence to his tale, Trifaldi would make a show of fainting; and again like Sinon, in the midst of deceit Trifaldi would flaunt
truth "Malambruno no tiene nada de malicioso ni de traydor" IV,36. As Sinon had done to the Trojans, Trifaldi would play on Don Quijote's sense of human pity and on his sense of religion expressed in his chivalric ideal. It would truly seem that both Sinon and Trifaldi were successful for their creators knew what Cervantes expressed as "stultorum infinitus est numerus" III,70.

The woeful bane of deceit is its inescapability and both writers had recorded its many nuances. It is safe to say that not only the theme of deception but also the ingredients constituting deception are strikingly similar in the two episodes. It is to be doubted whether such correspondences could be due only to a correspondence of acute insight on the part of both writers. Rather it would seem to suggest a challenge of Virgil on the part of the Spaniard, but in his own way, for the particularity of the individual's art can once again be seen in significant differences.

In the Virgilian depiction, deceit is always used for a definite purpose with serious intent, whether for consolation as Jupiter to Venus, or Pygmalion to Dido; to support a loved one as in the case of Venus to Aeneas; or to support the national interest as in the case of Sinon. In the Cervantine depiction unlike in the Aeneid, there is the great difference that deceit may be employed for its own sake, for self-pleasure, through the love of fun.
Such is the case of the duke and duchess, and truly it can be said that they, with their servants who concoct additional tricks on their own, serve to emphasize the bitter contagion of deceit. Deceit ceases to be a means to an end, but a game which seeks its ivy in the dignity of man.

We can further add to our knowledge of individual artistry by an observation of the victims and perpetrators of deceit (only on a human level, for the divine order in Virgil does not meet with a correspondence in the Cervantine depiction). In the Virgilian, characters are greatly distraught at being deceived—Dido reacts to what she considers the deception of Aeneas by ordering the burning of the latter's ship. The pathos is so great that she becomes mad and eventually dies. Anna complains about her deception by Dido "hoc illud, germana, fuit? me fraude petebas?"31 4:675, and even Aeneas feels great resentment at his mother's deception as he complains "Quid natum totiens, crudelis tu quoque, falsis ludis imaginibus?"32 1:407-8. Moreover, the human perpetrators of deceit receive commensurate punishment—this is true of Pygmalion as of Dido, and if Sinon proves the exception by escaping punishment, it is only because he was protected by the fates which Virgil here describes as "iniquis", "fatisque deum defensus iniquis" 2:257.
Turning to the Quijote, we find that the victims of deception feel no resentment due on one hand to the fact that the enchanters are ever present to account for any incongruency and on the other hand to the fact that the consequences are not as tragic. Tangentially, human perpetrators of deceit receive no punishment, speciously exemplified in the case of the duke and duchess who wield the rod of deception with impunity voicing their triumphant self-congratulation.

Another significant difference in artistry can be noticed from a consideration of the "smile" as it is associated with deceit. The smile in its manifestation of feelings conveys a universal message to the beholder and is unreservedly expected by the would-be beholder. In its natural acknowledgment and expectation, its erroneous use and forced retention must both be considered deceitful. In the Virgilian episode, Venus' tearful complaint to Jupiter is met with the latter's false condescending smile—"the kind of smile that clears the air" in "olli subridens hominum sator"\(^33\) 1:254. It is the very smile of a confident Venus who from her superior position in the one-upmanship contest with Juno recognizes the ulterior motives of her adversary without letting on—Juno's plan to keep Aeneas in Carthage is destined to failure and Venus goes along with it smilingly: "adnuit
atque dolis risit Cytherea repertis\textsuperscript{34} 4:128. This extension of false hopes as a means of deception finds another example in the case of Pygmalion who after killing Dido's husband, fools her with false comfort "multa malus simulans uana spe lusit amantem"\textsuperscript{35} 1:352.

Virgil had shown Jupiter and Venus use the smile as a cover; Cervantes would have his many characters attempt to cover their smiles. The maids who perform a mock washing ceremony on the protagonist conceal their smiles "las donzellas que le servian con dissimular la risa" III,380, Sancho's tale about table seating to the utter chagrin of his master evokes a similar dissimulation "los senores dissimularon la risa" III,386. From this perspective, the individual artistry is again reflected, for the necessity of restraint of the smile highlights the essential comicality of the Quijote, while the forced laughter of the Aeneid on the other hand, highlights the need for risible relief in an atmosphere fraught with tensions.

Summarizing this analysis, it seems very much as if Cervantes were conscious of the many elements and ramifications of deception with which Virgil had imbued the episode of Aeneas' stay in Sidonian Carthage and challenged the Augustan bard in its portrayal. With the suffusion of corresponding elements but at the same time, the complete inversion of mood, it turns out that Cervantes's evocation is clear, definite and exceedingly original.
Duty and Purpose:

So far we have shown in these parallel episodes manifest ingredients of undeniable alignment, as well as a similarity in the thick veil of deception with which they are both suffused. We wish to show now that both depictions can be considered as portraying a sort of political microcosmos in which are reflected themes pertinent to public interaction as those of duty and responsibility.

Critics have considered Aeneas' stay in Carthage as the greatest test to his purpose and with very good reason, for the evidence is unsurmountable. The renegation of his political responsibilities is echoed on several occasions as the hero is described "Tyria Kartagine qui nunc/ expectat fatisque datas non respicit urbes". Aeneas has to be admonished by Mercury "heu, regni rerumque oblitate tuarum", and Virgil emphasizes that Aeneas is wasting time again in Mercury's words "aut qua spe Libycis teris otia terris?".

We can find a parallel in Cervantes of Aeneas' travesty of his social and political duties if we recall that the chivalric ideal is a social and political one. On this basis Aeneas' recalcitrance is evoked in Don Quijote who is worried about not fulfilling his responsibilities, as the narrator puts it "le parecio que la vida que en aquel castillo tenia era contra toda la orden de
caualleria que professaba” IV, 167. No more eloquent testimony can be given than for the hero to say it himself as he makes a resolution to depart "yo pienso dexar presto esta vida ociosa en que estoy, pues no naci para ella". IV, 161. It is this consciousness of purpose that forms the contrast here and differentiates the two protagonists.

For where Aeneas had succumbed to the amorous temptations, in deference to his duty, in the Cervantine depiction, either strength of purpose or (knowledge of Aeneas' mistakes) leads the don to take precautions as he says, "yo ponga una muralla en medio de mis deseos y de mi honestidad" IV, 68. We could find another example in the case of Altisidora if we remember that without knowledge on the hero's part as to the facetiousness of Altisidora's advances, the temptations to the don could be considered in the same light as the temptations to Aeneas in Carthage, for the narrator records Don Quijote's resolution to avoid the pitfalls of his Virgilian counterpart with "temio no le rindiesse y propuso en su pensamiento el no dexarse vencer" IV, 74. There is indeed contrast between the two protagonists, and this time to the renown of the Cervantine hero who reflects an unfailing consciousness of purpose.

Both artist portray their ideology of political purpose not only with respect to their protagonists but also
with respect to the hosts who belong to the class of public officials. The political administrative task when properly performed is reflected in the energy of the people. Such is the case of industrious Carthage as Dido fulfills her administrative task of inspiration: "talis erat Dido, talem se laeta ferebat/ per medios instans operi regniaque futuris"\textsuperscript{39} 1:503-4. The picture of industry ("fervet opus" 1:436) is perhaps unparalleled in all literature:

Miratur molem Aeneas, magalia quondam, 
miratur portas strepitudque et strata uiarum. 
instant ardentes Tyrii: pars ducere muros 
molirique arcem et manibus subuoluere saxa, 
pars optare locum tecto et concludere sulco; 
iura magistratusque legunt sanctumque senatum. 
hic portus alii effodiunt: hic alta theatris 
fundamenta locant alii, immanisque columnas 
rupibus excidunt, scaenis decora apta futuris;\textsuperscript{40} 

How well the poet consumates the picture with the apt simile of bees "qualis apes aestate noua per florea rura/ exercet sub sole labor..."\textsuperscript{41} 1:430-1.

If there is a Cervantine parallel of Carthage at work, we could see it in the governorship of Sancho. In the relatively few days his toil lasts, he is shown as judge in several cases, he is shown making the rounds through the city at night. Sancho's letter to his master emphasizes his activity as he complains that the pressure of his business prevents him from even scratching his head. He visits the market-place; he has perished of hunger, fought war against invaders. One is inclined to suggest that Virgil's
simile of the bees was recalled by Cervantes as Sancho vows to rid the state of the lazy unbeeilike elements for as the "governor" says, "la gente valdia y perezosa es en la republica lo mesmo que los zanganos en las colmenas, que se comen la miel que las trabajadoras abejas hazen" IV,125.

In the first picture of Dido, and in Sancho's governorship, both Virgil and Cervantes had presented images of what good government entails. If imagery is the poet's art, the Latin bard is supreme, for, what an image of contrast he presents as he reverts to his original scene of activity. But now no longer is there the teeming labor, no longer the beelike activity, but the still sadness of toil forsaken:

Non coeptae adsurgunt turres, non arma iuuentus exercet portusue aut propugnacula bello tuta parent; pendent opera interrupta minaeque murorum ingentes aequatque machina caelo 4:86-9.

Dido has joined with Aeneas as exempla of the neglect of duties as the poet describes them forgetful of their reputation "oblitos famae melioris amantis" 4:221; listless and mindless of ruling "nunc hiemem inter se luxus quam longa, fouere/ regnorum immemores turpique cupidine captos" 4:193-4. It is no doubt true that the Dido episode is the part of the Aeneid which has attracted attention to itself for many good reasons, as one critic puts it:
It has in all ages been the part of the *Aeneid* which has outshone, has even in some sense eclipsed the rest, by its fusion of delicate psychological insight with human sympathy, of splendid eloquence with burning passion.

But what comes out must strikingly from an ethical standpoint is Dido's social commitment which she has reneged for personal gratification. Even in her death Virgil would echo her failing as Anna tearfully complains: "extinxti te meque, soror, populumque patresque/Sidonios urbemque tuam" 4:682-3.

Virgil has succeeded in painting a picture of poor administration artistically highlighted by the earlier contrasting picture. To find a parallel in Cervantes, we do not have far to look. The hyperactivity of Sancho's government finds a blatant contrast in the pleasure seeking activities of the duke and duchess. The continuous change of scenery from Sancho's active government to the "burlas" of the ducal pair is ingeniously employed by Cervantes. The element of leisure associated with the aberration of administrative duties pervades every aspect of the ducal realm, their abode being described as a house of pleasure "casa de plazer". The first picture of them is in a hunting party and before the protagonist ends his stay, they would be enjoying another hunting party reminiscent of the hunting party which marked Dido's degeneration into ignominy—the first day of her destruction "illo dies primus leti" 4:169. It is the essence of
Cervantes's transferential art that the lowly unschooled peasant Sancho becomes not only the exemplar of good government but also the instrument of the author's castigation of poor administration as he tells the ducal pair, avid lovers of the hunt:

Bueno seria que viniessen los negociantes a buscarle fatigados y el estuuiesse en el monte holgandose; assi enhoramalo andaria el gouierno. Mia fe, senor, la caza y los passatiempos mas han de ser para los holgazantes que para los gouernadores. III,424.

Osterc's viewpoints on this are worthy of note:

el papel más activo del escudero a medida que avanzan las moñas no es fortuito y obedece al designio del autor de subrayar y hacer resaltar por ley de contraste--el campesino frente a los grandes aristócratas--su censura repulsiva de aquellas clases depravadas, y de arrancarles la mascara de una nobleza falsa e hipócrita.46

It is a very ingenious touch which Cervantes uses to point out the failure of duties. Don Quijote on leaving the realm would say "Señora mia, sepa vuestra senoria que todo el mal de esta donzella nace de ociosidad cuyo remedio es la ocupacion honesta y continua" IV,369. In his reiteration of "señora mia, vuestra senoria" the duchess could not help but realize that the remarks were directed to her, for she had failed both in lack of direction and poor example.

It is a well-known aspect of Virgilian artistry that even his antiheroes are made likeable to his audience. Thus he has presented plausible motivations for Dido's
actions so that human sentiment almost compels empathy with the Carthagelian queen. Dido could be excused somewhat for her political failures if it is recalled that she was incited to amorous attachments with Aeneas partly because of political purposes. Anna tells here to think of the protection which Aeneas could offer, considering the enemies surrounding the kingdom "nec uenit in mentem quorum consideris aruis?" 4:49; she also points out what kingdoms could result from such a union: "quae surgere regna coniugio tali!" 4:46-7. It may well be that from an ethical standpoint Cervantes's sense of decorum impeded an attribution of amorous passion to the duchess, but seen in the light of the Virgilian model, he thus compounds the degeneration of the ducal pair by leaving them devoid of any understandable motivation which would form an excuse in Dido's case. Indeed this purposeless nonessentiaity of the characters' actions highlights the farcical of the writer's artistry.

On the entire question of duty and responsibility Virgilian social criticism 48 recalls the situation in the historical ambient especially with respect to Cleopatra, and Cervantine critics also recall the situation in Spain as Waldo Frank who stated:

Cervantes looked within Spain. It is a squalid land. Men pray while it lies sterile. Old soldiers are vagabonds on the road. Farms are waste while lazy lords watch for gold-filled galleons from the Indies. 49
On this basis it could be suggested that in Virgil's day, Cleopatra, Julius Caesar, Anthony, all of whom had abrogated duty met with the bitter fate of death and so Dido also perishes. On the other hand, the ducal pair escapes unpunished, for in the degenerate regime of Philip III, the nobility idled with impunity and Cervantes imposed no sanction because he saw none imposed on the nobility in the "idle, ostentatious, privileged and unequal Spain of Philip III". Though the social critic may be justified in his own way, it should be pointed out that the avoidance of punishment here is akin to the eschewing of pathos which we have seen as a constant in Cervantine art.

Mercy and Justice:

So far in this thematic analysis of the episodes, we have shown that Virgil in his depiction of Aeneas' stay in Carthage creates a micro-cosmos of a social and political order. He constructs his ideology of public duty both around his protagonists and the host, a reduplication of which is found in the Cervantine facsimile of Don Quijote's stay in the ducal realm. At this stage, we wish to point out that Virgil inserts certain basic principles of social order, namely, mercy and justice—also to be duplicated by the novelist.

In any social and political question, the concept of justice is practically unavoidable, for it is the basis of
the social contract. "Justice attributes to each man that which is his due and is the cornerstone of the state." As architects of the principles of good government, the concept of justice was foremost in the Roman political thought. It was not the stringent justice bordering on vengeance which is to be found in the Old Testament nor was it the extreme of mercy bordering on indulgency. The Romans perceived that "organized society is a discipline which the prudent accept and which the imprudent must be forced to submit to". The doctrine would be most completely and succinctly voiced by Anchises to Aeneas, in book 6:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento} \\
\text{(hae tibe erunt artes), pacique imponere morem,} \\
\text{parcere subjectis et debellare superbos. 6:851-3.} \\
\end{align*}\]

We wish to show, however, that the realm of Dido would prove to be its surest depiction, paralleled by the Cervantine facsimile.

The initial picture that Virgil paints of Dido is that of the good ruler who feels empathy with the distressed Trojans, for she knows the concept of mercy: "non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco" 1:630. Thus, she offers to the besieged the comfort and safety of her kingdom:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{auxilio tutors dimittam opibusque iuuabo} \\
vultis et his mecum pariter considere regnis? \\
\text{urbem quam statuo, uestra est; subducite nauis. 55} \\
\text{1:571-3,} \\
\end{align*}\]
Dido's sense of justice, that essential quality of the ruler comes out on several occasions. She will treat her own people (Tyrius) and the foreigners (Tros) without discrimination "Tros Tyriusque mihi mullo discrimine agetur"\(^{56}\) 1:574. How well Virgil presents a picture of regal justice:

\[
\text{saepta armis solioque alte subnixa resedet}
\]
\[
iura dabat legesque iuris operumque laborem}
\]
\[
partibus aequabat iustis aut sorte trahebat\(^{57}\).506-8.
\]

The terminologies associated with Dido patently reflect the emphasis on mercy and justice, "iuvabo,"

"pariter," "nullo discrimine," "iura dabat legesque iuris,"

"partibus aequabat iustis". But human nature has the potential both for compassion and malevolence and so a later picture presents Dido as implacable in her desire to exact revenge on Aeneas, regretful that she had formerly been merciful. She not only chides Aeneas unjustly but she is also unjust in her deception of Anna, the one so dear to her. Her lack of mercy and justice are tangential to the abrogation of her political duties, for as Osterc noted "la putrefacción de aparato estatal tenía su parelelo en la suma corrupción de la adminstración de justicia".\(^{58}\)

As is to be expected, the universal intuition of justice receives noteworthy exemplification in the Cervantine replica. We have stated earlier that the very motto of the knight, the oft repeated "perdonar los humildes y castigar los soberbios" is merely a
hispanization of the Virgilian dictum. In its implication of mercy to the downtrodden, the ducal realm episode provides a parallel to Dido's "miseris succurrere disco" and her offer of help to the Trojans. It is the case of Don Quijote who gets an opportunity to exultingly vocalize his motto as doña Rodriguez asks him for help. However, the most elaborate manifestation of the Virgilian tenets of castigation and suavity is to be observed in Don Quijote's advice to his squire, as he says "No seas siempre riguroso ni siempre blando, y escoge el medio entre estos dos extremos" IV,53, and with special reference to Sancho, the knight cautions "los no de principios nobles deuen acompanar la grauedad del cargo que exercitan con una blanda suavidad" IV,51.

Sancho puts into practical form the tenets of his master. If he is stern with the mendacious wench, he is paternal with the daughter of Diego de la Liana; if he castigates the peasant who tries to wheedle money from him, he recalls his master's emphasis on suavity in the case of obvious paradox in which his judgment is sought. No one can deny that Sancho called "nuevo Salomon" for his Solomonic wisdom in attributing justice, deserves the highest tribute which is paid to his law-giving abilities "En resolucion el ordeno cosas tan buenas que hasta oy se guardan en aquel lugar y se nombran:Las constituciones del gran gouernador Sancho Panza". IV,166.
As opposed to just governor Sancho, as opposed to the protagonist himself "whose guiding star is the most absolute unbending justice," the antithesis would once again be exemplified in the hosts, more precisely the duke. Speaking about his lack of justice, doña Rodríguez comments "pensar que el duque mi señor me ha de hacer justicia es pedir peras al olmo" IV,169. Testimony of this is borne out in the case of Tosilos who hoping to rectify an injustice is drubbed by the duke. If Cervantes in this depiction were seeking to imply a criticism of the social administration of his day, it would seem to be no mere coincidence that Sancho meets with Ricote immediately after leaving his governorship which was a model and exemplar of benign administration. Contrast could be considered the artistic instrument of his social criticism. The protagonist had preached a doctrine of mercy and his squire had practiced it, but Ricote's plight reflects the antithesis in the historical ambient, as the Moor complains:

"Ya tendré lugar de contarle lo que me ha sucedido después que me parti de nuestro lugar, por obedecer el vando de su magestad, que con tanto rigor a los desdichados de mi nación amenazaba IV,190.

While it is true that the Moor does talk about "el rigor de la pena" IV,192, it should be noticed however, that as so much else in the Quijote, the matter is not that clear-cut. For in the same breadth with which Ricote reiterates that the punishment was harsh he would acknowledge that
the reason was just:

Finalmente con justa razón fuymos castigados con la pena del destierro, blando y suave al parecer de algunos pero al nuestro, la más terrible que se nos podía dar. IV,193.

Virgil had seen what some would consider Augustus' implacability in dealing with the conspirators of Julius Caesar; Cervantes had seen what some would consider the monarch's implacability in expelling the moors. The artists' dual posture however, would seem to imply that while they both advocated the concept of mercy as a benign one, they realized that the human condition does not allow its total applicability, whether because of passion or the need for self-preservation.

From this comparison of Virgil's depiction of Aeneas' stay in Carthage and the Cervantine facsimile of Don Quijote's stay in the unnamed realm of an unnamed duke and duchess, it becomes clear that the Spaniard was conscious of the Virgilian creation. For, apart from a suffusion of lesser coincidences, there is the direct mentioning of Virgil, of his personages and a direct quotation of one of his phrases. More detailed analysis showed that the episodes were even constructed around similar structural lines, with deceit as a common factor, and even similarities in the more intricate aspects of deceit.
Beyond those correspondences, it seems that the Spaniard had seen in the Virgilian work certain principles and aspects of political administration which he considered significant enough to reproduce. For there is a mutual exemplification of the concepts of mercy and justice, of duty and responsibility, and their travesty. By Cervantes's depiction of a nobility at play and at the same time recalling the classical situation of another nobility at play, forgetful of duty, the Spanish novelist, influenced perhaps by certain concerns in his own world, was probably portraying a criticism of certain aspects of society. If this is the case, it can be said that both artists as they reflected on, and sought to lead others to reflect on their respective social environments were fulfilling the social function which Plato demanded of the bards. Their ideological concerns are the same. The effect, however, is different because the artistry is different. While in Virgil, the pathos intensifies the ethical, it would seem that in Cervantes, the ethical though very much present is clouded by the farcical. The ethical suffers perceptibility in the latter but such is the natural result of treating serious concerns in a comic manner. Literary artistry is true for both and if there is a differentiating element, it is that between the prophet and the satirist, for Cervantes tutored just like Virgil,
but he used the manner of Horace to smile man's folly away. Differing in artistry, they are indeed united in ideology.
Footnotes on Chapter 3


2. ibid.

3. *Aeneid* 1:565-6. Who could be ignorant of the race of Aeneas' people, who of Troy's town and her brave deeds and brave men, or of the fires of such a war?

4. *Aeneid* 1:623-4. From that time on the fall of the Trojan city has been known to me; known, too, thine own name and the Pelasgian kings.

5. *Aeneid* 1:701-2. Servants pour water on their hands, serve bread from baskets and bring smooth-shorn napkins.


7. *Aeneid* 4:165-6. To the same cave come Dido and the Trojan chief.


10. *Aeneid* 4:590-1. Shall he go? Shall the intruder have made of our realm a laughing-stock?

11. See Clemencin, op. cit., Vol. 7, p. 121, f. 215: The critic states that "este nuevo Eneas que ha llegado a mis regiones para dejarme encarnida" is an allusion to Dido's words "Pro Iupiter, ibit hic, et nostris inluserit aduena regnis?" The critic notes "Escarnida, palabra antiquada, lo mismo que escarnecida, burlada".
12 Aeneid 4:22-3. He alone has swayed my will and overthrown my tottering soul.

13 Aeneid 4:365-7. False one! no goddess was thy mother, nor was Dardanus founder of thy line; but rugged Caucasus on his flinty rocks begat thee, and Hyrcanian tigresses gave thee suck.


15 Aeneid 4:430. Let him await an easy flight and favouring winds.

16 Aeneid 4:433. For empty time, I ask.

17 See Marasso, op. cit., p. 159. The critic recalls that it was customary to refer to the horse in question as Palladium. The Virgilian text refers to it as "pro Palladio".

18 Aeneid 2:19-20. Here within its dark sides, they stealthily enclose the choicest of their stalwart men and deep in the paunch fill the huge cavern with armed soldiery.

19 Aeneid 2:45-6. Either enclosed in this frame there lurk Achaeans, or this has been built as an engine of war against our walls.

20 Aeneid 2:151. What religious offering is it? What engine of war?


22 Clavileño also recalls the journey through the heavens in the "Somnium Scipionis" in Cicero's Republic, also Bellerophon and Pegasus, also Astolfo's ride in Orlando Furioso.

23 Aeneid 1:407-8. Thou also cruel, why mockest thou son so often with vain phantoms?
24. *Aeneid* 1:684. Feign by craft his form, boy as thou art, don the boy's familiar face.

25. *Aeneid* 4:95. One woman is subdued by the guile of two gods.

26. *Aeneid* 4:172. She calls it marriage and with that name veils her sin!

27. *Aeneid* 4:290. (He bids them) make ready the fleet in silence, gather the crews to the shore, and order the armament, but hide the cause of his altered plans.


30. *Aeneid* 2:105. Then indeed we burn to inquire and ask the causes.

31. *Aeneid* 4:675. Was this thy purpose sister? Did'st thou aim thy fraud at me?


34. *Aeneid* 4:120. Yielding to her suit, the Cytherean gave assent and smiled at the guile discovered.

35. *Aeneid* 1:352. For a long time he hid the deed, and by many a pretense cunningly cheated the lovesick bride with empty hope.

37 *Aeneid* 4:267. Alas, of thine own kingdom and fortunes forgetful!

38 *Aeneid* 4:271. In what hope dost thou waste idle hours in Libyan land?

39 *Aeneid* 1:503-4. Such was Dido, so moved she joyously through their midst, pressing on the work of her rising kingdom.

40 *Aeneid* 1:420-429. Aeneas marvels at the massive buildings, mere huts once; marvels at the gates, the din and paved high-roads. Eagerly the Tyrians press on, some to build walls, to rear the citadel, and roll up stones by hand; some to choose the site for a dwelling and enclose it with a furrow. Laws and magistrates they ordain, and a holy senate. Here some are digging harbours, here others lay the deep foundations of their theatre and hew out of the cliffs vast columns, lofty adornments for the stage to be!

41 *Aeneid* 1:430-431. Even as bees in early summer, amid flowery fields, ply their tasks in sunshine when they lead forth the full grown young of their race.

42 *Aeneid* 4:86-89. No longer rise the towers begun, no longer do the youth exercise in arms, or toil at havens or bulwarks for safety in war; the works are broken off and idle—huge threatening walls and the engine uptowering to heaven.

43 *Aeneid* 4:193-4. Now they spend the winter, all its length, in wanton ease together, heedless of their realms enthralled by shameless passion.


45 *Aeneid* 4:682-3. Thou hast destroyed thyself and me, 0 sister, the Sidonion senate and people, and thy city.

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47 *Aeneid* 4:39. Dost thou not call to mind in whose lands thou art settled.

48 Theodor Haecker, *Virgil, Father of the West*, trans. A.W. Wheen, (New York: Sheed & Ward Inc., 1934), p. 39. The critic states "Every Roman reading the story of Aeneas and Dido must have thought of Caesar and Cleopatra...but so must he also have remembered Anthony...".


50 William J. Entwhistle, *Cervantes*, op. cit.

51 ibid.


53 *Aeneid* 6:851-3. Remember thou, O Roman, to rule the nations with thy sway--these shall be thine arts--to crown peace with law, to spare the humbled, and to tame in war the proud!

54 *Aeneid* 1:630. Not ignorant of ill, do I learn to befriend the unhappy.

55 *Aeneid* 1:571-3. I will send you hence guarded by an escort and aid you with my wealth. Or is it your wish to settle with me on even terms within these realms? The city I build is yours, draw up your ships.

56 *Aeneid* 1:574. Trojan and Tyrian, I shall treat with no distinction.

57 *Aeneid* 1:506-8. Girt with arms and high enthroned, she took her seat. Laws and ordinances she gave to her people; their tasks she adjusted in equal shares or assigned by lot.

58 Osterc, op. cit., p. 224.

Chapter 4.
Episodic Aspect B. Montesinos and Hades

In the last chapter we discussed the first of two parallel episodes which form the episodic aspect of a comparative analysis of the Aeneid and the Quijote. The episodes to be treated in this chapter are of limited extensiveness compared to the former pair, for Aeneas' descent into the underworld occupies only a part of Book 6 and the descent of don Quijote hardly comprises one chapter. Hades and Montesinos, however, are probably more distinctive in being the only episodes within the works which can be conceived of as extra-terrestrial occurrences.

Viewed from a universal perspective, however, they lose uniqueness in belonging to an extensive literary tradition. Fletcher sees them within the genre of "visions" as he states:

Many traditional allegories belong to a class which might be called a genre, namely "vision". One thinks immediately of the allegorical figures in Aeneas' descent to the Underworld, in the vision of Piers Plowman, in the Divine Comedy, and in Don Quijote's descent into the Cave of Montesinos.

These episodes could also be considered within the realm of the "other world" adventures in the terminology of Patch who points out both in classical and oriented literature, some of the same features. The necessary
miscegenation with the passage of time is noted by the critic who states:

> By the thirteenth century, it is clear that "other world" material has become so generally used that the motifs had become mixed in character of times and traces of the origin are almost entirely obscured.²

This situation could account for the fact that Cervantine critics reflect a divergency of views, and necessarily so, for the fertile mind of Cervantes could have been influenced in diverse ways by the rich tradition. Maria Rosa Lida sees parallels between the Montesinos episode and Montalvo's descent into a well in Esplandián,³ while Brenan and Barto recall the tradition of the Holy Grail.⁴ On the other hand there are those who advocate that the episode follows the classical tradition of the hero's descent. Casalduero for instance states blatantly that Cervantes is challenging the classical writers:

> Cervantes se lanza a crear una fábula, una leyenda, la de la cueva de Montesinos y el origen del Guadiana, Cervantes, una vez más quiere competir con los poetas de Grecia y de Roma.⁵

As is to be expected, Marasso identifies the don's descent with that of Aeneas but does not explore the question as noted by Durán:

> Las razones aducidas por Marasso no son, quizá, totalmente convencientes, aún cuando es indudable que Cervantes conocía el episodio en cuestión de la Eneida.⁶
Our analysis seeks to rectify the lack of conviction noted by Durán, by portraying a suffusion of parallel elements but also pointing out the individuality of Cervantes's treatment. The analysis achieves further importance in providing the opportunity to trace the trajectory of the heroes, highlighting elements of similarity, and this is justified by the fact that the two episodes are key points of acknowledged symbolic worth in the transition of the heroes. While critics as Avalle-Arce, Gloria Fry, and Sarmiento have made very worthwhile analyses of the episode as it exists in the Quijote, we hope once again that knowledge of, and comparison with, the Virgilian depiction will lead us into new insights or at least help to clarify and reinforce existing conceptions.

Cervantes by subtle or not so subtle means orients the reader to the classical situation by choosing as Don Quijote's guide a self-proclaimed humanist whose books include the Metamorfoses, o Ovidio Español and a Suplemento a Virgilio Polidoro, III,278-9. To emphasize this orientation towards the classical depiction of the underworld we should remember that Cervantes had the features of the classical Hell constantly in mind and had evoked it on several occasions. Earlier in our study it was pointed out that in the Altisidora episode, in order to create the impression of the after-life, Cervantes
resorts to a citation of classical figures traditionally associated with the realm as the judges Minos and Rhadamonte and locations as the waters of forgetfulness. But throughout the work, there are several other references. For example, in the Merlin prophecy there is reference to the murky caverns of Dis; the wagon of death is seen as the boat of Charon:

-Carretero, cocheru, a diablo, o lo que que eres, no tardes en dezirme quien eres, a do vas y quien es la gente que lleuas en tu carricoche, que mas parece la barca de Caron que carreta de las que se vsan. III,145-6.

Even very early in the composition, the song of Grisóstomo who had died for love, recalls the sufferings of some of hell's inhabitants—Sisyphus, Tityus, Tantalus, and Ixion. Though these figures were commonplaces, one is inclined to attribute a Virgilian indebtedness in view of Cervantes's clear recall of the Mantuan in Grisóstomo's wish to have his writing burnt just as Virgil had requested the unfinished Aeneid to be destroyed. But by far the most noteworthy evocation of the classical abode of the dead is Don Quijote's adventure into the cave of Montesinos.

To make it unequivocal that he is following the tradition of the hero's descent into the lower-world, the world of limbo—a crepuscular zone of life and death, Cervantes is very careful in his presentation. On
several occasions he refers to burial alive--

Don Quijote: Yo voy a despeñarme, a empozarme y a hundirme en el abismo que aqui se me representa. III, 282.


Sancho Panza: Dios te guie, otra vez, y te buelua sano y sin cautela a la luz desta vida, que dexas, por enterrarte en esta escuridad que buscas! III, 283.

Sancho as a matter of fact would call the region precisely "infierno" III, 285. It is true that Don Quijote objects to Sancho's use of the term "infierno," Pues no le llameis ansi, porque no lo merece, como luego vereis" III, 285, but as Marasso has ingeniously pointed out, what the don objects to is the narrow Christian conception which the unwitting Sancho probably had. For what the don saw was the classical Lower-World with its Elyssian fields, evoked as he says: "Me hallé en la mitad del mas bello, ameno, deleytoso prado que puede criar la naturaleza" III, 287. It is no wonder that the hero says that he did not want to leave the region, "Dios os lo perdone, amigos, que me aueis quitado de la mas sabrosa y agradable vida" III, 284. How well his attitude recalls that of Aeneas who cannot believe how anyone would want to leave those regions and return to the upper world:
To emphasize this aversion to the upper world, both authors show the heroes exemplifying a lack of enthusiasm about returning as they seek to spend more time at preferred activities. Both have to be reminded about the passage of time:

Don Quijote: Quise sequirla y lo hiziera, si no me aconsejrara Montesinos que no me cansasse en ello, porque seria en balde, y mas, porque se llegaua la hora, donde me convenia boluer a salir de la sima. III,299.

Aeneas: et fors omne datum traherent per talia tempus sed comes admonuit breuiterque adfata Sibylla est: *nox ruit, Aenea; nos flendo ducimus horas.* 6:537-9

This lack of consciousness on the part of the protagonists with respect to time reflects a temporal dislocation, and as is to be expected, they also encounter difficulty in differentiating materiality from immateriality. Aeneas in terror would draw his sword and attack vain phantoms while Don Quijote would be unsure even of his own corporality as he later relates: "Con todo esto me tenté la cabeza y los pechos por certificarne si era yo mismo el que allí estaua o alguna fantasma vana y contrahecha" III,287. The switch here is significant. Aeneas, who never had problems with outside phenomena, does have problems here emphasizing the eerie uniqueness of the region. To reiterate this aspect
Cervantes must depict in his hero, not a conflict with phenomena which already existed, but with himself which never existed.

In this rather vulnerable situation in which the heroes find themselves, it seems paradoxical that the authors reemphasize not only their heroism but their distinctive excellence much vaunted by heroes, epic or chivalric. Thus, both authors mention that the journey is allowed only to the chosen few: In the Aeneid, we find:

\begin{quote}
Pauci quos aequus amauit
Iuppiter aut ardens evexit ad aethera virtus
\end{quote}

and in the Quijote, the hero himself tells his squire: "Tal empresa como aquésta, Sancho amigo, para mi estaba guardada" III,281, an opinion which Montesinos acknowledges by telling the hero "Hazaña solo guardada para ser acometida de tu invencible corazón y tu ánimo stupendo". III,288.

To further emphasize the selectivity necessary for the accomplishment of the journey, the heroes are welcomed in glowing terms. They are not unwelcome visitors, but have been long awaited to be given special knowledge and information. Aeneas is welcomed by his father in these terms:

\begin{quote}
Venisti tandem tuoque expectata parenți
vicit iter durum pietas .... 6:687-8.
\end{quote}

and

\begin{quote}
has equidem memorare tibi atque ostendere coram
iampridem, hanc prolem cupio enumerare meorum 6:716-7.
\end{quote}
and Montesinos tells the don:

Luengos tiempos ha, valeroso cavallero don Quixote
de la Mancha, que los que estamos en estas
soledades encantados esperamos verte, para que
des noticia al mundo de lo que encierra y cubre
la profunda cueva por donde has entrado. III,288.

The element of long expectation expressed in Virgil by
"tandem" and "iampridem" is paralleled in Cervantes's
"Luengos tiempos ha," and what Virgil expresses as
"ostendere" and "enumerare" is echoed in the Cervantine
"des noticia".

It would seem that for Christian and pagan alike, there
are no secrets beyond the grave, in that information denied
to living minds are revealed to the heroes. Thus, Aeneas
asks and learns about the manner of death of Palinurus
and Deiphobus. Don Quijote, not to be outdone, asks
Montesinos about the manner of death of Durandarte:

Si fue verdad lo que en el mundo de acá arriba se
contaua, que el aula sacado de la mitad del
pecho, con una pequeña daga, el corzaon de su
grande amigo Durandarte y llevándole a la señora
Belerma, como el se lo mandó al punto de su muerte.
III,288.

If a parallel is to be made on the basis of person-
ages, a very obvious one is that of Montesinos and
Anchises, both playing the role of hosts and sage inter-
preters. The description that Cervantes makes of
Montesinos as "venerable anciano" seems to reinforce this
viewpoint:
vi que por ellas salía y hacia mi venía un venerable anciano vestido con un capuz de bayeta morada ..... el continente, el paso, la gravedad y la anchísima presencia, cada cosa de por sí, y todas juntas, me suspendieron y admiraron. III,287-8.

Nor is it difficult to see a parallel between the two protagonists, both of whom go on a guided tour, are similarly tutored, are similarly spurned by the objects of amorous associations, Dido and Dulcinea. If we seek to support this analogy between the protagonists by a citation of descriptive phrases, difficulties are forthcoming upon noticing similarities in phrasing used to describe Don Quijote and Augustus Caesar. In the Aeneid, Augustus' role as Messiah and reviver of the golden age is described by Anchises as follows:

Hic vir, hic est, tibi quem promitti audis,
Augustus Caesar, diui genus, aurea condet
Saturna quondam ..... 6:791-4.14

In the Quijote, Montesinos refers to the don in a similar manner:

Aquel gran cauallero de quien tantas cosas tiene profetizadas el sabio Merlín: aquel Don Quijote de la Mancha, digo, que de nuevo y con mayores ventajas que en los pasados siglos ha resuscitado en los presentes la ya olvidada andante cauallería.

III,292.

The Virgilian "promitti" is echoed in the Cervantine "profetizadas" and the anaphoric "hic" by the anaphoric "aquel" so that contextual affinity seems reinforced by a parallel of expression.
With respect to such an affinity between Augustus and Don Quijote there is no real problem, however, since Cervantes the keen artist that he was, probably realized in the Virgilian art the identification of Aeneas and Augustus. Besides, he need not feel limited to stringent identification since his hero (similar to the multifacedly plurasympoligic Aeneas) is an embodiment of heroism, or heroes, whoever they may be, as reflected in La Dolorida's words to Sancho "bien puedes preciarte que en servir al gran don Quijote sirues en cifra a toda la caterua de cavalleros que han tratado las armas en el mundo." III,11.

The crux of the matter seems to be that Cervantes, who had identified his hero with the revival of a golden age very reminiscent of the classical golden age, could not resist the temptation to make this association.

From an over-all view, the number of similarities between the two descents is very impressive—the Elyssian Fields, the aversion of the upper-world, the temporal dislocation, the confusion of materiality and immateriality, the journey allowed to the chosen, the hero long awaited to be tutored, the encounter with characters known before, the spurning by the beloved. Could it be that the birds which emanate from the cave are an evocation of the birds which led Aeneas to obtain his passport to the lower-world or a recall in an inverted manner of Virgil's emphasis
that the region is birdless and therefore called by the Greeks A-Ornos? Could it be that the brambles which Don Quijote hacks away at the entrance of the cave is a recall of the brambles broken by the Sibyl at the entrance of the Virgilian cave? Could it be that the moaning and wailing that Aeneas hears in Tartarus find a parallel in the groans which Don Quijote heard "Oyeronse en esto grandes alaridos y llantos, acompañados de profundos gemidos y angustiados sollozos"? III, 293. Could it be that by having his hero asleep on his exit, Cervantes is recalling the region of dreams in the Virgilian depiction or the fact that Aeneas had made his exit through the gates of dream? One is very tempted to answer in the affirmative to all these questions.

It cannot be emphasized too strongly that Cervantes exhibits a conscientious zeal in bringing to the reader the classical mold. But while it has been possible to see many significant parallels and tempting to see others, we should not forget the other aspects of the depiction. For originality through contrast and transformation is continually a vital force in his creation. Thus the golden bough needed to expedite Aeneas' descent becomes only a rope in Don Quijote's case. Thus the pageant of heroes paraded before Aeneas has been transferred into the empty and inane pageantry of Belerma's court. The heroes in Virgil's Hades "grapple in exercise and sport,
some dancing, other singing. Whatever living the men de-lighted in, whatever pleasure was theirs in horse and chariot, still hold them. The hero in Cervantes's Hades is totally nonchalant, completely bored as he turns over on his side and says "paciencia, y barajar". Dulcinea's request for money and her hero not having enough would surely be out of place in the Virgilian Hades. One would weep with Aeneas on learning the fate of Deiphobus and Palinurus but this is hardly the reaction which is elicited by Montesinos' description of Durandarte's death, as Cervantes once again transforms the pathetic into the comic.

It has been well observed that Cervantes rarely sinks into low burlesque but here in the episode of the Cave of Montesinos he seems almost to distort his model. This should not be surprising. In fact, we should almost ex-pect that as he sought the middle way "aurea mediocritas," precisely here, where the aura of reverent gravity pervades the classical model most auspiciously the Spaniard would choose to portray his most vilifying burlesque dimension. How else could one explain such a studied emphasis on insignificant inconsequentials as differentiating whether it was a dagger or stilleto with which Durandarte was killed, with the heightening irrelevance of Sancho's suggestion that it probably was that of Ramon de Hozes?
How else could one explain the novelist's wallowing into the very depths of the grotesque and the vulgar as he mentions the use of salt to prevent decay of Durandarte's flesh and underscores that Belerma's puffed eyelids were not due to her monthly condition? It is what Casalduero describes as "un fuerte reborde grotesco, creado por las notas realistas".16

Now here has there been such a strong evocation of classical solemnity and such an admixture of vulgarity contributing to a most artistic burlesque deformation, as Clemencín notes: "aglomerado lo natural, lo histórico, lo ridículo y lo caballeresco, formó la aventura más feliz del Quijote".17 Cervantes has truly created a melange of the incongruous by mixing the classical with the chivalric, the lofty with the plebian, culture with vulgarity at the same time that he transforms the solemn into the whimsical. The treatment here is truly indicative of Cervantes's methodology as it reflects the studied attempt of a conscious artist to incorporate in his own manner the lofty classical mold.

What seems to especially emphasize the consciousness of Cervantes as imitator and critic is that he saw both form and content in art. He saw aspects of the Virgilian depiction beyond the superficials of the textual which he parodied. We wish to show now that Cervantes saw considerations which purported to the overall trajectory of
the Virgilian protagonist and the ideology of the *Aeneid*, reflecting in his imitation the duality which Durán describes as "frivolidad y entretenimiento, por una parte, y fervor moral y tensión didáctica, por la otra".  

The Descent and the Trajectory of the Heroes:

Aeneas' trajectory begins with the fall of Troy. He sets out with a definite purpose—to transplant his dislodged household gods into a kingdom that he is to found. He had been told his task very early by Hector but he is not committed to it; he is not prepared to subjugate everything to its fulfillment. One could say that Aeneas does not realize its imperativeness and lacking this realization, he finds other activities more compelling, as one critic puts it, "Aeneas is constantly in situations in which he does what seems wrong".

The realization of the imperium would have demanded an immediate departure from Troy once the die was cast. But time and again, Aeneas runs back into the thick of battle, even exhorting his men to die with him, "Moriamur et in media arma ruamur". At long last, when he is actually leaving, he still goes back to the burning city to look for his lost wife, Creusa, again prepared to die. Though Aeneas' actions are commendable in that they reflect a certain devotion ("pietas") for his loved ones and his fatherland, the sort of patriotism so well documented in
the verse, ("pro patria mori dulce est"), yet, with respect to his destined purpose, he is obviously delinquent. Critics have not failed to chastise Aeneas for this recalcitrant heroism in his reflection of the great gulf which separates auscultation and realization. Again, it is his lack of realization of the imperiousness of his task and subsequently his lack of commitment that makes Aeneas pretend a hope he does not feel: "spem vultu simulât, premit altum corde dolorem" 1:209 and actually to moan in despair "O ter quaterque beati qui anti ora patrum Troiae sub moenibus altis contigit, oppetere!" 1:94-96. To cap it all was his dalliance in Carthage (as shown in the last chapter) where Virgil ever so deftly portrays his lack of dedication.

Don Quijote's trajectory begins as he leaves his abode with all the aplomb of heroic onomasticism and "speciously" bedecked with the trappings and paraphernalia of the world which he espouses. Imbued with an erroneous conception of himself and his circumstances he exults in his chilvaric fancies as he attacks windmills, intrudes on a master-servant relationship, frees condemned criminals, attacks innocent travellers, refuses to pay his bills. The hero has to learn what is expected of him—in other words he has to eradicate the unacceptable beast of chivalry from his system. Like Aeneas, in his ignorance, he
displays the same recalcitrant heroism, for admirable though his motives may be, his "heroic" impulses and actions are obvious manifestations of delinquency. Those who recall the journey as a device to symbolize the course of man's life would say that Aeneas and Don Quijote as they initiate their literary itineraries reflect the waywardness and impetuosity of youth--nay, even the rashness.

It has been well pointed out that a transformation has taken place in both heroes. It is thought that Aeneas becomes more committed, more conscious of his purpose. One can very easily notice that once Aeneas has alighted on Italian soil, he is never to be seen looking back, he is never depicted as diverting his course. All his actions are directed to the wars which he has to face. He is almost bestial in destroying any enemy that stands in his way and energetically courts encounter with Turnus. He does indeed display "an enthusiasm and courage not felt before."

A transition could also be posited in Don Quijote. At the beginning of his adventures the hero has been the true enthusiast, boasting of his prowess, never missing an opportunity to display his undaunted courage. He is the veritable personification of self-confidence and self-assurance as he proclaims "yo se quien soy". I,91. He creates his own adventures justifying the claim to being
the maker of his own destiny. A later picture of the hero reveals a loss of creativity; the grey cast that he wears after the enchantment of Dulcinea would become further darkened, as doubt becomes despair. Adventures are concocted for him by the Ducal pair and their servants. He is caught off-guard and a bandit Roque Guinart performs his task of aiding the needy Claudia Jeronima. How different is his reaction to the galley slaves in Barcelona from his former encounter. After being trampled by hogs, he actually despairs "dexame morir a mi a manos de mis pensamientos y a fuerzas de mis desgracias" IV,242. His inevitable defeat by Samson Carrasco is not long in coming, as totally crushed he meets his Troy.

Point of Transition

The wealth of critical material which has arisen up concerning Aeneas' descent into the Underworld posits the episode as the transitional point in his trajectory.

Duckworth for one states:

Prior to Book 6, Aeneas does falter, and more than once. In Bk. 2 he disobeys the words of Hector to flee and rushes madly into the conflict. During the storm off the coast of Africa in Bk. 1, he regrets that he had not perished on the plains of Troy. .... in Bk. 4, he forgets his mission and is forcibly reminded by Mercury.24

Duckworth somewhat exaggeratingly states that after Bk. 6, Aeneas "never falters". The fact is that even as late as
Bk. 10, 142, Aeneas is caught sleeping and has to be awakened by Cymdoce and exhorted to take up his mission. It is rather to be suggested that the transition (imperceptible as it may be) begins very early as Aeneas is taught his purpose by Hector, by his mother Venus, by Anchises, by omens, dreams, visions, and oracles. These signs, however, must be rightly interpreted for success. Only the clues are given, the outside form, but the process of interpretation is left to the individual's mentality which could be mortally dull. The Aeneid makes of this sphinx-like theme a frequent crisis for the personages so that "not until the pageant of Roman heroes is presented to (Aeneas) in the underworld does he sufficiently grasp the nature of his responsibilities".  

The descent to the underworld is therefore not the only classroom situation but it is the clearest and most powerful instrument of instruction for the hero. Here for the first time Aeneas sees the entire panorama before him—the past, the present, and the future. In no uncertain manner he would have come to know himself as he sees his glorious destiny, indeed, his part in the world:

Aeneas journey to the underworld is much more than one adventure among many ... In the mythical form of a visit to the underworld from where it is singularly possible to observe the world and its otherwise mysterious machinations from a distance, Aeneas realizes the connection of mortal life with world order and that of his own destiny with the history of Rome.  

Similarly, as is to be expected, it has been suggested that the highpoint in Don Quijote's trajectory is the visit to the Cave of Montesinos. Once again, any conceptualization of an abrupt transition must be denied. Again it must be suggested that the learning process begins very early. Don Quijote received his first learning experience at the inn. His teacher was the inn keeper who dubbed him a knight and ironically taught him his first lesson—the need for money. The inn keeper had to teach the lesson in a manner in which the hero would understand i.e. by putting it into a context not contrary to the ideals which the hero expounded. There is no doubt that Don Quijote was influenced by this lesson though he may not have realized its full import. He accepted it because it did not go athwart of his beliefs but he did not see its value in itself. He would have a constant reminder in the person of Sancho.

The don must learn that there is another code besides his own. He would learn it from Andrés that Haldudo does not live by the same guidelines. The don must also learn that Dulcinea does not exist for others. He would have received an intuition of this from the drubbings that he received at the hands of non-believers. What it implies is that, as Hades was to Aeneas, so also to the Cervantine hero, the Cave of Montesinos represents, not the only
instrument of erudition but indeed the most influential and far reaching one. A collaboration of this analysis can be found in the rather insightful comments of Gloria Fry:

The knight's rebirth is not a sudden one. Before Don Quijote has his vision, before he is deceived by a dream in Montesinos he has been going through a gradual process of "resocialization"—a steady progression towards sanity and a "correct" view of life and the world as it is.

If we accept the premise that the novel is a purification of the chivalric ideal, we may consider the Montesinos episode as a "cleansing" of Don Quijote of his malady before he can be admitted into the society of his time. The experience at Montesinos is his most complete preparation for finding his way back to la Mancha, and for feeling once more, though briefly, that he is part of the safe world of Sansom Carrasco and the Caballero del Verde Gabán.

The critic's statements emphasize not only that the transition was a gradual one, with the descent playing a crucial role, but also introduces us into an additional dimension of the hero's descent, namely, the social implications. Though the critic makes the comments with special reference to the Cervantine hero, we wish to show that this aspect is another significant parallel. In considering the socialization of Aeneas, we have to remember that the task imposed upon him was a social one—to found a home for his son and his people. In this context the initial waywardness of Aeneas must be construed as a social deviation. His actions are motivated purely by individual
fancies and this tension between the individual and the social would reach its culmination in the hero’s stay at Carthage. Aeneas has had to quell what can be considered personal whims, as symbolized by the loss of all his personal attachments. Not only does he have to make the sacrifice of love but almost mechanically at every step Aeneas loses some personal link. After Creusa and Dido, it was Anchises, then Palinurus, the host of weak and feeble, Caieta his nurse, also his faithful companions, Nisus and Euryalus. In the meanwhile his son Iulus grows to manhood, a warrior in his own right. It reflects the viewpoints of Clark that "there is a lesson of life behind Virgil's Aeneid and it is duty, self-sacrifice, the nation before the individual".29

To highlight this consideration Virgil portrays the antithesis in the adversaries, Dido and Turnus—Dido who had forgotten her political responsibilities as the walls of Carthage remain untended while she enjoyed herself in frolicksome dalliance; Turnus who would not bend to the public good and give up his private joy personified in Lavinia. In both cases as in that of Aeneas, love is seen as personal, private, egocentric and individualistic, all antithetical to the public welfare, indeed, an antisocial force. Aeneas however does make the sacrifice of individual pleasure for the common good, while the tragedy
of Dido and Turnus is that of those who could not or would not make the sacrifice.

In conceiving of the socializing of Don Quijote, our judgement must be based on his actions rather than his intentions. Cervantes had warned his readers of this dichotomy on so many occasions by reiterating one of his favorite dictums "operibus credite et non verbis". III,325. The don's refusal to accept money was the first sign of his social deviation. For money is the most social of commodities; it is the basis of social and international interaction signifying the common consensus and agreement of the community of man. It was the essence of individualism for the don to reject this communal system and so by learning this lesson the hero embarks on a deindividualizing process.

Don Quijote is in love with Dulcinea, an ideal which could only be individualistic. No other knows her or sees her the same way and no one is willing to accept her, for, if she could be accepted by another in the same way, she would be attaining a social dimension. Thus the don in order to become social must give up the private joy as Aeneas did. In Dulcinea he must give up his Creusa and Dido which he finally succeeds in accomplishing. Efron uses the term "Dulcenism" to describe this concept "or the belief that human life is satisfactorily conducted
only if it is lived out in close accord with prescribed ideals of a received culture. Dulcenism is the name for some of the broadest effects of acculturation."\(^{30}\) If, as one critic puts it "it was better that a woman (Dido) should weep and die than that Rome should remain un­founded,"\(^{31}\) it was also better that Dulcinea be enchanted than that a mad, anachronic hero should continue to traver­se the bounds of social conviviality.

To summarize the situation, the trajectory to change of both heroes is along the same lines of a depuration of the personal and the individual, most patently manifested in the termination of the works. The ultimate act of Aeneas is a communal one, for alone bearing the burden of society, he encounters Turnus in individual conflict implying the undeniable social culmination of the hero. The parallelism is not hard to find in the Spanish masterpiece. At the end the hero is back home with his family and friends. He has lost all his individualistic ideals with his madness. He is now sane, with the same interpretative eye and analytical mode as the rest of society, most significantly symbolized in the eradication of the name Don Quijote de la Mancha and the reincarnation of the mere bourgeois nomenclature Alonso Quijano.
Virgil and Cervantes could have had no idea of modern day psychological analyses of a Freud or a Jung. But in art which is successfully created on the principles of verisimilitude not contrary to the laws of nature, universal theories would not fail to be applicable. The critic, therefore, feels no pangs of uneasiness in conceiving of these pivotal points in the trajectory of the heroes as representing the confrontation with themselves, their subconscious or their individual microcosmos. Sullivan, for example, conceives of the descent of Aeneas in quasi-Jungian terminologies:

Before he (Aeneas) is enlightened, he must be purified, he must recall and then dismiss the searing experiences which haunt his memory. So the persons he meets in the underworld are also symbols. Palinurus recalls the sorrows of his recent voyage, Dido his fall from grace at Carthage, Deiphobus, the horrors of the last night at Troy. To be more explicit, Hades clarifies for Aeneas all the plaguing doubts and uncertainties which would have been playing tumultuously on his subconscious. The fate of his friend Deiphobus must have perplexed him, and that of his steersman Palinurus, and that of Dido no less. These are the questions for which he at last receives answers purifying his perturbed subconscious.

Cervantine critics also have not failed to conceive of the don's adventure as a retraction into the subconscious, confronting the creatures that haunt him.
Sarmiento's comment is worthy of note:

The beautiful garden, the crystal palace, the knight, a suffering female figure Belerma .... all these are symbols of the fundamental aspirations of knighthood and of the chief failure in Don Quijote's attempt to make a successful identification with them. It is a confrontation with truth.33

It is indeed a confrontation with truth or in Durán's words "es una confrontación entre don Quijote y su propia personalidad antigua y oculta".34 For the hero confronts the chivalric world which he sought to imitate and about which he would have begun to feel the pangs of uncertainty. He meets his paramour Dulcinea, and especially significant is the fact that he meets her as he had last seen her—a peasant lass, a vision fresh in his mind. Another perplexing problem was that of the material world which he had been forced to accede to, but which he never fully accepted. Dulcinea in need of money is perhaps the most ingenious unification of symbols contrived by the artist, representing the two greatest perplexities of the protagonist. A clearer expression is not to be found than that of Gloria Fry:

In his vision or dream, there is a delicate balancing of two opposite forces—that of the ideal world of the imagination, and that of the tangible material world. These contending forces are concretised and brought face to face in the cave of Montesinos.35

It is no idle speculation to consider that the realms are outside of and antithetical to mundane reality. There
are feasible implications. On one hand it can be suggested that the vision of the world is better seen through alienation from the world. From a distance "it is singularly possible to observe the world and its otherwise mysterious machinations". Departure from mundane reality would be especially important for the Cervantine hero whose world is so full of deceiving appearances, as Pidal puts it:

In the cave of Montesinos the heroic ideal of Don Quijote does not manifest itself as heretofore in conflict with reality, but emancipated free from annoying and painful contact with the latter.

One of the common motifs of the "otherworld journeys" is the element of sleep and with respect to our two episodes, there are critics who emphasize the dream state as being of special significance in the episodes. Sir Frank Fletcher states:

We are surely right in feeling that when (Virgil) sends Aeneas out by the Gates of Sleep, there is a suggestion that truths about the after life can only be expressed in terms of a dream and vision.

With respect to the Cervantine composition, the critic Sarmiento makes observations on a less speculative and abstract basis and with special reference to the protagonist. The dream state is significant for him insofar as it symbolizes that the hero's "ideal cannot be brought into reality but can only exist in the inner realm of dream fantasy". Sarmiento's viewpoint is very close to that of Fletcher's, a correspondence which makes us
realize that one of the best assurances of affinity between the two works is this type of concordance of critics commenting on each masterpiece individually. No one can tell what Virgil or Cervantes had in mind, nor can we in this sort of abstract analysis prove the influence of the former on the latter. One can only speculate and note that both writers are united in conceiving of the dream state as in some way related to the experience of awareness, and in this realization may very well have anticipated more sophisticated modern day theories. Brenan was led to observe:

How could a writer of the Seventeenth Century have such an understanding of the secret processes of the mind? The answer is no doubt, that the instinct of a writer of genius may lead him a long way if he is prepared to trust himself to it freely.40

Surely the instinct of the genius which Brenan attributes to Cervantes cannot be denied to Virgil.

The first impulse of literary analysts is to characterize such descents as orphic experiences, but here such terminologies are especially befitting. For both heroes in a sense recall Orpheus "almost the archtype of the man who overcome by passion could not help looking back".41 The Virgilian hero has to be purged of the tendency to look back to Troy as Commanger observes:
Aeneas has to learn to stop looking over his shoulders... It is precisely that shift from an allegiance, a piety to the Trojan past, to an allegiance to the Roman future that the Aeneid charts.

Similarly the don's purgation means giving up a dead past, the dead past of chivalry, and so he is told on several occasions "donde ay gigantes en España o Malandrines en la Mancha?" III, 388.

For both writers, change in the human personality is an eradication or purgation, a shedding of an old order and a baptism into a new world. It comes about through awareness or enlightenment which is the result of a confrontation with self. For both authors knew that "el principio de salud está en conocer la enfermedad". IV, 269.

For both protagonists the trajectory begins with the manifestations of heroic recalcitrance contingent upon ignorance, and ends with the harmonious unification of the individual and his society. The parallels are astounding. But Cervantes's art is true to itself, and so the contrasting elements are just as significant.

First of all we can recall that Aeneas sees his destiny directly and patently in no uncertain manner. He is not only freed from plaguing doubts, but a clear vision of a glorious destiny would spur him to enthusiasm and confidence, so that in the words of Mackail:
When he ascends the earth through the gate of sleep, it is as one initiated, consecrated, lifted into a higher atmosphere and given the assured promise of deity. He is now no longer the groping follower, but the conscious and elect instrument, of the Providence that moves the worlds. Don Quijote on the other hand receives no direct tutoring, and in the indirect manner in which he would have intuited an all too adverse destiny awaiting him, the resulting feeling could only be one of despair and melancholy; so that while Aeneas' transition is from uncommitted vacillation to purposeful conviction, that of the don is from exuberance to doubt which amounts to what Avalle-Arce terms "este desintegrarse de la fe". In other words, both Aeneas and Don Quijote tried to recover the past and realized that the past lies buried in the grave; but Aeneas would realize the future as a purpose for carrying on. Don Quijote has no future, for his very ideal, the motor of his life is obsolete. The elements are reversed but the artistic intent is the same. In Virgil's art, the vision of a glorious destiny would quell the vacillating delinquency of his hero, while the vision of chivalric grotesqueness would serve to suppress the exuberant delinquency of the Cervantine hero. What faith accomplishes in one, doubt would accomplish in the other.

It is true that both heroes as they traverse the orb of human experience, they gain knowledge, they suffer and they change—a change which implies a socializing process.
But Aeneas changes from being a mere human to being a hero. G. R. Levy, discussing the transition of Aeneas after the culminating experience in Hades says "Aeneas returns to the world at one with his destiny. He is more assured but less of a man". In other words, Aeneas acquires the assurance of the hero, as he degarbs himself of that vacillating uncertainty so common in the mere mortal. The antithetical picture in Don Quijote could not be more blatant as he who stood tall and defied the world in complete self-assurance would bow his brow in servile acquiescence stuttering "no puedo más". It may be said from another perspective that Aeneas' socialization is a socialization into leadership which demands the acquisition of society's burdens. That of the don is a socialization into citizenship which inculcates divesting himself of anything that would make him different and so encourage alienation. Thus he learns to think and to feel as society wants him to. He becomes one of the crowd—a difficult and perhaps intolerable adjustment. The implications are that for man and hero there is a social rapport which cannot be reneged, and to become a hero or a man, a leader or member, "hoc opus est".

Conclusion:

It would seem that something more than mere psychological coincidence is necessary to explain the number of parallel elements as well as the correspondence in symbolic
meaning. One would have to suggest that Cervantes had very keen knowledge of the Virgilian depiction which he used as a model. This analysis shows that Cervantes was a conscious imitator presenting sufficient features to evoke recollection in his readers but adhering to a doctrine of imitation which inculcated a penchant for, and striving after originality. It also shows that the novelist was cognizant of the fact that art consists of both form and content but not necessarily in linear relationship for while there was parody of superficial elements, there was reiteration of symbolic ramifications; while artistry was different, ideology was the same.
Chapter 4 Footnotes


9. Aeneid 6:719-21. Must we think that any souls pass aloft from here to yon sky, and return a second time to sluggish bodies: What means this their mad longing for light?

10. Aeneid 6:537-9. Perchance in such wise they would have spent all the alloted time, but the Sibyl beside him gave warning with brief words. Night is coming Aeneas, we waste the hours in weeping.
11. Aeneid 6:129-31. Some few whom kindly Jupiter has loved, or shining forth uplifted to heaven, sons of the gods, have availed.

12. Aeneid 6:687-8. Art thou come at last, and hath the love thy father looked for vanquished the toilsome way?

13. Aeneid 6:716-7. These, in truth, I have long yearned to tell and show thee to thy face, yea, to count this, my children's seed.

14. Aeneid 6:791-4. This, this is he, whom thou so oft hearest promised to thee, Augustus Caesar, son of a God, who shall again set up the golden age amid the fields where Saturn once reigned.


17. Clemencín, op. cit. V. 6, p. 113, f. 48.

18. Durán, op. cit., p. 11.


20. Aeneid 2:353. Let us die and let us rush into the midst of arms.

21. Aeneid 1, 209. Sick with weighty cares he feigns hope on his face, and deep in his heart stifles the anguish.

22. Aeneid 1:94-6. Thrice and four times blest whose lot it was to meet death before their father's eyes beneath the lofty walls of Troy.


Williams, op. cit., p. 27.

Commager, op. cit., p. 176.


ibid., p. 473.


Efron, Don Quijote and the Dulcineated World, op. cit., p. 11.

Clark, op. cit., p. 22.


Durán, op. cit., p. 225.

Fry, op. cit., p. 471.

Commager, op. cit., p. 176, see also Fletcher op. cit., p. 348.


Sarmiento, op. cit., p. 152.

Brenan, op. cit., p. 190.
41 Commager, op. cit., p. 5.

42 ibid.

43 Mackail, Virgil and His Meaning to the World of Today; op. cit., p. 94.

44 Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce, Deslinde Cervantinos; op. cit., p. 22.

Chapter 5

The Thematic Aspect: Arms and Religion

In the last two chapters, we discussed affinity between the Aeneid and the Quijote on the basis of the episodic and earlier, on the more stringent basis of verbal correspondences viz. traditional literary formulas, phrases and names. From these considerations it was noted that artistic representation was distinct while the mental conception of the artists was remarkably similar. This chapter seeks to consider the aforementioned duality from a thematically oriented perspective.

Thematic analyses receive the sanction of Aristotle who had stated that "Poetry therefore, is a more philosophical and a higher thing than history: for poetry tends to express the universal, history the particular". Since then it has become almost commonplace to hold the opinion as expressed by one critic that "the most important of all literary relationships is that between literature and life." Using this justification a favourite approach has been to consider the literary creation in the light of historical and philosophical circumstances. The comparatist, as eclectic critic, is allowed to utilize this approach as he would any other to help account for his
comparisons, for he is not limited to a singular critical perspective.

Similarities in the historico-philosophical circumstances of Virgil's Rome and Cervantes's Spain not only justify but perhaps even demand this perspective. References to historico-philosophical circumstances however, will not be limited to those directly contemporaneous with the moment of appearance of the masterpieces but will also include the period somewhat prior in time. There are several reasons for this. First of all, at the time of completion of the masterpieces, both writers had passed the age of fifty; the works themselves had consumed a span of over a decade, and probably most significant of all is the fact that the moods, feelings, problems, fears and general interests of a culture at a particular historical era are not instantaneous outgrowths of the moment. Rather, they are the result of evolution over a period of time, determined by factors whose origins are prior to their overt appearance.

In prior analysis certain themes have already been treated as those of deception, duty and purpose, mercy and justice, but those themes seemed subservient to the episodes in which they found themselves. This chapter will consider the two themes which have transcendental significance in that they traverse the entire realm of both
creations, namely, arms and religion. At the outset it should be noted that themes do not fall within the special province of any one writer or group of writers and the same theme may exist in many different works. As such, the comparison of two literary creations on the basis of themes is never a completely unique one. This lack of uniqueness would create an obstacle to the contention of influence. But in the words of Aldridge, "comparative studies cannot be limited strictly to causal relationships". Our aim therefore is to show affinity not influence, what can be termed the method of rapprochement.

There is no debating the fact that the Quijote is created along the lines of the novels of chivalry as noted by the most renowned critics as Castro, Hatzfeld, Casalduero, and as Olmedo's study "El Amadis" y "El Quijote" patently reflects. It is necessary to make this reiteration because the themes of arms and religion are present in the Quijote and also in any other novel of chivalry. Similarly, many aspects of these themes in the Aeneid find parallels in the Homeric epics whose apparentage is also unquestioned. It means that there is a lack of uniqueness in our comparison, a fact which should readily be acknowledged, but on the other hand it opens the possibility of throwing light on the affinity between the chivalric novel and the classical epic from which so much inspiration was
attained. There is value in this attempt because this affinity has not been depicted through a comparative analysis of representative individual works, though it has been suggested by the critic Pedro Salinas who stated:

A pesar de diferencias derivadas casi siempre de lo circunstancial, el héroe de Virgilio es el héroe del Chanson de Roland y el del Amadís de Gaula. La poesía épica griega y romana lega su concepción de héroe literario a la edad heroica de la Edad Media.

Salinas' statement infers that the conception of the literary hero of the Greek and Roman epic is the same and identical with that which is found in the novels of chivalry. Using the Quijote as representative of chivalric modality and the Aeneid as representative of the classical epic, we hope to show to what extent Salinas' statement is generally true. But above all, we hope that the distinctiveness of the respective compositions will also be brought out. For the purpose of clarity, our analysis will be divided into (a) the artistic representation i.e. the more stringent poetic method and (b) ideology i.e. the implications on an abstract basis.

The Question of Arms:

Artistic Representation:

Virgil in keeping with the literary tradition begins his poem with "Arma virumque cano," highlighting a protagonist who is distinguished in arms "nec bello maior
et armis" 1:545. In this heroic world, the strongest motivation to plunge into battle defying death is the glory and fame of warriorship as was the case of Nisus and Euryalus, for, in the words of Iuppiter "famam extendere factis/hoc uirtutis opus" 6 10:468-9. As part and parcel of the composition of this type of hero is what Steadman has termed "magnanimity" 7 depicted in the heroes' epithetic embellishments, in their self affirmations as the Virgilian protagonist himself who after the killing of Lausus says "Aeneae magni dextra cadis" 8 10:830.

Turning to the Quijote, the facets of literary heroism are very evident. The protagonist sees himself as a warrior, and reminiscent of Amadis' tags of 'de Gaula', "Sin Tiempo," "doncel del mar," "de los leones," "de la Verde Espada," are the don's tags of "de la Mancha," "de la Triste Figura," and "de los leones". With the heroic impulse and fortitude he will attack at every moment to prove his valour and achieve fame and renown; with the traditional magnanimity, he will make the epic boast of self-assurance "Se quien soy" as he seeks to have his name known, in his quest for recognition and immortality. The comparison proves no more than that literary representation of heroism in epic and chivalric novel had not changed. We wish to show now that the inimitable art of Cervantes reflects mere affectation of the literary mode, and
contrast with the serious composition would once again be the most significant point of analysis.

The resplendent armour of the Virgilian warriors that testified to their bellic nature becomes a helmet made of cardboard pasted together as best as possible. Far from being forged on the very anvil of Vulcan as were the arms of Aeneas, the rust of the don's armour tells its own story, as Cervantes says "vnas armas que auian sido de sus visabuelos, que, tomadas de orin y llenas de moho, luengos siglos auia que estuan puestas y oluíadas en vn rincon."

1,53. At the first blow, the lance shatters, but such misfortune could readily be rectified as any limb of a tree would serve as well. The fact is that Cervantes' protagonist is a hero who loses more than he gains and his few victories, pyrrhic in nature, depend more on chance happenings than on true prowess, with adversaries as windmills, flocks of sheep, unarmed priests, or wineskins.

In this type of literature the companion is supposed to be a boon to the hero, also distinguished in courage and virtue. One recalls the case of Patroklos as companion to Achilleus and in the chivalric novel we have the case of Gandalín, companion of Amadís. With respect to our particular study the examples are Achates to Aeneas and Sancho as companion to Don Quijote. Though Achates' personality is not drawn out in any detail, yet he would willingly give
his life for his master as Aeneas' other companions, and Achates' virtue is truly reflected in the epithet with which he is defined "fidus". Turning to the Quijote, not only is Sancho unprepared to risk anything for his master, he is also far from being "fidus". If it is true then, that the leader were supposed to gain renown from his chosen companions, Cervantes' art must be considered at odds with any heroic model as Sancho's personality contributes rather to denigration of his master.

Unlike the Virgilian situation where valour is a requisite for survival, in the Quijote, valour becomes an exercise for its own sake, purposeless and at times even nonsensical as the mad knight challenges caged lions, seeks the extermination of imaginary giants—all to elevate himself in the eyes of a nonexistent Dulcinea. Unlike Aeneas who evokes admiration in Dido by his bearing and manner, as Dido herself testifies to her sister Anna "quem sese referens, quam forti pectore et armis" 4:11, the don's appearance evokes only laughter, as the grotesque description of nag and knight complete the picture of heroic defilement with the onomastic embellishments becoming a mere mockery of heroic modality. Don Quijote is truly a parody of every hero, epic or chivalric, and with special reference to the Aeneid, it can well be said in this context, that he recalls, not the picture of Aeneas or
Turnus, or Pallas or Lausus, but that of Priam, the personification of inane heroism, the old man wearing the arms of his youth "iuuenalibus armis" 2:518, with trembling limbs totally ineffective at military accomplishments "arma diu senior disueta trementibus aevo/ circumdat umeris et inutile ferrum/ cingitur, ac densos fertur moriturus in hostis" 2:509-11.9

The Ideology of Arms

Benign Advocation:

By ideology we mean the viewpoint or commentary on issues or themes which is purported by the literary creation. It may or may not be the author's "true" position but the critic loosely conceives of it as such. It comes from the artistic representation but is not identical with the latter for it may exist either linearly or contrapuntally and often has to be ferreted out through careful consideration. This analysis seeks to portray what can be considered the writers' "true" position on arms and warfare, seeking support for our contention by referring to correspondences in the respective historical circumstances.

Virgil had grown up amidst the clang of arms, he had seen the triumphant marches for victorious generals, he saw the heroic armies returning and he knew the relationship between their existence and the greatness of Rome.
But there was also the added personal factor which Strong observed:

In Virgil's youth, from the country beyond the Po, still subject to the arbitrary confiscation and partition at the nod of the Roman master, Rome and Roman privilege and Roman power must have loomed up as the greatest things on earth.\textsuperscript{10}

The Roman poet saw the trajectory from war to peace as he realized that peace was assured in Rome because of the military victory of Octavian Augustus. The poet would therefore proclaim a doctrine of the necessity of arms through Dido who says to Ilioneus that her garrisons and fortifications are only to ensure defence against hostile forces "res dura et regni nouitas me talia cogunt/ moliri et late finis custode tueri."\textsuperscript{11} 1:564-5. It is the very doctrine purported by Turnus who seeks to convince the council that only arms will prevail when the enemy is close at hand and there is indeed safety in arms as he retorts sarcastically to Drances "nulla salus bello? capiti cane talia, demens,/ Dardanio rebus tuis."\textsuperscript{12} 11:399-400.

Virgil's doctrines of the necessity of arms for peace and security were basic tenets of his day surviving through the Middle Ages to Renaissance political thought. It is not surprising that this doctrine would be reiterated by the Spanish novelist:

\begin{quote}
Esta paz es el verdadero fin de la guerra, que lo mismo es dezir armas que guerra. Prosupuesta, pues, esta verdad, que el fin de la guerra es la paz. II,193.
\end{quote}
Farcical though the situation may be, the lesson which "governor" Sancho learns most of all is that arms are a necessity for the protection of the empire. The situation may have been farcical but not the intent, because on another occasion in the famous arms-letters controversy of Bk. 1, the author through his protagonist declares "con las armas se defienden las republicas, se conservan los reynos, se guardan las ciudades". II,198. Cervantes' affirmative viewpoint is also emphasized in the picture of the youth who is joyfully singing as he goes to war. This leads to the protagonist's extollment of the youth's action in another arms-letters discourse with very benign statements on arms:

no ay otra cosa en la tierra mas honrada ni de mas prouecho que seruir a Dios, primeramente, y luego a su rey y señor natural, especialmente en el ejercicio de las armas, por las cuales se alcanzan, si no mas riquezas, a lo menos, mas honra que por las letras, como yo tengo dicho muchas vezes; que puesto que han fundado mas mayorazgos las letras que las armas, todavia llevan vn no se que los de las armas a los de las letras, con vn si se que de esplendor, que se halla en ellos, que los auentaja a todos. III,309.

It is hard to believe that Cervantes was merely reiterating a literary commonplace when on several occasions he talks about the glory of military activity and most forcefully when he says that virtue which is achieved by the profession of arms surpasses all others "la que se alcanza por la profesion de las armas resplandece y campea sobre
todas las otras" IV,284. It seems rather that these nuances of benignity to the military were influenced (as was the case with Virgil) by personal and historical circumstances. It is significant to recall the words of Efron:

Although Don Quijote does not attempt to reflect all Spanish cultural values, the difference between the ideal of courage for Don Quijote and historical Spain is as small as it can possibly be. The hidalgos who led the conquest of the new world were in an important sense factual Quijotes for whom reality obligingly cooperated.13

Cervantes would have recalled the glory of Spain's heroes in the new world, among whom the writer had sought to align himself. Arms were basic to the relationship between colonists and colonies as the imperial pride of the empire builder swelled the Spanish heart so that Carlos V would make his boast "en mis dominos nunca pone el sol". Perhaps most significant is the fact that Cervantes had participated in the battle of Lepanto, the glory of which he had relived time and again. It was a most outstanding military victory in 1571 which saw the defeat of the moorish hoardes, a victory construed as bringing about the survival of Spain and her religion--in the words of the novelist "aquella felicissima jornada...aquel dia que fue para la cristianidad tan dichoso" II,208. In the light of these considerations, it would seem that beyond mere literary representation, both writers could have been influenced by historical circumstances to portray an
ideology which reflected benignly on arms and war. But the antithetical position is just as evident.

Repudiation of the Military Way:

An affirmative conception of arms and war is expected in heroic literature, but critics have noted a new chord being struck by Virgil, what can be called a crying out against the military way. It can be noticed that Virgil portrays the pollution of war in Aeneas who becomes unfit to carry the household gods as he says "me bello e tanto digressum et caede recenti/attractere nefas" 1

2:718-9; the irrationality of war again in Aeneas who time and again is carried into the embroiling surge of battle against all proper judgment as he himself later states "arma amens capio, nec sat rationis in armis" 15 2:314;

the bestiality of war in bloodthirsty Neopolemus who kills Polites in the presence of his father Priam and then kills the old man leaving his corpse a nameless mass on the shores "iacet ingens litore truncus,/ auulsumque umeri caput et sine nomine corpus" 16 2:557-8. These cases however are not enough to infer any unique sentiment in Virgil. Where we conceive of the uniqueness of the poet is in his emphasis on the pathos of war which claims it proportion of young victims as Nisus and Euryalus, as Lausus and Pallas whom Virgil describes with touching sentimentality as a shorn flower "qualem uirgineo demessum pollice florem/ seu
mollis violae seu languentis hyacinthi"^{17} II:68-9. Indeed, Virgil does save his best lines to describe the victims of war as that which describes the death of both Camilla and Turnus "uitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras"^{18} ll:831 and 12:952.

Most of all, Virgil's novelty is seen in his hero. Though it is true that once Aeneas is caught in the battle fray, he rages as fierce as any other, yet there is something to be said about his "reluctant" violence. For the hero takes pains to preserve the truce and engages in battle only after the truce was broken; he engaged in individual combat with Turnus to prevent bloodshed, "o cohibete iras! ictum iam foedus et omnes/ compositae leges; mihi ius concurrere soli" 12:314-15^{19}; he would rather grant peace to the living than to the dead; "pacem me exanimis et Martis sorte peremptis/ oratis? equidem et vivis concedere vellem." ll:110-11^{20} It is a new type of hero that thinks of sparing the life of his arch enemy, Turnus, and weeps at the killing of an adversary as Aeneas does after killing Lausus. It is not without justification that Bowra would say of Virgil, that "so far from feeling that war was exciting he felt that it was odious and horrible".^{21}

The social critic would once again recall historical conditions in order to account for the bard's negative vision. For if Virgil had seen the victorious generals in
all their pomp and majesty, he had also seen the embattled legions. Perhaps more important of all is the fact that Virgil had grown up in a Rome teeming with violent internal conflicts, conflicts which had also influenced the poetry of his colleagues Lucretius and Horace. W.A. Camps recalls:

Virgil was twenty-one when the Civil wars of Rome began with Caesar's crossing the Rubicon, and forty when they ended with the defeat and death of Mark Anthony at Alexandria in the year 30 B.C. Thus the first twenty years of Virgil's adult life were passed under the shadow of civil war.\textsuperscript{22}

The poet's anti-bellic sentiments were reinforced not merely from the personal experience of seeing "the confiscation of his property by the soldiers of the Civil war"\textsuperscript{23} but also seeing the senseless destruction of Rome's great leaders, as Haecker recalls:

While Virgil continued his study and his work, the destiny of Rome was fulfilling itself in a swift succession of decisive events. In 48 was the battle of Pharsalia and Cato and Pompey were no more; in 44 Caesar was murdered; in 42 Phillipi. \textsuperscript{24}

The same critic notes that between 133 B.C. and the time of the \textit{Aeneid}, there were no less than twelve civil wars "the bellum sociale, the wars of Sulla, Lepidus, Sestorius, Spartacus, Cataline, Caesar, the Triumvirate, the bellum Octavianum, the bellum Perusinum, the naval war of Sextius Pompeius and finally the war with Anthony."\textsuperscript{25} It is very foreseeable then, that Virgil's negative nuances could be attributed to his being part of what has been termed "a war-weary generation". \textsuperscript{26}
Cervantes is also to be aligned with Virgil in depicting the negative aspects of military life. If Virgil talks about "caeco Marte" 2:335, and "bella, horrenda bella" 6:86, Cervantes would say "duro ejercicio de armas" and more poignantly "el ejercicio intolerable de las sangrientas y pesadas armas" III,435. Though these descriptions are not distinctive, they do serve to emphasize the author's awareness of the tragedy of arms which becomes unmistakeable when the writer states "quan menos son los premiados por la guerra que los que han perecido en ella" II,197.

It is stated by Bowra that there is a sense of effort in Virgil's description of war and this is probably due to the fact that his perspective was that of the layman or in the critic's words the "suffering citizen":

Virgil sees war from the standpoint of a suffering citizen as a chaos of horror and muddle. There are aspects of war which mean little to the hero or general but are well known to the common man. Of these Virgil is the poet.

On the other hand, the common man would know little of the true hardships of the soldier. The Spanish novelist, however, once soldier himself, would be especially conscious of the soldier's deprivation and poverty as he depicts in the encounter of the robber Roque Guinart and the two captains, one of whom becomes the portavoz of the author:
Lleuamos hasta docientos o trescientos escudos, con que, a nuestro parecer, vamos ricos y contentos pues la estrecheca ordinaria de los soldados no permite mayores tesoros. IV,270.

No more eloquent testimony of the soldier's harsh lot can be found than that which Cervantes presents when he compares arms and letters:

no hay ninguno mas pobre en la misma pobreza, porque está atenido a la miseria de su paga, que viene o tarde o nunca, o a lo que garbee por sus manos, con notable peligro de su vida y de su conciencia. Y a veces suele ser su desnudez tanta, que vn coelto acuchillado le sirve de gala y de camisa, y en la mitad del inuiero se suele reparar de las inclemencias del cielo, estando en la campana rasa, con solo el aliento de su boca, que, como sale de lugar vazio, tengo por aueriguado que deue de salir frio, contra toda naturaleza. Pues esperad que espere que llegue la noche para restaurarse de todas estas incomodidades en la cama que le aguarda, la qual, si no es por su culpa, jamas pecará de estrecha; que bien puede medir en la tierra los pies que quisiere, y rebolverse en ella a su sabor, sin temor que se le encojan las sauanas ... Lleguese, pues, a todo esto el dia y la hora de recibir el grado de su exercicio; lleguese vn dia de batalla, que alli le pondran la borla en la cabeza, hecha de hilas, para curarle algun balazo que quica le aura passado las sienes, o le dexará estropeado de brazo o pierna, Y cuando esto no suceda, sino que el cielo piadoso le guarde y conserue sano y viuo, podra ser que se quede en la misma (*) pobreza que antes estaua, y que sea menester que suceda vno y otro rencontro, vna y otro batalla, y que de todas salga vencedor.

It means that whereas Virgil's more distanced posture presents war in its overall panorama of destruction and tragedy, Cervantes sees war from the very trenches. Just as Virgil had emphasized his negation of the heroic ideal in the portraiture of his protagonist, Cervantes also creates a hero who serves the same purpose. It seems obvious however that in the Cervantine more than in the Virgilian, the crux of the repudiation of the heroic ideal and its associated ideology rests on the portraiture of the hero. In other words, on this question of the negation of the heroic ideal, the artistic manner emphasizes the ideology more in the Quijote than in the Aeneid. For Cervantes creates a mad hero who represents in his nature and bearing that which is inane, decrepit, ineffective and totally anachronic. The madness of the knight is a symbol in itself and perhaps the most forceful one.

Cervantes's disapprobation of arms could be attributed on one hand to the writer's own personal experiences. He had not suffered the confiscation of his property as Virgil, but he suffered the loss of one arm in battle; he was held prisoner by the enemy; and on his return to his fatherland with his military duties to his country all but forgotten, he suffers material destitution and the ignominy of incarceration. As in the case of Virgil, the historical
situation would strengthen a tendency towards repudiation of the military way. For Cervantes also had grown up in Spain which all to often rose to the clarion call, with battles in the Netherlands, in France, and most memorably the defeat of the Invincible Armada by the English fleet in 1588. Morel-Fatio best describes the situation which the Spanish novelist saw:

It is a time when the highways are infested with soldiers on furloughs or discharged, crawling along in rags, exhibiting real or make-believe wounds for alms or brutally extorting them by force. They testify to a great disillusionment about the career of arms which Cervantes found at first so brilliant and later so unjust.

The disparagement of military life is further reflected in the author's complaint about military mechanization:

Bien ayan aquellos benditos siglos que carecieron de la espantable furia de aquestos endemoniados instrumentos de la artilleria...II,200.

But there was also the institutionalization of arms which came with the establishment of military schools. On this point Maravall describes Cervantes's day as "una época que ve organizar las primeras escuelas militares". It is the very aspect which Morel-Fatio observes when he states "The good days of the army are past, those of red tape are beginning."

Both compositions are affiliated with all other heroic creations in the representation of the heroic type—the thirst for renown, prowess in battle as a criterion of
worth, the self-affirmation. Tangential to this is a justification for the use of arms, its necessity for protection and security of the nation, and its potential for the creation of peace. We have seen also a strong negative vision of force and arms, and it is this aspect which uniquely aligns the two compositions and differentiates them from the mainstream of heroic literature. It is also significant to note the multifaceted perspectives from which to make an analysis, as depicted in the concordance of Virgilian and Cervantine critics. The Virgilian critic R.D. Williams and the Cervantine Jean Cassou and América Castro would note that the respective writers conceive of the heroic ideal as anachronic, while the Cervantine Efron and the Virgilian Bowra and Mackay would see it as dehumanizing. From our analysis however, it seems truer to say that whereas Virgil emphasizes the dehumanization, Cervantes's posture is rather that of sombre melancholy emphasizing the anachronism.

It has been shown that both writers present what amounts to a realistic viewpoint of arms and war in their dual posture. They saw the fame and renown which some seek in battle but also the hardships concomitant with a belllicose ambient and both had presented as alternatives the antithetical position of peace and policy. If we think that the last act of Aeneas represents the glorification
of justified force, the parallel in the Quijote would be the victory of Carrasco and the defeat of the Cervantine protagonist. There is the important difference that the Virgilian protagonist succeeds while the Cervantine is defeated. The choice of such a protagonist and his failure reflect a more negative posture in Cervantes for he is concerned with criticizing both the literary mode and the ideal purported by it. The social critic however could probably eke out an explanation from a comparison of the historical realities. The writers had seen different historical trajectories. Virgil had seen the bad then the good, he had seen the trajectory from war to peace. The latest vision of Virgil was the success of Octavian at Actium, the result of which was an era of peace at which time he had taken up the pen to extol the greatness of his nation. The situation is the reverse in the case of Cervantes. His latest vision was not that of Lepanto 1571 but that of the defeat of Spain's Invincible Armada in 1588. The wider perspective of Cervantes would contribute to his more negative posture. Both writers had seen the apogee of their nation come about through military might, but Cervantes unlike Virgil had seen the turn of the axis into perigree. What Virgil could only intuit, Cervantes had experienced.
Time and again we see that methodology is different. Virgil showed the military ideal as sad, Cervantes showed it as ludicrous. What Virgil, the poet of "rerum lacrimae" effects through sadness, Cervantes effects through derision. Steel has been transformed into cardboard, blood into wine, pathos has been substituted by comicality but the ideology remains intact, so that one cannot help but feel that Cervantes would have said with his Roman counterpart:

ne, pueri, ne tanta animis adsuescite bella
neu patriae validas in vescera vertite viris;
tuque prior, tu parce, genus qui ducis Olympo,
proice tela manu, sanguis meus! 6:832-533

The Question of Religion

Artistic Representation

The jump from the theme of war to that of religion should not be considered too abrupt since this incongruous duality has been frequently united both historically and within the folds of literature. The Crusades were military operations to subdue the infidels, similarly, the battle of Lepanto was supposed to destroy the enemies of Christianity. The chivalric order best exemplifies this duality as the Catholic Encyclopedia notes:

Chivalry represents the attempt of the church in the early middle ages to tame a ferocious nobility by attaching a quasi-religious significance to the bearing of arms in warfare.34

Outstanding examples are the heroes of the novels of chivalry. The religiosities of Amadis, Galaor, and
Esplandián is never in question as the reader sees them praying and enthrusting themselves to God, and attending holy mass. Amadís especially realizes his indebtedness to God. In reply to the hermit's words "Hijo mio, antes de manifestaros la causa de mi venida, quiero recordaros la dueda que teneis con Dios," Amadís replies "Si el conocimiento que tengo de los bienes recibidos de Dios me permite ahora enmendar algo de lo pasado, mucho me alegrare". The work is replete with characters who are defined as "amado de Dios" or "siervo de Dios". One remembers also the case of Tirant lo Blanc who takes up his sword against the moors for he has learned from the hermit that "el buen caballero debe agujerear y alcanzar a todos aquellos que quieren hacer daño a la cristianidad y alla iglesia". These chivalric heroes are the most immediate literary affiliates of the Cervantine hero who belongs to the same order of the Christian knight and he also knows that "religión es la caballeria," and, in a more extended manner the hero states "somos ministros de Dios en la tierra y brazos por quienes se exercita en ella su justicia" I,169-70. The chivalric heroes however had an antecedent in pagan literature, namely, the "pius" soldier, Aeneas. For Virgil had tempered military warriorship with devotion and had thus created the mold for the Christian hero. It is no wonder that Aeneas
"pietate insignis et armis" 6:403, would be the model of heroism for the Renaissance as Steadman notes:

In their quest for a nobler hero embodying the perfection of all the moral virtues, Renaissance critics extolled the composite formula exemplified in Aeneas.35

It is easy to conceive of the religious aspect of Aeneas who is the son of a goddess, who himself is destined to join the heavenly throng, who has been given a religious function to transplant his household gods into a new abode, who has been defined by the epithet "pius," indeed, the one foremost in this quality "hic pietate prior" 11:292.

Inextricably associated with the religiosiety of the hero is the divine machinery which Virgil inherited from Homer and which is allowed unbridled operation with the Aeneid.

Divine beings are true characters, they influence the actions and existence of other characters, they are themselves influenced by actions; they feel anger or hatred; they quarrel and coax, they are a vital part of the creative process. Other characters convinced of their efficacy pray for their assistance and the readers become convinced that such faith is not unfounded as the beseechers often receive quick response in direct action or in the form of signs and omens.

In the Cervantine composition, similar to the parodic evocation of the muses, is the treatment of the pagan
divine machinery. This is to be expected in a creation of Christian modality, which had its own machinery to replace the pagan apparatus as Spingarn notes:

The celestial and infernal gods and demi-gods of the ancients correspond with the angels, saints, anchorites and the one God of Christianity.36

Thus if the pagan characters pray to Jupiter, the Christians pray to Dios. If Aeneas is pursued by Juno, the Cervantine protagonist considers himself pursued by enchanters. But even apart from this, Cervantes creates specific episodes to parallel the element of the marvellous and the fantastic which is embodied in the classical divine apparatus. The element of prophecy is the aspect which is especially emphasized. One recalls the case of the prophesying ape of Maese Pedro; of Merlín who comes from the murky caverns of Dis to offer a solution for the enchantment of Dulcinea, as well as the case of the enchanted head of don Moreno which has the virtue of answering any question which is spoken into its ear. But there is more than mere evocation in Cervantes's treatment. Cervantes describes the ape as "adiuino" but this quality is negated by the fact that it knows more about the past then the future "de las cosas passadas dize mucho mas que de las que estan por venir" III,318.
As it turns out, the animal being merely the contrivance of Maese Pedro (Gines de Pasamonte), gives no information of things that are to come "este animal no responde, ni da noticia de las cosas que estan por venir" IL,319. It turns out also that Merlin is another deceptive invention of the duke and duchess, and the enchanted head has no knowledge of thoughts nor of wishes, so that Sancho wishes "que se declarara mas y me dixera mas" IV,291. There is in fact no magic nor mystery in the head which is another artificial contrivance, constructed this time by Antonio Moreno for his own entertainment "para entretenérse y suspender a los ignorantes" IV,291. Furthermore, it is true that the Christian God is evoked and characters attribute their successes to his benignity, but never is the reader convinced of any action on His part since He is not a character. He exists only in the minds of the characters unlike the real literary existence of the deities in the classical composition. With the effacement of their visual antropomorphicism, the functional purpose served by the latter is also nonexistent. Comparison of the two masterpieces shows then, that divine working has become human machination, for the enchanters, if not the hallucinations of a demented mind, are the avid rationalizations to reconcile fantasy with reality or the joke of some character to deceive another. To the extent that the pagan
divine apparatus is parallel to the element of the marvellous in the novels of chivalry, it means that Cervantes's treatment is a disfiguration of one as of the other.

**Ideological Consideration:**

It is well agreed that Virgil's divine machinery incorporates his theology as W. A. Camps puts it:

The theological apparatus is the *Aeneid* to some extent serves purposes which are purely literary. But it also reflects real feelings about the working in the world of a law of destiny and of independent supernatural wills.

Though the artistic machinery is lacking in the *Quijote*, we wish to show that the theological considerations which were imperative in a Spanish work of the period emanate from statements by characters, and that the overall viewpoint is very similar to that which is found in the *Aeneid*.

In any theological question, the basic issue is the conception of the ultra-human agencies and man's relationship to them, in other words, the question of divine providence and human will, and these are the issues on which our analysis is based. It should be noted here that the term "ultra-human" is used for its all-inclusiveness, referring to any agency beyond the human, whether personal or not, as fate, destiny, fortune, divine providence and associated concepts. These concepts do have divergent nuances, for
fortune, chance, and luck imply the irrational, the capri-
cious, and the unpredictable; fate, destiny, and deter-
minism conjure that which is more unalterable, resistless
and necessary, while divine will and providence are
characterized by that which is more personal, paternal, and
benevolent. These minor differences of nuances are of
trivial significance in our analysis for two reasons. In
the first place, distinction is often blurred in the lit-
erary creation. Castro notes in Cervantes that "destino
y providencia parecen fundirse aquí en un mismo concepto,"38
and of Virgil, Bailey notes:

The fata deum, deus, and the will of Iuppiter
appear again and again in Virgil in contexts
exactly similar to those in which the controlling
force is fatum or fortuna; they are all identical... 39

The above viewpoints indicate that distinction is perhaps
impossible. Secondly, our analysis is based, not on the
individual differences of nuances, but on what the concepts
have in common. Definitions taken from Webster's Dic-
tionary 40 indicate that all these agencies, called by
whatever name, imply some abstract referential beyond the
purely human and phenomenological order of causality, thus
presenting an obstacle to the concept of free-will. One
can recall the statement of W.A. Camps:

Whether the determinism of a mechanical chain of
causation or a conscious supernatural will, the
reason why either is alarming is the same—that,41
man is left in the grip of an inexorable power.
With this notification, comparison between the impersonal "fate" and the personal, benevolent "divine providence" can be considered without undue wariness, and similarly, the rational and the less rational can be used in the same vain, for they all fall within the ambit of the all-inclusive nomenclature of "ultra-human".

Religious-Philosophical Background:

This analysis on the basis of ultra-human agency and human will is worthy in itself because of its inherent importance in treating basic theological issues, but it receives further significance from the fact that the existence of such a correspondence in the masterpieces is not merely fortuitous. A survey of the philosophical considerations of the respective periods would serve to indicate this contention.

In Virgil's day, the predominant schools of philosophy, the Stoics and the Epicureans, were polarized on the religious question with the former emphasizing free-will and the latter divine agency. Lucretius whose treatise De Rerum Natura is the most eloquent survival of Epicurean doctrine completely denies divine intervention in human life:

omnis enim per se divom natura ncessest
immortali aevó summa cum pace frutatur
semota ab nostris rebus seiunctaque lónge 2:646-8,42
To Lucretius, the Gods have played no part in creation "nullam rem nilo gigni divinitus umquam" 1:150; religious myths are dismissed as allegories; there is no penalty by the gods after death, the human will is "the soul atoms which possess volition". 43

Diametrically opposed to the position of the Epicureans, is the viewpoint taught by the Stoics. Seneca whose De Providencia is to Stoicism what Lucretius' De Rerum Natura is to Epicureanism, would say:

Fata nos ducunt et quantum cuique temporis restât, prima nascentium hora disposuit 5,4-5 44

Despite the stoic's admission of free-will, "nihil cogor, nihil patior inuitus nec servio deo, sed adsentior" 5,4 45 this aspect of their beliefs would all but be forgotten, clouded over by the emphasis on divine influence. Stoicism became the base of the state religion and Virgil, "the poet of the Roman empire," could not help but reflect these concepts in his masterpiece.

In seeking to compare the theologies of the pagan stoic Virgil and the Catholic Christian Cervantes, it may be necessary to keep in mind the statement of Castro:

El Renacimiento hubo de aprehender con vehemencia ciertos aspectos de la doctrina estoica...... Es raro el caso de Justo Lipsio que emprende una adaptación sistemática e interesante del antiguo estoicismo a la moral católica renovando los procedimientos de los Padres de la Iglesia. Lo frecuente es que tales ideas bogasen libremente por el campo de la literatura, protegidas por fórmulas ambiguas de lenguaje......
The fact is that Stoicism does approach Christianity in not insignificant parallels. The Stoic "fatum" literally translated means "that which was said," and in its association with the highest divinity, it therefore signifies the divine word. In Christian terminologies, we find in St. John "In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God" John 1,1. Furthermore, the essence of Stoicism which is to adapt the individual will to this "fatum" finds an echo in the words of St. Paul, "Father, what would thou have me do?" and even in the very words of Christ "Father, if thou art willing, remove this cup from me; yet not my will but thine be done" Luke: 22,43. Turning to the situation in Cervantes's time, the viewpoints on divine agency were most identified with the doctrines of Luther. Though Luther's treatises were not available in Spain, yet his assertions were well known for they formed the counterpoint of the doctrines of Erasmus and for this reason it is necessary to mention his position. Luther in his treatise De Servo Arbitrio (1525) makes innumerable Scriptural citations that reflect divine agency of a necessary sort, and what is especially significant for our purposes is that the theologian realized the affinity between divine agency as purported by Christianity and the fatalistic nuances of paganism as he stated:
Yet natural reason is forced to admit that the living and true God must be one who by his freedom imposes necessity on us, since obviously he would be a ridiculous God, or idol rather, if he foresaw the future uncertainty, or could be proved mistaken by events, when the heathen have given their Gods an "ineluctable fate". "Fortuna omnipotens et ineluctabile fatum" Aeneid 8:334.

It was stated earlier that in Stoic thought, the aspect of free will did exist. In the theology of Cervantes's day, this position was especially advocated by Erasmus in his treatise De Libero Arbitrio (1524). Erasmus also makes innumerable scriptural citations both from the Old and New Testaments to substantiate his contention but for him the best illustration of the origin and power of free will is the following:

God made man from the beginning, and left him in the hand of his own counsel. He added his commandments and his precepts. If thou wilt observe the commandments, and keep acceptable fidelity forever, they shall preserve thee. He hath set water and fire before thee; stretch forth thine hand for which thou wilt. Before man is life and death, good and evil; that which he shall choose shall be given him. (Ecclesiasticus, 15:15-17.)

Similar to the polemics in Virgil's day, the polarity as exemplified by Erasmus and Luter is very blatant in the theology of Cervantes's time. Whereas Luther was intransigent in his stand, Erasmus sought for a more moderate and compromising position as he states:

Up to now we have been compiling scriptural passages establishing the freedom of the will, while conversely others seem to cancel it out completely. Since the Holy Spirit, who inspired both, can not contradict himself, we are forced whether we like it or not, to seek a more moderate opinion.
The moderate opinion which Erasmus aimed at is an acknowledgment of both divine and human agency and it is in this dual acceptance that Erasmianism can be considered as parallel to Stoicism. For as shown in this cursory analysis, neither Stoicism nor Erasmianism was extreme and a certain eclecticism can best be attributed to them. It is entirely possible that boundaries would be crossed as one critic notes "junto a este erasmismo se acusa en Cervantes otra corriente que a veces se confunde con la primera, y es la de estoicismo". If a differentiation is to be made between Stoicism and Erasmianism, it would have to be based on their differing emphases, for the former emphasizes the divine and fatalistic aspect, while the latter emphasizes the aspect of free-will and human agency. As Stoicism became the standard of Virgil's say, so also the views of Erasmus had become the standard theological position of Cervantes's Spain. Bataillon notes:

La España de Carlos V estuvo impregnada de erasmismo ..... las tendencias literarias de Cervantes son las de un ingenio formado por el humanismo erasmizante ....

Bataillon's extensive composition is regarded as the key study which portrays the great influence of Erasmus on Spanish letters prior to, and including the Quijote. The critic however, does not discuss at any length the theological aspect of Erasmianism in the Quijote, and this is the aspect which is pertinent to our consideration as we
seek to exemplify how the common theological question is reflected in the respective masterpieces.

Ultra-Human Agency:

Influenced by the Stoicism of his time, it is not surprising that a strong current of fatalism pervades the Virgilian creation. Juno is forbidden by the fates: "quippe vetor fatis" 1:39; the Trojans are driven by the fates: "errabant acti fatis"; Aeneas pursued by them ("fato profugus") goes along with them: "uiam data fata secutus" 1:382; Arruns is condemned by them ("fatis debitus") and Sinon is protected by them: "iniquis fatis defensus".

Tangential to the agency of fate, to the extent of contributing to what can be considered a negation of individual determination of action is the overt influence of the ultra-human agents. We can recall Allecto's firebrands that spur Turnus into action, Juturna manipulating Turnus' chariot away from where he wants to go; the avenging arrow of the goddess Opis that kills Arruns; the God Somnus shaking a dewy drop on the eyelids of Palinurus inciting him to sleep. In the light of this, it is hard to accept the contention of the critic Ruth Carson who states that "In Virgil the supranatural is never used to bring about an effect untrue to the psychological situation."52

Terminologies have become more varied, but semblances of ultra-human influence cannot be denied to the Quijote.
The protagonist holds that his duty to maintain devotion to Dulcinea has been imposed upon him by some force which he defines as "naturaleza": "para ser yo suyo, y no de otra alguna, me arrojó la naturaleza en el mundo" IV,77. Similarly, the squire considers his duty to his master as being the result of some force which he terms "suerte" as he says "esta fue mi suerte y esta mi mal andanza; no puedo mas, seguirle tengo" III,412. Among the lesser characters there is this same sort of belief that some outside agency had influenced their status in life or could have influenced it, as the ducal servants who could have been countesses if "fortuna" so desired it "pudieran ser condessas, si la fortuna quisiera" III,454. In the light of these observations, it is understandable why Castro would state "Don Juan es audaz, desafía al cielo, pero no tiene la conciencia de su fatal carácter como los personajes cervantinos".53

Collaborating with the viewpoints expressed by characters with respect to their own personal existence are statements of a more general nature, as "cada cual es como Dios lo ha hecho"; "nadie puede prometerse en este mundo mas horas de vida de las que Dios quiere darle" II,7. The underlying basis for this is the conception that "A Dios solo está reservado conocer los tiempos y los momentos" II,25, and "Dios es el sabedor de todas las cosas que nos han de suceder" II,11. These expressions of Cervantes are very reminiscent of Virgil's conception of an all knowing,
all powerful Jupiter who is guardian of the fates and who rules the affairs of both men and gods "qui res hominumque deumque aeternis regis imperiis" 1:229-30. The parallelism with the fatalistic nuances of Virgil is significant, for one would have to accept that in the work of the Catholic writer of sixteenth century Spain, there are undeniable tinges of what Mañach calls "aceptación implícita del criterio determinista," or what Castro considered the "glacial fatalismo que se infunde leyendo el Quijote".

The Question of Free Will:

If it were no surprise that the Stoic Virgil should depict a fatalistic doctrine, it is no surprise that the Christian Cervantes influenced by Erasmus, should emphasize a doctrine of free-will. There are very few cases however, in which the doctrine of free-will "albedrío" is asserted as clearly as in the Galley Slaves episode where it is stated "es libre nuestro albedrío, y no ay yerba ni encanto que le fuerce" I,305. More often, a belief in free-will is implied in the consciousness with which characters seek to act without imposition on their will "voluntad". It is the underlying presupposition manifested in the case of Marcela who states "naci libre" I,187; in the case of the whipping of Sancho which Merlin says must be taken willingly "no ha de ser assi porque los azotes que ha de recibir Sancho han de ser por su voluntad y no por fuerza" III,436; in
the case of the waiting-ladies whose faces could not be revealed except of their own accord "no fue possible hasta que ellas de su grado y voluntad se decubrieron" IV, 9. Perhaps the most outstanding exemplification is the contest of will of the astute defendant and governor Sancho who makes the compromising statement "que no dexareis de dormir por otra causa que por vuestra voluntad, y no por contravenir a la mia" IV, 131.

With the very definite statement "cosa imposible es forzar la voluntad" I, 305, critics could not fail to notice the strong Erasmian strain in the Quijote. But, is it true that the Cervantine hero is to be differentiated from the Virgilian by the criterion of will? Ortega y Gasset would no doubt reply affirmatively for this is the clear implication of his statement:

Héroe es, decía (yo), quien quiere ser él mismo. La raíz de lo heroico hallase, pues, en un acto real de la voluntad. Nada parecido en la épica. 56

In the first place, Ortega's concept of heroism is a Romantic notion, quite different from the classical. To be heroic in the Virgilian context meant having the spiritual strength "pietas" 57 to subdue individual whims and desires to an established order. Even apart from this, Ortega had erred for he did not realize that the Aeneid is replete with characters and situations which imply a doctrine of will.
The Virgilian protagonist himself "pius" Aeneas would assert his individuality making a mockery of his tag of piety. How many times, he goes against the portavox of the fates—disobeying Hector's words to flee, he goes back into the battle fray "rursus in arma feror" 2:654; he later goes back to look for Creusa; he dallies in Carthage with Dido—all actions which go contrary to the fulfillment of the fates. The fates do not prevent wars from being waged against the will of the Gods "ilicet infandum cuncti contra omina bellum/ contra fata deum peruerso numine possunt" 7:584; Dido takes her life before the fates are ready and Priam would think that he had conquered the fates by his survival "contra ego uiuendo vici mea fata" 11,160. Surely Juno being a goddess is not to be excused in going against the fates which speak for men and gods. She epitomizes the doctrine of will in her rebellion against the fates as noted in Venus's description of her intractability "nec iouis imperio fatisque infracta quiescit" 5:784. This situation would imply that the casket of fate is a porous one as Camps notes:

The texture, so to speak, of the ordinances of fate is loose. Much remains undetermined by it, and what is determined by it may sometimes be postponed.... Juno would avail herself of one alternative as she states "flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta mouebo" 7:312. "Ultro" and "sua sponte" are not unknown terms to Virgil
and if in Cervantes we see "la diligencia es madre de la fortuna" IV, 58, in Virgil it was "superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est"62 5:709-11; if Cervantes has "osa(dos) fauorece la fortu(na) I, 39, in Virgil it was "audentes fortuna iuuat" 10:284; and if Marcela says "naci libre," Mezentius had said "Dextra mihi deus" 10:773.

Spaniard and Roman alike presented the both doctrines of divine providence and human-will. From writers keen to such dual coinage as Samothracia (Thraciamque Samum, quae nunc Samothracia fertur 7:208), and the Cervantine "baci-yelmo," it should not be surprising to find both aspects linked to a single action.63 Latinus says that his people's sense of justice comes both from their own inclination and the custom of the ancient God "sua sponte ueterisque dei se more tenentem"64 7:204; Aeneas says that Troy would still be standing but for this dual human and divine causality "si fata deum, si mens non laeua fuisset"65 2:53; Aeneas rushes into battle incited both by man and God "talibus Othryadae dictis et numine diuum"66 2:336; the loss of Creusa is explained with similar duality "Heu misero coniuix fatone erepta Creusa substitit, erraut uiu seu lapsa resedit"67 2:738-9. Ilioneus swears by Aeneas' fate and right arm "Fata per Aeneas iuro dextramque potentem"68 7:234; and Aeneas himself would say "uicet cui vitam deus aut sua dextra dedisset"69 11:118.
In an almost exact translation of the latter Virgilian phrases, Cervantes reproduces the duality of the human and the divine with "con el fauor de dios y valor de mi brazo" III,381. There is another significant example in the case of doña Rodriguez who attributes her plight to the duality of "mi corta suerte y el descuydo de mis padres" III,116. Sancho also attributes his successful defence from his master's blows in a similar manner "Gracias a Dios y a la diligencia que puse en ladearme" I,278, and the very death of the protagonist would provide another example "0 ya fuesse de la melancolia que le causaua el verse vencido, o ya por la disposicion del cielo que assi lo ordenaua" IV,396.

In the miscegenation of the human and the ultra-human by both authors, the reader becomes aware of the attribution of ultra-human machination to events which could well be explained by natural causality. It seems very likely that Cervantes had imbibed the enigmatic implications of the Virgilian verse "dine hunc ardorem mentibus addunt/ Euryale, an sua cuique deus fit dira cupido? 70 9:184-5. Duckworth commenting on these verses notes:

The words clearly raise the question, are our impulses and actions guided by the Gods, or do we have the freedom to do what we want even though we attribute our own fierce passion to divine will? 71 The same critic believes that Virgil with "Sua cuique exorsa laborem/ fortunamque ferent" 72 10:111-12, provides
a definite answer that "mortals can and must work out their own salvation in a world governed by destiny." It must be noted however, that the forumlas which Virgil offers are "deo cede" and "fatis egere volentem" 8:133, with the admonition "Fata uiam inueniunt" 10:113. The paradox of the question remains. Virgil posits no clear cut choice nor does he give any clear cut definition of what fate is, and Haecker would state blatantly "Virgil does not present a definitive answer because he does not know". The Virgilian ambivalence is perhaps no where more better matched than that which comes from the mouth of the Cervantine protagonist:

no ay fortuna en el mundo, ni las cosas que en el suceden, buenas o malas que sean, vienen acaso, sino por particular providencia de los cielos, y de aqui viene lo que suele dezirse que cada vno es artifice de su ventura. IV,328.

One would have to conclude that despite the affirmations of Cervantes's catholicism, the Spaniard is united with his Roman counterpart on the basis of eclecticism for as Mañach rightly noted:

Sobre el dilema entre el determinismo y el libre albedrío, las ideas de Cervantes muestran la oscilación propia del tránsito de la Edad Media al Renacimiento.

The mutual ambivalence of thought is unquestionable, but it is not all. For, if sanction provides a clue to a writer's true feelings, differences can be noted in the two masterpieces. For in the Virgilian world, he who acts
of his own accord "ultro" meets with failure. This is true of Juno as of Mezentius, of Nisus as of Turnus, while he who adapts himself to the fates, namely, Aeneas, meets with success. The choice is clear--adapt or die. In the Quijote however, the situation is different, for if Mezentius dies, Marcela triumphs. Furthermore, it can be noted that the machinery of visual gods influences the concept of divine providence, while their absence in the Quijote and the farcical treatment of ultra-human agents highlight the "ultro" of the latter creation, thus reflecting the slight difference in emphasis between Virgilian Stoicism and Cervantine Erasmianism.

Both writers were replying to the same universal concern and both answered in a manner which befitted the unique insolubility of the problem. Indeed, it is the question which offers the greatest discrepancy of views as Cicero had noted:

res enim est de qua tantopere non solum indocti sed etiam docti dissentiant; quorum opiniones cum tan variae sunt tamque inter se dissidentes.76

The theologian Mosley goes a step further in holding that no solution is possible as he says:

The two ideas of Divine Power and Free-Will are in short two great tendencies of thought inherent in our minds which contradict each other and can never be united.77

Thus, the mutual eclectic posture of the artists means that they both had intuited and recreated that truism of human
nature. If any particular element obtrudes itself, it may well be due to the fact that "Virgil's spirit belonged to the age of faith and he tried to reconcile that faith with science,"\textsuperscript{78} while Cervantes's spirit belonged to the age of science and he tried to reconcile that science with faith.

Conclusion:

In this analysis of the themes of arms and religion, it was shown that on one hand, Cervantes's hero is a parody of the heroic military ideal, unlike the linear representation in Virgil's work. On the other hand, Virgil makes use of the machinery of anthropomorphic gods as a part of his creative process and this is lacking in Cervantes. Yet we find that both writers portray similar concepts of arms and war, and the basic theological problems of fate and free will, perhaps attributable to the fact that they were influenced by mutual stimuli. In other words, what we have seen is that the manner of representation of the themes is different but the quid of the themes is quite similar. These observations are consistent with those noted in the verbal and episodic aspects of our study and taken together form a comprehensive unity.

This thematic analysis is a fitting conclusion to the study for it addresses itself to the most universal aspects—what the art says about vital human issues. It is what is
expected of great literature as Salinas puts it "en todo gran novelista hay una personal visión intelectual y sentimental de hombre, un concepto de la naturaleza humana". The philosophic emanates from the poetic but the relationship is not necessarily a linear one, and as a matter of fact, in parodical representation as we find in the Quijote, the relationship between form and content is quite the reverse. It means that the particularity of individual artistry does not demand the annihilation of ideological affinity, and thus we find that if individual artistry highlights the writer's uniqueness, ideological affinity gives a clue to their universal appeal and perdurable claim on man's remembrance.
Footnotes on Chapter 5

1Aristotle's Poetics in Butcher, op. cit., p. 35.


3Ibid.

4See Casalduero, Sentido y Forma del 'Quijote', op. cit., see also Felix Olmedo, El Amadís y el Quijote, (Madrid: Editorial Nacional, MCMLXVII); Hatzfeld, El "Quijote" Como Obra de Arte del Lenguaje, op. cit., p. 2 idem.


6Aeneid 10:468-9. To lengthen fame by deeds—that is valour's task.


8Aeneid 10:830. Tis by the hand of great Aeneas thou dost fall.

9Aeneid 2:509-11. Old as he was, he went and found his armour, unused so many years, and his old shoulders shook as he put it on. He took his sword, a useless weapon, and doomed to die, went rushing into the midst of the foe.


11Aeneid 1:564-5. The newness of the kingdom and our strict need compel me to such measures—sentries on every border, far and wide.

12Aeneid 11:399-400. No safety in war! Chant such bodings, fool, for the Dardan's head and thine own lot!

14 *Aeneid* 2:718-9. My hands were foul with battle and blood, I could not touch them without pollution.

15 *Aeneid* 2:314. I grab my arms with little purpose, there was no sense in it.

16 *Aeneid* 2:557-8. He lies a nameless body on the shore, dismembered, huge, the head torn from the body.

17 *Aeneid* 11:68-9. Like a flower culled by maiden's finger, be it of tender violet or drooping hyacinth.

18 *Aeneid* 11:831; 12:952. Life with a moan passed indignant to the Shades below.

19 *Aeneid* 12:314-5. O curb your rage! Truce is already stricken, and all its terms fixed; mine alone is the right to do battle.

20 *Aeneid* 11:110-1. Do ye ask me peace for the dead slain by the lot of battle? Gladly would I grant it to the living too.


23 C. M. Bowra, op. cit., p. 40.


25 *ibid.*, p. 25.

26 C. M. Bowra, op. cit., p. 40.

27 *ibid.*, p. 41.

28 Morel-Patio, "Social and Historical Background" in *Anatomy of Don Quijote*, op. cit., p. 65.

30 Morel Patio, op. cit., p. 64-5.

31 See Américo Castro, *Hacia Cervantes*, (Madrid: Taurus, 1967). The critic states "La mayor obra secular de España expresa a la vez la dificultad y la grandeza de existir en aquel ocaso de la España heroica" p. 298. See also, Jean Cassou in *Cervantes Across the Centuries*, op. cit., p. 60. Cassou states that "war itself was outdated, to solve conflicts by military means was outmoded". See also R. D. Williams, op. cit., p. 31. Williams states that "Aeneas is not an Achilles manque, but a new type of hero. The world is no longer a heroic world".

32 See *The Dulcineated World*, op. cit., p. 33, Effron states that "Cervantes in his indirect way conveys a sense of being very knowing about heroism and reveals it as an empty and self-emptying tradition". See also L. A. Mackay, "Hero and Theme," *American Philological Association, Transactions XCIV*, 1963. Mackay states that "the old war-like virtues are being discredited by association. Virgil reserves his approbation for failure in battle and success in peace. Heroism in the conventional sense involves the loss of humanity. This is a criticism not only of the heroic ideal but of a world in which the doing of great deeds may demand the sacrifice of the innocent". See also Bowra, op. cit., p. 42, the critic states that "Virgil implicitly criticises the heroic ideal by showing to what baseness it can degenerate. He represents that heroic world which contains in it the seeds of its own destruction".

33 *Aeneid* 6:832-5. O my children, cast off the thoughts of war, and do not murder the flower of our country. O my son whose line descends from heaven, let the sword fall from the hand, be leader in forebearing.


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37 W. A. Camps, op. cit., p. 15.

38 Castro, Pensamiento de Cervantes, op. cit., p. 338.

39 Bailey, Religion in Virgil, op. cit., p. 231. See also From Virgil to Milton, op. cit., p. 78. Bowra notes the ambiguity when he states "The Fate which is called Zeus by Cleantes is Divine Providence, which directs events in the world, and is now called Jupiter, now Fate, now the Fates, now the will of the Gods. This providence which rules the universe is also its mind and nature, the universal law and the creative force of all existence". W. A. Camps op. cit., p. 43, states "Fate assumes the character of Providence".

40 The following definitions are taken from Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language ed., Philip Babcock Gove, (Springfield, Mass., Merriam Company, 1968). Providence—God conceived as that ultimate reality whose sustaining power and ordering activity provide continual guidance over the matters of human destiny; Predestination—the foreordination by God of each individual's ultimate destiny; Fate—foreordination by which either the universe as a whole or particular happenings are predetermined; Determinism—a belief in predestination; Destiny—the predetermined course of events often conceived as a resistless power or agency; Fortune—a hypothetical force or power that unpredictably or capriciously determines issues favourably or unfavourably; Chance—without forethought, plan or intention, without discernible causal relation, or natural necessity. Free Will—the power asserted of moral beings of willing or choosing within certain limitations or with respect to certain matters without the restraints of physical or divinely imposed necessity or outside causal law.

41 Camps, op. cit., p. 48.

42 Lucretius: De Rerum Natura, translated by W. H. D. Rouse, (London: Heinemann, MCMXXIV), p. 131. For the very nature of divinity must enjoy immortal life in the deepest peace, far removed and separated from our troubles.


ibid. 5:4 in ibid., p. 41. "I am not under duress, I do not submit against my will, I am not God's slave but his follower".


ibid., p. 47.

ibid., p. 85.


Castro, Pensamiento de Cervantes, op. cit., p. 331.


Castro, Pensamiento de Cervantes, op. cit., p. 342.

See Haecker, op. cit., p. 62. "Love fulfilling duties or the loving fulfillment of duties is the meaning of pietas". Also Mackail, op. cit., p. 104. "Pietas, the steady fulfillment of duty to God and man".

Aeneid 7:583-4. Straightaway, one and all, despite the omens, despite the oracles of the Gods, with will perverse, clamour for unholy war.

Aeneid 5:784. She never weakens for Jove's commands or the orders of the fates.

Camps, op. cit., p. 42.

Aeneid 7:312. If heaven I cannot bend, then hell I will arouse.

Aeneid 5:709-10. Fortune could only be beaten by endurance.

Carson, op. cit., p. 81.

Aeneid 7:204. We are righteous not by bond or laws, but self-controlled by our own free will and by the custom of the ancient gods.

Aeneid 2:53. Something or other got in our way, the Gods or fate or counsel, ill omened in our hearts.

Aeneid 2:336. I was swept into battle by the words of Othryades or the God's purpose.

Aeneid 2:738-9. Creusa was lost, whether snatched away by the wretched fates, missed the road or halted weary.

Aeneid 7:234. By the fortunes of Aeneas, I swear, and his strong right hand.

Aeneid 11:118. That one should have lived to whom heaven or his own right hand had granted life.
Aeneid 9:184-5. Do the Gods, Euryalus, put this fire in our hearts, or does his own wild longing become each man a God?


Aeneid 10:111-2. Each one's own course will bring him weal or woe.


Haecker, op. cit., p. 82.

Mamach, op. cit., p. 94-5.

Cicero, De Natura Deorum 1:5 in Cicero: De Natura Deorum. Academica; Loeb Classical Edition ed. T. E. Page with an English translation by H. Hackman, (London: William Heinemann Ltd., MCMXXIII), p. 7. "There is in fact no subject upon which so much difference of opinion exists, not only among the unlearned but also among the educated men and the views entertained are so various and discrepant".


Augustus Hopkins Strong, op. cit., p. 87.

Salinas, op. cit., p. 113.
General Conclusion

We began this study by surveying the literary similarities of the ambients in which the respective works were created i.e., the theoretic aspect, from the Poetics of Aristotle to the literary doctrines of the Renaissance. We have especially considered the generic aspect, with the aim of showing the feasibility of Cervantes choosing the epic as a model in his attempt to create a work of the magnitude of the Quijote.

In our discussion of verbal correspondences—traditional epic formulas, phrases and names, it became clear that Cervantes took pains to evoke the classical model and strove to make his readers cognizant of his attempts. What was even more significant was that once the evocation was complete, the author sought to transform and recreate as though replying to, or formulating a theory of community and individuality, acceptance and rejection, imitation and originality. His originality manifested itself in the novelist's transference of circumstances, eminence and mood as well as his creation of a melange of disparate and incongruous elements through associations and juxtapositions of divergent molds forming as a totality that which we defined as parody.

Though rejecting a stringent plagiaristic tendency on Cervantes's part in his creation of episodes, we uphold
that in the episodes discussed in this study, the multi-
farious correspondences, with definite references by the
Spanish author to Virgilian situations proved sufficient
justification for the contention of parallelism. Once
again we saw the interplay of careful evocation followed
by distortion, transformation, and transference, with the
smile replacing the tear.

The episodic analyses introduced us into an additional
feature of Cervantes's art i.e. the comicality or parody
is associated only with the most literal level of inter-
pretation. For beyond the superficialities of the textual,
we saw the writer's consciousness of thematic and ideologi-
cal considerations in imitation, the realization that art
consists of both form and content. Thus in the Cartage-
Ducal realm parallel, we noted the correspondence in the
themes of deceit, justice, mercy, purpose and duty; and in
the Hades-Montesinos parallel, those of transition, re-
birth, socialization and maturity. Cervantes's challenge
of, and commentary on his Virgilian model was blatant.

Finally we discussed the two transcendental themes of
arms and religion. By delving into the realm of the social
critic, we have seen how historical factors could have
played a part in influencing the writers to consider those
themes. It seems almost as if major themes could not help
but be similar because of major similarities in the
historico-philosophical situations. On the question of arms, the similarity in representation of military heroism in epic and chivalric literature was realized, emphasizing that the Quijote was aligned with both and its parody is of one as of the other. In heroic literature, one expects the glorification of the militaristic hero to be buttressed by artistic treatment and an ideology consistent with the mode. We find however, that both writers are uniquely united in their dual vision of the utility and futility of the military way. It was suggested that if there were a difference in the more melancholic posture of Cervantes it could be attributed to the difference in historical trajectory or the wider perspective of Cervantes who had seen not only the apogee of his nation (as Virgil did), but also the turn of the axis into perigree (as Virgil fortunately did not), so that it is no idle speculation to consider the likely results if the Aeneid were a creation of Juvenal and the Quijote a creation of Herrera. On the question of religion, it was noted that while one is of pagan epic and the other of christian chivalric modality, there is the similarity in the acknowledgment of ultra-human activity in both cases. More than the mere acknowledgment, both authors are aligned again in portraying a theology which incorporates the basic though perenially problematic issues of human will and divine agency. The implication is that
while there is a difference in artistry, their ideological concerns are similar.

Though no individual chapter was devoted to the protagonists, yet with the emphasis placed on them in every aspect of the study, a general picture emanates of their being and their symbolic value. We have shown that the overt covering of Don Quijote is a distorted and polluted replica of the garb of Aeneas. In other words, there is no doubt that Don Quijote is presented as a parody of heroic warriors in general and with very particular references to Aeneas. A more profound analysis reveals that the heroes are not only reflections of heroism in their own way but exemplify qualities more basic to human nature, that we are led to conclude that paradoxical as it may sound, the universality of both works can most significantly be appreciated from a visualization of the protagonists. For, as any man, they go through life experiencing the trials and tribulations of human existence, suffering hunger and thirst, a pawn to the whims and fancy of others, alone at times with themselves and nature, but more than anything, maturing and learning, and coming to grips with their destiny which is to be a social being at the cost of individuality.

What it implies is that at the very core of the mental conception of both works is a similarity of vision of the
world and of man, his desires, fears and motivations; his relationship with the micro and macro-cosmos. Both writers saw that man must suit his time, adapt to his position, assume the role which history, occasion or fate has assigned him. That the mother and errant daughter should both survive as universal masterpieces is as much a tribute to the artistic genius of both writers (different though it may be), as to the very acute vision of the world and the human condition, so that if artistic methodology draws them apart, ideological affinity unites them in a unique bond of literary supremacy.
Appendix A

A List of Corresponding Names as they exist in the Quijote

Aquiles - II,344; II,365.
Apolo - I,41; I,58; I,104; IV,339; IV,374.
Augusto Caesar - 1,177
Caco - I,35; I,63; I,98; IV,128.
Caribdis - II,194.
Caron - III,146.
Cartago - II,363; IV,377.
Cupido - III,145; III,149; III,152; III,256,7.
Dido - IV,115; IV,377.
Dite - III,134 (Lite IV,355).
Elena - I,366; III,404; IV,377.
Eneas - I,352; II,344; III,64; IV,73.
Eurialo - II,344; III,156.
Febo - III,250; IV,78; III,234; III,250.
Hector - II,84; II,344; II,265; IV,29.
Hercules - I,52; III,57; III,173; III,320; III,403; IV,88.
Julio Cesar - I,35; II,344; II,363; III,57; III,116; III,118.
Jupiter - III,411.
Marte - I,262; II,404; III,97; IV,232.
Menelao - IV,377.
Minos - IV,355; IV,358.
Neptuno - III,44; III,45.

Niso - III,156.

Octaviano - II,319.

Paladion - IV,36.

Pallas - IV,86.

Palinuro - II,276.

Peritoa - IV,26.

Radamanto - IV,355; IV,356; IV,357; IV,358.

Roma - I,185; II,363; III,95; III,115; III,116; III,118; IV,40;
   IV,124; IV,173; IV,184; IV,191; IV,250; IV,270.


Sinon - II,344.

Sisifo - I,183.

Sol, el Carro de - IV,38.

Tantalo - I,183.

Tarpeya - IV,75.

Tarquino - I,185.

Teseo - II,355.

Tibre - III,116.

Ticio - I,183.

Troja - II,365; III,366; IV,36; IV,220; IV,328; IV,377;
   (Tirios y Troyanos III,327).

Venus - IV,220; IV,232.

Virgilio - I,35; I,352; III,64; III,203; II,22; IV,36.

Xanto - I,238.
### Appendix B

#### Correspondence of Phrases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Aeneid and translation of Hernández de Velasco</th>
<th>Don Quijote de la Mancha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>quis talia fando</strong></td>
<td><strong>Quis talia fando temperet a lacrimis. IV,18</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Myrmidonum Dolopumue aut duri miles Vlixi temperet a lacrimis? 2:6-8</em></td>
<td><em>(Qual Myridon, qual Dolope, o foldado De Ulyffes, tal diria no laftimado,) 1,64</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Conticvere omnes intentique ora tenebant;</strong></td>
<td><strong>Callaron todos, tirios y troyanos .... pendientes estaban todos ... de la boca. III,327</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(Callaron todos, Tyrios y Troyanos:</em></td>
<td><em>(Y atentos escucharon con silencio.) 1,64</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos.</strong></td>
<td><strong>perdonar los sujetos y supeditar y acocear los soberbios (identidem).</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(A sobervios bajar con cruda guerra,</em></td>
<td><em>(Y perdonar a humildes y sujetos.) 1,375.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>centumque Sabaeo</strong></td>
<td><strong>No sentiste un olor sabeo,</strong> 11,66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tnre calent arae sertisque recentique/ balant 1:416-7</em></td>
<td><em>(Humean siempre, y con guimaldas frescas En honor suyo dan olor suave) 1,35-36.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(Do cien altares con Sabeo incienso Humean siempre, y con guimaldas frescas En honor suyo dan olor suave) 1,35-36.</em></td>
<td><em>(O dulces prendas, por mi mal halladas dulces y alegres cuando Dios queria III,225.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dulces exnuiae, dum fatu deusque sinebat,</strong></td>
<td><strong>Pues no lo estaba su amo, que era yo cuando Dios queria. 1,358</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:651</td>
<td><em>(Y me era amigo mi infelice hado) 1,230</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(0 dulces prendas, quando Dios queria,</em></td>
<td><em>(Y me era amigo mi infelice hado) 1,230</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Di talem terris auertite pestem! 3:620</strong></td>
<td><strong>Quitar tan mala simiente de sobre la faz de la tierra. 1,114</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(Dioses, quitad tan brava peste al suelo.) 1,169.</em></td>
<td><em>(Dioses, quitad tan brava peste al suelo.) 1,169.</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Noctem illam tecti siluis immania monstra perferimus, nec quae sonitum det causa/uidemus. 3:583-4
(Aquella noche de arboles cubiertos
Aquel monstruo son y horrible oímos:
Estando de la causa del inciertos,) 1,167

Era la noche, como se ha decho, escura, y ellos acertaron a entrar unos
arboles...1,261. Sintio
tambien que el golpear no cesaba pero no vio quien
podia causar. 1,274

Hinc exaudiri gemitus et saeua sonare uerbera, tum stridor ferri tractaeque/ catenae. 6:557-8
(Llegado aqui, comienza a oyr gemidos
De grande compassion, y azotes bravos,
Terrible estruendo de movido hierro,
Y de grandes cadenas arrastradas.) 1,352

Unos golpes a campas, con un cierto crujir de hierro
y cadenas acompanados del
furioso estruendo de agua. 1,261.

Audentes fortuna iuvat 10:284
(Que a osados favorece la fortuna)
2,146

Que a osa -
-favorece la fortu - Versos Preliminares 1,39

Obstipui sterteruntque comae et vox/ faucibus haesit 3:48
(La voz a la garganta quedo asida) 1,128

De nudo se la atraveso en
la garganta 1,396

Vox faucibus haesit 4:280
(Atajase turbada y enmudece) 1,133

Pegose la voz en la
garganta IV,19

Arrectaeque horrore comae et uox/ faucibus haesit 12:368
(Erizole el cabello un duro espanto
pegosele la voz a la garganta) 2:333.

De nudo se la atraveso en
la garganta 1,396

Si uestras forte per auris
Troiae nomen iit 1:375-6.
(Si Troya acaso haveys jamas oydo) 1,32

Este es el caballero de la
Triste Figura si ya le
oistes nombrar en algun
tiempo ..... II,337

Fando aliquod si forte tuas peruenit/ ad auris

(No se si a tus cydos ha llegado
El nombre ilustre y fama gloriosa
Del Claro Palamedes) 1:70.
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