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## Don Quixote and Jesus Christ: The suffering "Idealists" of Modern Religion

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### RESUMEN:

La figura de Don Quijote ha sido siempre examinada como la de un personaje que simboliza el absurdo de la búsqueda idealista. Por lo tanto, incontables generaciones han sido capaces de apropiarse temporalmente de este caballero medieval como representante de su propia situación histórica. A través de muy diversa tradición poética, ensayística, o novelesca, grandes pensadores han elevado el espíritu del Quijote desde las páginas de Cervantes, y revivido a este loco caballero como símbolo, no solo como estandarte de la fe en uno mismo, sino también de la fe en el sentido religioso o espiritual en este mundo moderno y racional. Si bien esta evolución del pensamiento ha sido desarrollada y explorada a través de diversos movimientos literarios, el análisis de ilustraciones modernas de Don Quijote han sido ampliamente descuidadas. En otras palabras, para apreciar la evolución del espíritu quijotesco ha de prestarse especial atención a las composiciones artísticas del siglo XX, con la obra de Salvador Dalí a la cabeza. Con una edición de 1945 de la obra cervantina, Dalí refleja a través de la iconografía cristiana la figura de un Don Quijote irracional que sufre a causa de su idealismo.

**Palabras clave:** Don Quijote, Dalí, análisis visual, sufrimiento, Cristianismo.

### ABSTRACT:

The figure of Don Quixote has always been seen as a character symbolizing the absurdity of idealistic pursuits. As such, countless generations have been able to temporally appropriate this medieval knight as representative of their own historical situation. Through a lineage of poetry, essays, novels, and scholarship, great thinkers have lifted the spirit of Quixote from Cervantes' pages and revived the heralded knight of folly as a symbol of the incongruous place of not only faith in ideals but faith of a religious or spiritual nature in the modern, rational world. While this progression of thought has been well developed and explored through literary movements, modern illustrations of Don Quixote have been largely neglected in scholarship. Thus, to see how Don Quixote's spirit has been revived visually in the twentieth century, scholars may turn to the work of Salvador Dalí. Through a series of illustrations for a 1945 edition of Quixote, Dalí utilizes the iconography of Jesus Christ to express Don Quixote as an irrational figure who suffers for his idealistic pursuits.

**Keywords:** Don Quixote, Dalí, visual analysis, suffering, Christianity.

The figure of Don Quixote symbolizes the absurdity of idealistic pursuits. As such, readers have been able to temporally appropriate this medieval knight as representative of their own historical situation. Through a lineage of poetry, essays, novels, and scholarship, artists and writers have lifted the spirit of Quixote from Cervantes' pages and revived the heralded knight of folly as a symbol of the incongruous place of not only faith in *ideals* but faith of a religious or spiritual nature in the modern, rational world.[1] While this progression of thought has been well developed and explored through literary movements, modern illustrations of *Don Quixote* have been largely neglected in scholarship. Thus, to see how Don Quixote's legacy has been revived visually in the twentieth century, scholars may turn to the work of Salvador Dalí (Fig.1). Through a series of illustrations for a 1945 edition of *Quixote*, Dalí utilizes the iconography of Jesus Christ to express Don Quixote as an irrational figure who suffers for his idealistic pursuits.[2]

To understand Dalí's iconographic system of illustrating *Quixote*, one must begin by examining

how Cervantes established the figure of Don Quixote as a suffering idealist. Next, one can turn to the twentieth century and how this knight came to be reinterpreted through the Modernist Spanish literary movement called the "Generation of 1898." This movement lifted Don Quixote to the place of savior and spiritual leader, seemingly elevating his status to one of power and influence. As such, Don Quixote could be interpreted as a symbol of authority in his role as a unifying force in the divided Spain at the turn of the century. Then, taking influence from their identification of Don Quixote as a Christ-like figure, one can examine Dalí's illustrations. As a child of this Modernist movement, Dalí demonstrates iconographic tendencies related to Christ. However, in the place of a conquering force, Dalí portrays a suffering protagonist. Thus, the visual connection between Dalí's Don Quixote and Christ can be iconographically linked through comparing suffering crucifixion images of Surrealist precursor Hieronymus Bosch and other iconographic traditions associated to Christ. Through this process, Don Quixote is revealed as the suffering idealist who foolishly pursues his own destruction.

Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, first published in 1605, appeared in a transitional time of rebirth and renewal as Spain moved from the rigid mindset of the Middle Ages to the more free-spirited creativity of Spain's Golden Age.<sup>[3]</sup> However, like many times of societal change, this period was also characterized by much uncertainty and anxiety, resulting from conflicting national trends of cultural awakening and monarchical conservatism.<sup>[4]</sup> Nonetheless, it is in this atmosphere in which Cervantes produced one of the most influential books of all time.<sup>[5]</sup> Among pages of cultural commentary, biting satire, and profound parody, Cervantes constructed the immortal person of Don Quixote. This characterization demonstrated both the comedy of a person condemned to struggle against reality and the shame or disgrace brought by this lost sense ("*locura*," literally "insanity") of reality. As such, Don Quixote has been interpreted as a pivotal symbol of the conflict between antiquated religious idealism and modern rationalism.<sup>[6]</sup>

While Cervantes responded to his historical situation by creating an early form of the modern novel, the Generation of 1898 responded through the creation of the Modernist movement. Much like Cervantes, the Generation of 1898 found themselves in a time of great transition as the Spanish nation experienced a brief period of Republican rule before the dictatorship of Franco.<sup>[7]</sup> By the beginning of the twentieth century, *Don Quixote* had become an unquestionable part of the Western literary canon. However, the figure of Don Quixote experienced significant changes in understanding from the time of Cervantes' inception. The Generation of 1898 transformed the ridiculed knight of ideological backwardness into the essential Spanish hero to aid in their mission of regenerating their nation.<sup>[8]</sup>

To explore the Generation of 1898's particular characterization of Don Quixote, two literary greats clearly demonstrate the connection between this modernist literary movement and future interpretations of the Spanish *hidalgo*: Miguel de Unamuno and Ruben Dario.<sup>[9]</sup> Importantly, these regenerative literary greats were not only integral figures in the development of Don Quixote as a symbol of Spanish society but were also particularly influential in the personal development of Salvador Dalí. Thus, the Generation of 1898 serves as an essential bridge between the characterization of Don Quixote as a Christ-like being and his subsequent expression through the work of Salvador Dalí.

In Ruben Dario's poem "Letanía de Nuestro Señor Don Quijote," the Nicaraguan poet proclaims Don Quixote as "King of the *hidalgos*, lord of the sad" ("*Rey de los hidalgos, señor de los tristes*").<sup>[10]</sup> Dario implores Don Quixote to carry out actions just as one would petition Jesus, Mary, and other saints: "pray for us" ("*Ruega por nosotros*"), "intercede for us" ("*por nos intercede*"), "supplicate for us" ("*suplicap por nos*") and "liberate us" ("*libranos*").<sup>[11]</sup> Of all these "supplications," the prayer of liberation takes definite importance. This prayer alludes to the bondage of the poet in the "decadent, faithless modern world" and places Don Quixote in the particular role of liberator or freer from sins,<sup>[12]</sup> and thus he becomes seen as a figure of power capable of performing these acts.

The Christ-like associations of Don Quixote begun by Ruben Dario's "Letanía" are confirmed and strengthened by Miguel de Unamuno. In 1905,

Unamuno published multiple pieces deifying the crusader of Spanish literature. Unamuno described Don Quixote as a "truly universal element," and thus Cervantes' work "...no longer belonged to Cervantes, but to all who read and feel it."<sup>[13]</sup> Though he considered Don Quixote to be a universal, Christ-like being living in the hearts of all humanity, Unamuno also asserted the importance of Don Quixote as a decidedly Spanish figure. Thus, Unamuno declares the *Quixote* as "the national Bible of the patriotic religion of Spain," something worthy of being read allegorically like Scripture.<sup>[14]</sup> Similar to Dario, Unamuno also refers to the knight as "my lord" ("*mi señor*"). In his piece *The Life of Don Quixote and Sancho* (1914, 1928), Unamuno first defines his own view of the person of Jesus as a religious entity who came down to earth and adapted himself to the needs of the people at the time.<sup>[15]</sup> Unamuno then echoes this foundational Christian view of Christ as it applies to the figure of Don Quixote: "Certainly it will occur to no one, unless it be to me, seriously to maintain that Don Quixote really and truly existed and did all the things that Cervantes tells us about, in the way that almost all Christians maintain and believe that Christ existed and did all the things the Gospels tell us about."<sup>[16]</sup>

Throughout his career, Unamuno made countless additional references to the interconnectedness of Don Quixote and Christ to the Spanish people. In his essay "The Knight of Sad Countenance" (1896), Unamuno drew seven complete parallels between Don Quixote and Christ based on their respective textual descriptions.<sup>[17]</sup> In 1906, Unamuno published another essay entitled "The Sepulcher of Don Quixote" in *La Expana Moderna* in which the author speaks of the idea of "Quixotism" as a "new religion" whose "founder" and "prophet" was Don Quixote.<sup>[18]</sup> Most importantly, part of this "new religion" was the requirement to be courageous and stand up to ridicule. Unamuno argues that reason mocks and despises faith and, therefore, modern man should take recourse in Don Quixote "to learn to face ridicule and overcome it."<sup>[19]</sup> Thus, one of the most important parallels between Don Quixote and Christ lies in this idea of suffering for one's faith, for "he [Don Quixote] became the Spanish Christ because he, like Jesus, suffered the 'passion' of mockery."<sup>[20]</sup> The conclusion of this piece affirms Unamuno's apologetic of Don Quixote as the "symbolic catalyst to Christian renewal within the spiritually modern world."<sup>[21]</sup> Since the time of Unamuno, many other writers and scholars have continued to affirm the Christ-like connections of Don Quixote.<sup>[22]</sup>

If such strong literary connections, as those presented by the Generation of 1898, have been established between the figures of Don Quixote and Jesus Christ, then it would stand to reason that there is a strong possibility of similar connections being evident in *artistic* depictions of the figure of Don Quixote. The person of Salvador Dalí, heir to the revolutionary cultural movements that began with this generation of writers, is thus a clear choice for seeing how Spanish artists took these literary parallels and applied them visually. Continuing in the line of Cervantes and Unamuno, Dalí explores the identity of Don Quixote at a time of significant historical and personal transition: in the era of World War II and its consequences.<sup>[23]</sup> However, before examining Dalí's exact depictions of the disillusioned knight, it is essential to understand the pictorial lineage from which the Spanish Surrealist artist draws inspiration.

As a movement, Surrealism had claimed inspiration from innumerable sources and from a vast array of times and cultures. However, one artist that has been linked both internally and externally to Surrealist art is the fifteenth-century Netherlandish artist Hieronymus Bosch. [24] Bosch sets a profound precedent for the inversion and subversion of conventional depictions, frequently exchanging traditional religious images for secular themes. [25] As such, Bosch was instrumental in the formation of Dalí's personal iconography. [26]

An example of this strong connection is demonstrated through Bosch's triptych *The Temptation of Saint Anthony* (Fig. 2 and 3). In this complicated work, Bosch juxtaposes exterior scenes of Christ's crucifixion with interior scenes of Saint Anthony being confronted by various temptations. The overarching theme is thus one of both suffering from and redemption from sin. [27] Bosch represents the sinful elements through symbolic images such as eggs, crutches and other phallic symbols, horses, and elephants, just to name a few. [28] Dalí also did a piece entitled *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*, a work completed within a year of his Quixote illustrations (Fig. 4). [29] In addition to the subject matter itself, Dalí borrows many elements from Bosch's work, including the dark landscape, the bizarre presentation of animals, and phallic imagery. [30] Consequently, by examining Bosch's imagery, one can give iconographic meaning to the suffering figures in Dalí's illustrations.

Throughout his images for the 1945 edition of *Don Quixote*, Dalí makes many allusions to Christ-like postures and symbols. [31] However, two exceptionally strong examples are found through Dalí's illustrations for chapters VIII and XXV of the first portion of *Don Quixote*. Chapter VIII contains one of the most infamous scenes of the Manchurian hidalgo's tale, and so Dalí's illustrations for this chapter contain many complicated iconographic references and symbolic meanings. Therefore, it serves best to first examine the illustrations for the later chapter XXV, in which Dalí's association between Christ and Quixote is much more explicitly depicted. Then after looking at chapter XXV, one can return to the earlier chapter with a clearer understanding of the visual iconography.

#### DON QUIXOTE CHAPTER XXV: THE HUMILIATION

Thus, turning to chapter XXV, it is valuable to first view a traditional illustration depicting the scene described in Cervantes' text (Fig. 5). [32] In the previous few chapters, Don Quixote and his companion Sancho Panza have been traveling through the Moreno Mountains in search of a supposed "madman" who had insulted Don Quixote's quest for his beloved Dulcinea. The opening lines of this chapter inform that Don Quixote has mounted his horse, Rocinante, with his companion Sancho riding a donkey by his side. Looking at the traditional depiction of this journey, one clearly sees both lord and companion riding their respective "steed" among a Spanish landscape. However, turning to the colored image of Dalí (Fig. 1), one sees a strikingly different sort of illustration, though positioned alongside the same Cervantian text. Dalí replaces the mountainous landscape with his traditional barren backdrop. Focusing on the figure of Don Quixote, one sees the hidalgo seated on his white

horse, Rocinante. However, in lieu of a voyaging knight, Dalí portrays the man with his head hanging in a stance of defeat. In addition, Dalí's Don Quixote clutches the side of his chest and has a lance at his side. This specific posture is repeated in Dalí's illustrations in other moments of defeat, such as in an illustration for chapter XXXVII (Fig. 6), thus demonstrating its continued symbolic significance. [33]

Furthermore, this lowered position of the head, the inclusion of a lance, and the allusion toward a wounded side are all common elements associated with the crucified Christ. The portrayal of the piercing of Christ's side has been a familiar moment in Passion depictions, as demonstrated in pieces by Fra Angelico (Fig. 7) and Veronese (Fig. 8). [34] and is associated with the action of a soldier piercing the side of Christ in his final moments on the cross. Dalí's precursor, Hieronymus Bosch, also exemplifies the wounded side of Christ motif (Fig. 9). [35] However, he does not represent the lance in direct use as others have. Thus, the lance can hold additional meaning when viewed in light of the iconographic tradition stemming from Hieronymus Bosch.

Returning to the *Temptation of Saint Anthony*, (Fig. 2) one can recall that the exterior panels of the triptych portray two scenes of Christ's Passion. Bosch's depiction of the lance, however, is found in the interior of the triptych (Fig. 3). One can find the image of a lance leaning against a wall in the left panel of the piece (Fig. 10). According to medieval iconographic understandings, in this setting the lance holds a dual role in being both a warrior's weapon and, especially given its erect positioning, a sexual symbol. [36] However, this sexual meaning contains a negative connotation, as it is used among many other destructive symbols of temptation and sin within the scene. [37] Thus, the lance is the weapon of destruction or torment, both for Saint Anthony and for Christ. Returning to Dalí's *Don Quixote* (Fig. 1), the defeated posture of his head, the grabbing of his side, and the placement of the lance all allude to a Christ-like sense of impending pain. However, the possible Christ-like associations of this image become even clearer when considered in conjunction with a second illustration Dalí presents for the twenty-fifth chapter.

Continuing in Cervante's text, the reader finds Don Quixote in conversation with Sancho concerning his love for his "damsel," Dulcinea. Don Quixote wants to prove his love by acting in various absurd ways. He asks Sancho to witness his actions and then report them to Dulcinea so she will know of his deep affection for her. [38] Sancho responds to this by questioning the purpose of Don Quixote performing these ludicrous actions. The knight responds by saying that all "great" knights have done absurd things to demonstrate their love, and though he does not have the purpose of rejection or unfaithfulness as other knights have had, Don Quixote asserts he can act crazily for the simple purpose of acting as such. At the close of the chapter, as Sancho is about to ride away with a letter Don Quixote has written for Dulcinea, Don Quixote removes the bottom portion of his clothing and turns upside down to stand on his head, proving the lunacy of his love. [39]

As one can imagine, due to the bizarre nature of this action, many book illustrators found this portion of the scene irresistible to illustrate, as is evidenced by these two early engravings (Fig. 11

and 12). These figures stay true to the text, demonstrating a literal upside down and half-naked Quixote. This demonstration of "madness" is considered to be among the most shameful acts performed by the hidalgo. However, Dalí, the lover of the absurd, did not illustrate this ending portion of the scene, or at least not in a literal sense. The artist does, however, include a partially nude figure to accompany the text of chapter XXV (Fig. 13). Here, Dalí purposefully inverts the action described by Cervantes to undeniably imitate the crucified Christ.<sup>[40]</sup> Thus, Dalí proclaims a certain parallelism between the sacrifice of Christ and the actions of Don Quixote as both being the height of absurdity.

#### CHAPTER VIII: CHASING WINDMILLS

Having established this clear Dalinian visual connection between Cervantes' protagonist with the suffering and crucified Christ, in conjunction with the significance of the lance as a symbol of destruction, the viewer is now prepared to examine one of the most referenced scenes of Don Quixote, the windmill scene of Chapter VIII.<sup>[41]</sup> At the start of chapter VIII, Don Quixote and Sancho come upon a group of thirty or forty windmills, which Don Quixote identifies as being "giants." Sancho unsuccessfully attempts to convince Don Quixote of their true identity, but the unswerving knight charges the first windmill he comes to, resulting in a humiliating defeat as his lance is ruined and he falls to the ground. This moment of humiliation is pivotal to the story of Don Quixote. Though this scene occurs early in the novel, Don Quixote never recovers from his failure here, and the remainder of his tale is considered to be a continual decline from this point until the protagonist's death in the final chapter. Thus, the importance of this scene has been demonstrated through countless illustrations and depictions. Earlier illustrations again remain fairly consistent to Cervantes' text, showing the charging knight among a field of windmills (Fig. 14 and 15).

Now, looking at Dalí's depiction (Fig. 16), it is clear the artist is illustrating the infamous windmill scene. The artist appears to include the traditional elements of a charging Don Quixote atop Rocinante among a field of mills. However, yet again, Salvador Dalí tends to draw more from his own personal iconography and Surrealist influence than traditional Don Quixote illustrations. Thus, to more fully understand his imagery and its Christ-like implications, the viewer can turn once again to the work of Hieronymus Bosch.

Examining the illustration for chapter VIII, it is first important to be acquainted with the specific iconographic understandings of the windmill. Multiple scholars have recognized the visual similarity between the windmill and the cross, both being represented by perpendicularly intersecting wooden beams.<sup>[42]</sup> Scholar Walter S. Gibson has written a significant analysis of the connection between windmill and cross through the art of Hieronymus Bosch.<sup>[43]</sup> To do so, Gibson examined Bosch's *Christ Carrying the Cross* (Fig. 17). One side of the piece presents what appears to be a standard image of Christ on his way to Golgotha, carrying the cross, upon which he will later be crucified, on his shoulder. Interestingly, on the reverse side of this image, Bosch depicted a nude male infant holding two items: a walking frame in his left hand and what is called a "whirligig," a paper windmill, in his right hand (Fig. 18). Scholars have maintained there is an

interpretive connection between the Christ and cross image of one side and the child and windmill image of the other.<sup>[44]</sup> Visually speaking, the mirrored angles of the cross and the windmill, in conjunction with the similarly posed body and profile of the Christ and child, invite a decided parallelism. In fact, in Bosch's day, the windmill and the "whirligig" had been associated with Christ in several works by other artists as well.<sup>[45]</sup> Bosch himself repeats this common Christ and mill motif in his aforementioned *Saint Anthony Triptych* (Fig. 2 and 3).

In many contexts, the windmill was understood to be a symbol of folly.<sup>[46]</sup> In fact, this exact meaning is demonstrated twice in the *Anthony Triptych*.<sup>[47]</sup> The first example is on the exterior of the triptych in the image of *Christ with the Cross*, in which a child plays with a toy windmill (Fig. 19). This child is thought to be foolish for being distracted by the toy windmill and thus showing apparent indifference to the figure of the suffering Christ.<sup>[48]</sup> This same object is again seen in the interior of the triptych, in which a demon is shown with a whirligig or windmill on his head (Fig. 20). To reiterate, the importance of these images is the association of the windmill, which stands for folly, in conjunction with the suffering of Christ and the cross.

Reexamining the shape of the whirligig, an additional association can be made with Bosch's use of the windmill motif. Looking at the shape of the toy, one can't help but notice its long lance-like shape. In fact, medieval iconography included a strain of devotional images in which the Christ child was depicted in association with various toys or instruments of torture, such as crosses, lances or whirligigs.<sup>[49]</sup> This possible association is particularly clear when comparing depictions of the piercing of Christ's side (Fig. 7 and 8) in which one sees the traditional image of a soldier with lance at the side of Christ, and the exterior panel of Bosch's *St. Anthony Triptych*, in which the child holding the whirligig mirrors the location and action of the soldier (Fig. 19). Thus, in this strain of Christ and mill images, the symbol of folly is visually conflated with a symbol of destruction. This association will take further significance when considered with Dalí's work.

Returning to Dalí's illustration of Don Quixote chapter VIII (Fig. 16), two areas of the piece contain unmistakable references to the Boschian juxtaposition of lance, windmill, and cross. Dalí's illustration appears to follow the sequence of events as described by Cervantes,<sup>[50]</sup> beginning in the bottom left corner (Fig. 21). This portion appears to illustrate Don Quixote's initial encounter and reaction to seeing the "giants." Examining the shape of this particular windmill, one can see Dalí has distinguished this windmill from the others by depicting it in the shape of a human head. This association between head and mill recalls particularly the demon of the interior of Bosch's *Anthony Triptych* (Fig. 20) symbolizing folly, madness, or mindlessness.<sup>[51]</sup> Thus, Don Quixote's attack can be understood as a confirmed act of insanity.

The true significance of this portion of the illustration, however, is found inside the windmill. Looking into the center of the head-like structure (Fig. 21), one sees the figure of Don Quixote confronting this "giant" windmill. Once more, it is important to recall the windmill is visually similar to the image of the cross. Examining Don Quixote,

the knight appears to once again mirror the crucifixion stance of Christ in raising both arms above his head while his legs form a solitary third member. Thus, as seen in chapter XXV (Fig. 13), the folly of Don Quixote is depicted in terms of Christ's crucifixion and thus emphasizes the absurdity associated with both actions.

The next area to be highlighted is found in the top portion of the illustration (Fig. 22). Here, Dalí appears to be illustrating the subsequent moment in which Don Quixote, shown as the traditional knight with lance on horseback, charges the windmill.<sup>[52]</sup> This is, then, the moment directly preceding Don Quixote's ultimate humiliation of falling and failing. Looking at this portion, it would seem Don Quixote is anything but a failure as he is shown powerfully charging the personified windmill on the right. However, recalling another use of Bosch's lance and windmill imagery, this image can be read as yet another symbol of madness. The placement of the windmill-giant appears strategically on the end of Don Quixote's lance. This arrangement mirrors the form of the whirligig, as depicted in the hands of Bosch's Christ child (Fig. 18). Thus, the charging knight is yet again a symbol of his own insanity in his struggle against the "giant," and this symbol of insanity is one associated with Christ.

Consequently, this emblem of madness leads to the humiliating defeat of Don Quixote, which Dalí shows in the lower right corner of the illustration (Fig. 23). This crushing failure is depicted once again in a sketch directly following the battle scene text, in which Dalí uses the now-familiar Christ-like motif of the lanced side and lowered head to symbolize defeat and shame (Fig. 24). This defeat was so devastating to the figure of Don Quixote that the knight carries the memory and humiliation of this moment to his deathbed.

In traditional imagery of Don Quixote's death, the knight is shown lying in bed, surrounded by various characters described visiting in the final chapter. In an earlier image, the dying Alonso is shown in a rather sparse bedroom setting, joined by only three other figures (Fig. 25). In an eighteenth-century illustration of the scene, Alonso Quijano is at the moment of dictating his will, surrounded by many friends and loved ones (Fig. 26).<sup>[53]</sup> However, as both these images suggest, Cervantes' text describes his protagonist *repenting* of his folly on his deathbed to those who surround him. Dalí's dying man, however, seems to remain focused on the emblem of his folly, and thus, Dalí's final illustration for the novel leaves the reader with an image of the knight Quixote contemplating his humiliation in association with windmill (Fig. 27).<sup>[54]</sup>

Consequently, to understand the iconographic significance of this final piece, one may look yet again to traditional Christian imagery. In images of Christ as "the Man of Sorrows," artists depicted an interesting conflation of cross and halo imagery behind the image of Christ's head (Fig. 28).<sup>[55]</sup> The image depicts a dead Christ with eyes closed and head hung in lifeless defeat. Behind his body is shown two cross images, the first represented directly behind his head as part of his halo and the second as purely brown crossbeams. Recalling the visual associations of cross and windmill one last time, this image can be closely associated to Don Quixote's contemplation of the windmill in his deathbed scene.<sup>[56]</sup> As such, Dalí's final image can also be read as the man of

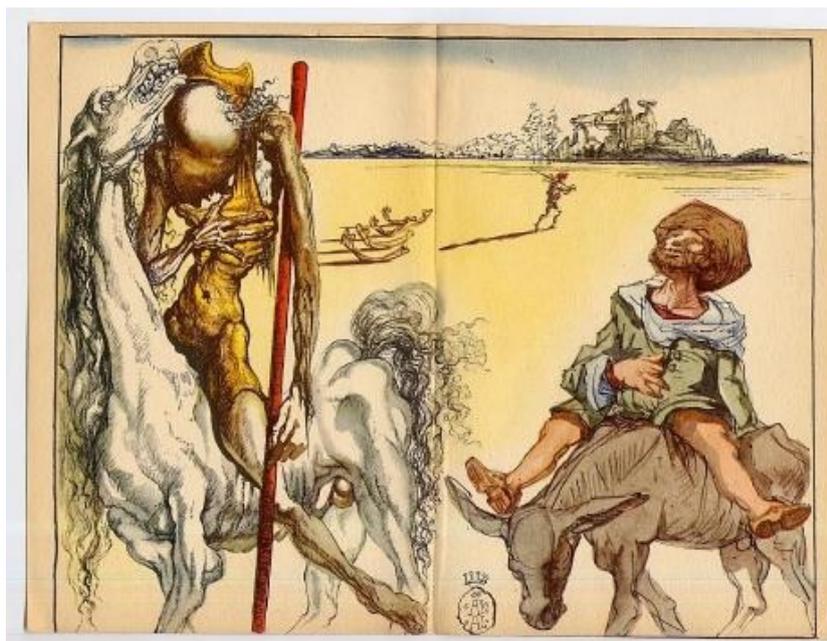
idealistic faith, Christ, contemplating his final act of humiliation, his defeat on the cross. In doing so, Dalí highlights the folly of Quixote's actions and ignores the man's repentance of irrationality in Cervantes' text, leaving the reader with nothing more than a melancholic meditation of foolishness.<sup>[57]</sup>

As a conclusion, amidst the confusion of the seventeenth-century Spanish Golden Age, Cervantes created an immortal idealistic hero. Through his many encounters, battles, defeats, and humiliating acts, Cervantes invited a vast array of interpretations and applications of his text. Through the elucidations of the Generation of 1898 in the years leading to the Spanish Civil War, Don Quixote was lifted from a figure of mere lunacy to a powerful unifying force with Christ-like associations to aid in their battle of regeneration. Decades later, this association between Christ and Quixote had been visually confirmed through the work of Salvador Dalí. However, through his World War II era disillusionment, Dalí highlighted the suffering nature of the idealistic *hidalgo* instead of elevating him to the place of an inspirational national hero. In so doing, Dalí not only confirmed the suffering nature of Don Quixote but illustrated the absurdity of the figure of Christ. These Christ-like associations invited by Cervantes' text, clarified through the writings of the Generation of 1898, and visually confirmed by Dalí's illustrations have thus served their purpose in reviving images of suffering and humiliation. They indeed confirm the perceived absurdity of idealism in modern social thought. However, Dalí leaves the true question regarding the place of faith in modernity unanswered, and thus up to the viewer.

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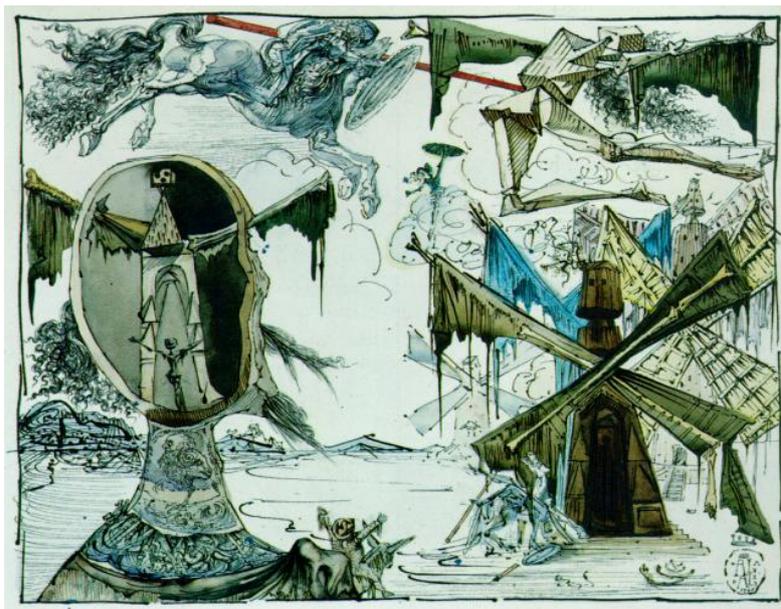
(Fig. 1) Salvador Dali, Illustration for *Don Quixote Pt. I, Ch. XXV* 1945, Author's own edition, from Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, Trans. Peter Motteux, (Random House, 1946), p.224-25.



(Fig. 2) Salvador Dali, Illustration for *Don Quixote Pt. I, Ch. XXXVII*, 1945, Author's own edition, from Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, Trans. Peter Motteux, (Random House, 1946), p.280-81.



(Fig. 3) Salvador Dali, Illustration for *Don Quixote Pt. I, Ch. XXV* 1945, from Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, Author's own edition, from Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, Trans. Peter Motteux, (Random House, 1946), p.155.



(Fig. 4) Salvador Dali, Illustration for *Don Quixote Pt. I, Ch. VIII*, 1945, Author's own edition, from Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, Trans. Peter Motteux, (Random House, 1946), p. 60-61.



(Fig. 5) Hieronymus Bosch, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, with Permission of Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.



(Fig. 6) Hieronymus Bosch, *Child with Walker and Whirligig* (Reverse of *Christ Carrying the Cross*), with Permission of Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.



(Fig. 7) Salvador Dali, Illustration for *Don Quixote Pt. I, Ch. VIII*, detail, 1945, from Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, Author's own edition, from Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, Trans. Peter Motteux, (Random House, 1946), p.60-61.



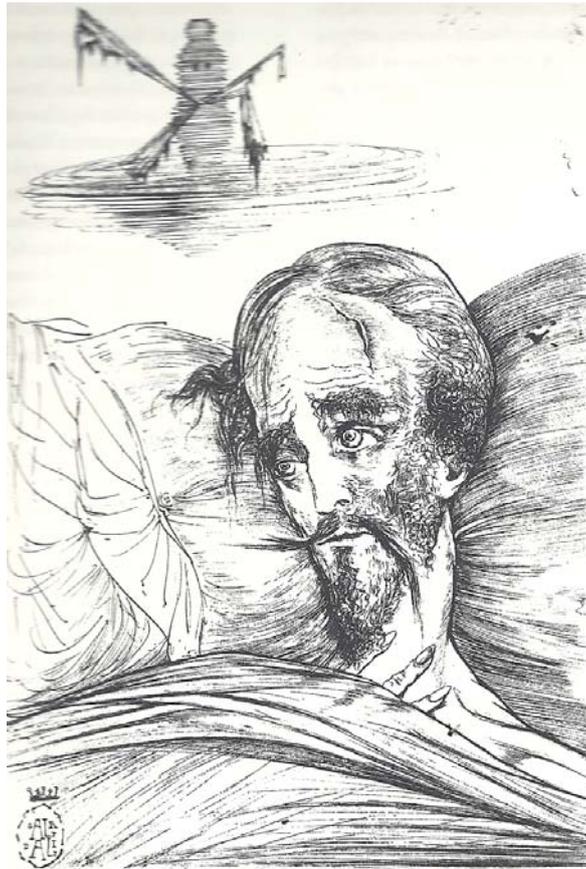
(Fig. 8) Salvador Dali, Illustration for *Don Quixote Pt. I, Ch. VIII*, detail, 1945, from Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, Author's own edition, from Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, Trans. Peter Motteux, (Random House, 1946), p.60-61.



(Fig. 9) Salvador Dalí, Illustration for *Don Quixote Pt. I, Ch. VIII*, detail, 1945, from Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, Author's own edition, from Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, Trans. Peter Motteux, (Random House, 1946), p.60-61.



(Fig. 10) Salvador Dalí, Illustration for *Don Quixote Pt. I, Ch. VIII*, 1945, from Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, Author's own edition, from Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, Trans. Peter Motteux, (Random House, 1946), p.45.



(Fig. 11) Salvador Dalí, Illustration for *Don Quixote Pt. I, Ch. LII*, 1945, from Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, Author's own edition, from Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, Trans. Peter Motteux, (Random House, 1946), p.321.

Título: Don Quijote y Jesucristo: el sufrimiento de dos "idealistas" en la religión moderna.

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## NOTES

[1] ZIOLKOWSKI, E. J. (1991). *The Sanctification of Don Quixote: From Hidalgo to Priest*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, p.8.

[2] Dalí wrote this to describe his impression of Don Quixote as an foolish idealist: "Don Quijote was one kind of crazy, the most fetishistic of the earth, whose intention was to possess the oddest things of this world. For this, I want every one of my illustrations of Don Quijote to be the oddest thing for the mediums used in their execution. Each element of these lithographs has to be an element of *donquijotismo* exacerbated." From DALÍ, S. (2003). *Obra Completa*, FANES, F. (Ed.) Vol. 2., Barcelona: Ediciones Destino, p. 661.

[3] SCHROTH, S. and BAER, R. (2008). *El Greco to Velázquez: Art during the Reign of Philip III*, Boston: MFA Publications, p.112. The authors make an interesting comment regarding the books full title, *El ingenioso hidalgo Quijote de la Mancha*. The term "ingenioso" is a rather ambiguous

Spanish term, which could be translated as anything from "wit" to "genius" or "ingenuity," and thus could refer to anything from "innate intelligence" to a form of "imagined falsehoods." As such, the ambiguity of the title sets the tone for the figure of Don Quixote and the remainder of the novel. For more, see Schroth and Baer, *ibid.*, pp.156-57.

[4] SCHROTH and BAER, *ibid.*, p. 112. During this time of cultural awakening, writers and artists began to be prized as culturally valuable. Additionally, the era of Philip III saw the arrival of the printing press to Spain, an event celebrated by Cervantes in *Don Quixote*. With the invention of the printing press came a Spanish educational revolution, resulting in one of the highest percentages of literate and educated citizens in Spanish history. For more see Schroth and Baer, *ibid.*, pp. 148-51.

[5] SCHROTH and BAER, *ibid.*, p. 157. It is interesting to note that Cervantes discusses his writing as being inspired by contemporaneous painting practices. He is quoted saying, "Digo asimismo que, cuando algun pintor quiere salir

famoso en su arte procura imitar los originales de los más únicos pintores que sabe; y esta misma regla corre por todos los más oficios o ejercicios de cuenta que sirven para adorno de las repúblicas." ["I say, too, that when a painter wishes to win fame in his art, he attempts to copy the original works of the most talented painters he knows; this same rule applies to all important occupations and professions to serve to embellish nations."] From CERVANTES, M. (2003). *Don Quijote*. Grossman, E. (Trans.). New York: Harper Collins, p. 193, as quoted in Schroth and Baer, *ibid.*

[6] SCHROTH and BAER, *ibid.*, p.157-8. Scholars note the confrontation of many different societal and cultural elements during the time of Cervantes was largely attributed to several key events during therein of Philip III, including the 1588 defeat of the Armada, the monarchy's declaration of bankruptcy in 1595, and famine and plague in 1596. Schroth notes this created an atmosphere of great disillusionment ("desengaño") in Spanish society at the turn of the seventeenth century.

[7] ZIOLOWSKI, *op.cit.*, p.172. Ziolkowski describes the Generation of 1898's writings as "reflections on the spiritual meaning of Spain's cultural history."

[8] ZIOLOWSKI, *ibid.*, p.3, 172. The author demonstrates how the understanding of Don Quixote has changed throughout several centuries. In the eighteenth-century, Don Quixote was approached as a figure of *sympathy*, as shown through the work *Joseph Andrews* (1742) by Henry Fielding; the nineteenth-century approach to Don Quixote was one of a Romantic view, as demonstrated through *The Idiot* (1869) of Dostoevsky; the twentieth-century religious view of Don Quixote is then demonstrated by Graham Greene's *Monsignor Quixote* (1982).

[9] In Dalí's youth, he and his friends produced a small magazine entitled *Stadium* in which the adolescent boys would include a selection of verses from "Iberian" poets, Ruben Dario being among them. Dario was a Nicaraguan writer who is credited with bringing the Modernist movement to Europe through his revolutionary style of poetry. For more information on the publication of *Stadium* and its contents, see GIBSON, I. (1997). *The Shameful Life of Salvador Dalí*. London: Faber and Faber, pp. 60-61. Dario's work, which greatly attracted Dalí and his companions, was influential to writers within the Generation of 1898, Unamuno included, as noted by Ziolkowski, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

[10] DARÍO, R. (1945). *Obras poéticas completas*. Madrid: Aguilar, pp. 755-57.

[11] ZIOLOWSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

[12] ZIOLOWSKI, *ibid.*, p. 184.

[13] UNAMUNO, M. (1967). *Selected Works of Miguel de Unamuno*, Kerrigan, A. et al. (Eds.). Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp.459-60.

[14] *Selected Works of Miguel de Unamuno*, *ibid.*, p. 456. Throughout his career, Unamuno dealt with serious philosophical, spiritual, and existential issues, particularly in association with his own doubts of eternal life. Thus, Unamuno particularly identified with Don Quixote in his quest for *immortality*. See Ziolkowski, *op.cit.*, p.173.

[15] *Selected Works of Miguel de Unamuno*, *ibid.*, p. 450.

[16] *Selected Works of Miguel de Unamuno*, *ibid.*, p. 450-51.

[17] ZIOLOWSKI, *op.cit.*, p. 178-79. Ziolkowski outlines Unamuno's seven parallels between Christ and Don Quixote as follows. First, Jesus is quoted saying that "whoever loses his soul shall gain it;" Unamuno says "Alonso Quixano lost his wits and judgment to find them in Don Quixote." Second,

Unamuno states that "like Christ Jesus, of whom Don Quixote was ever a faithful disciple, he was ready for whatever adventures the roads brought him." Third, Don Quixote commanded the Toledan merchants to acknowledge the supremacy of Duceinea's beauty and they "asked Don Quixote, as the Jews did Christ, for signs so that they might believe." Fourth, Unamuno states Don Quixote becomes "forever the butt and laughingstock of barbers, curates, graduates, dukes, and idlers of every breed" and this in turn echoes the "passion by mockery" of Christ: Don Quixote was mocked by those who say "Behold the madman!" as Christ was mocked by those who said "Behold the man!" Fifth, Don Quixote was rebuked ecclesiastically at the duke's castle and Unamuno stated that if Christ were to return to earth, "that grave ecclesiastic, or his successor, would be among the Pharisees, and they would take him for a madman or a dangerous agitator and would seek to give him an equally ignominious death." Sixth, Unamuno states that Jesus "went up to only one city, Jerusalem alone, and Don Quixote went up only to Barcelona, the Jerusalem of our Knight." Finally, seventh, Unamuno describes Don Quixote's anguish at seeing a group of saint's images and contrasting their lives with his own and states "there is nothing surprising in his reaction, when on considers that Christ, borne down by grief in the olive grove, asked his Father if he could spare the lees in the chalice of bitterness."

[18] ZIOLOWSKI, *ibid.*, p. 179.

[19] UNAMUNO, M. (1972). *The Tragic Sense of Life and Men and Nations*. Kerrigan, A. (Trans.) Princeton: Princeton University Press, p. 328.

[20] ZIOLOWSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

[21] ZIOLOWSKI, *ibid.*, p.182.

[22] ZIOLOWSKI, *ibid.*, p. 183. Other authors include Azorin, Rodo, and Ortega, just to name a few.

[23] TAPIE, M. R. (2008). *The Dalí Renaissance: New Perspectives on His Life and Art after 1940*. New Haven: Yale University Press, p.75. Tapie notes the significance of the "nuclear age" in the life and career of Dalí. A strong example of the "seismic" change his work began to undergo can be seen in Dalí's *Melancholic, Atomic, Uranic Idyll* (1945). This work, being contemporaneous to Dalí's illustrations to Don Quixote, is also closely linked iconographically with both the illustrations and *The Temptation of Saint Anthony* (1946). Tapie also credits the "deeply ironic, tragicomic, utopian" nature of the painting to Bosch's influence on Dalí.

[24] Examples of the influence of Bosch's symbolic characters and overall aesthetic are interwoven in the writings of Andre Breton, the man credited with founding the Surrealist movement. For example, Breton describes the Surrealist style through various pieces by Max Ernst. In this excerpt, Breton states the purpose of this particular form to be "to avoid all preconceived designs as far as possible and, with the same eye with which from one's window one watches a man with an open umbrella walking along a roof, with that same mental reaction that allows one to think that a windmill may serve as a perfectly convenient head-dress for a woman, since Bosch has a woman wear one in his *Temptation*, to assert by means of the image other relationships than those generally or, indeed, provisionally established between human beings on the one hand and, on the other, things considered as accepted facts: in the same way that in poetry we may refer to lips of coral, or describe reason as a naked woman throwing her mirror into a well." From BRETON, A. (1972). *Surrealism and*

*Painting*. Watson Taylor, S. (Trans.). New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, p. 26.

[25] JACOBS, F. L. (2000). "The Triptychs of Hieronymus Bosch". In *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 31, No. 4, p. 1009. Jacobs lists three of Bosch's triptychs as being particularly subversive in nature: the Prado *Epiphany*, *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*, and *The Garden of Earthly Delights*.

[26] FANES, F. (2007). *Salvador Dalí: The Construction of an Image, 1925-1930*. New Haven: Yale University Press, p. 109. Fanes notes two responses in articles reviewing Dalí's Madrid exhibition in March 1929. The first, written by A. García y Bellido, compares Dalí's technical style to Bosch and other artists such as Pieter Brueghel, Max Ernst and Giorgio de Chirico. A second review titled "Comentarios del actual momento" from *Blanco y Negro* also noted the influence of Bosch, saying "the surprise is down to Salvador Dalí, the well-known iconoclast, who emerges as...a convert to classicism, if we can consider the work of Hieronymus Bosch as such." The Dalinian connection to Bosch was subsequently solidified through the writing of Herbert Read in a 1934 article called "Bosch and Dalí," and was considered a commonplace association thereafter.

[27] JACOBS, op.cit., p.1037. Jacobs confirms the association between the actual figures of Anthony and Christ through a series of visual parallels. Among these includes a shared benedictional gesture, similar positions of falling between Anthony in the inner left panel and the scene of Christ's arrest on the panel's reverse, and both figures shown coming face to face with women in the right panel.

[28] BAX, D. (1978). *Hieronymus Bosch: His Picture-Writing Deciphered*, Bax-Botha, M. A. (Trans.). Rotterdam: A. A. Balkema. Bax gives a very thorough analysis of the various interpretations of items present through Bosch's oeuvre. The egg, for example, was considered to be a symbol of new life, eroticism, madness, and was associated with the celebration of Carnival. The elephant was a symbol of dullness, calmness, and strength. The crutch was interpreted as a symbol of lameness, inertness, laziness, and possible castration or sexual implications.

[29] TAPIE, op. cit., p. 3. Tapie states that Dalí "feverishly" studied Bosch's *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*, and was even photographed examining the painting closely at the Barnes Foundation. In addition, Tapie notes the similarity between this work and similar caricatures and forms Dalí used extensively throughout the much of his career.

[30] DALÍ, S. (2003). *Obra Completa*, Editor's Note, Fanes, F. (Ed.). Vol. 1, Barcelona: Ediciones Destino, p. 1244. Fanes provides a note to Dalí's 1941 diary entitled *Vida Secreta*, in which Dalí compares himself to a skeletal figure straight from the works of Bosch after a long, hot summer. Fanes asserts that "Dalí knew the work of Hieronimus Bosch very well, and had been able to study [his work] directly in the Prado when he lived in Madrid. A good example of this is the presence of one of the figures of *The Garden of Earthly Delights* (*El jardín de las delicias*) in *The Great Masturbator* (*El gran masturbador*) (1929)." (My own translation.)

[31] Undoubtedly, much of the iconographic associations I trace in these few illustrations are present throughout the 1945 edition, but many are beyond what I can discuss in the scope of this paper. Other images containing associations with the lance can be seen in 1.2, 1.3, 1.15, 1.18, and 1.23. Postures associated with the suffering Christ

or cross-like stance can be seen in 1.16, 1.19, 1.35, and 1.47. Finally, gestures of "blessing" or "beseeching" can be seen in 1.21 and 1.29.

[32] The opening description of 1.25 reads: "Despidióse del cabrero don Quijote, y, subiendo otra vez sobre Rocinante, mandó a Sancho que le siguiese, el cual lo hizo, con su jumento, de muy mala gana. Íbanse poco a poco entrando en lo más áspero de la montaña." From CERVANTES, M. (2004). *Don Quijote de la Mancha*. de Riquer, M. (Ed.). Barcelona: Fundación Gala-Salvador Dalí, p. 146. ["Taking leave of the goatherd, don Quijote mounted Rocinante once more and directed Sancho to follow him, which Sancho did—on his donkey—but not very happily. Slowly they made their way into the most rugged part of the mountain." English from CERVANTES, M. (1999) *Don Quijote: A New Translation, Backgrounds, and Criticism*, Raffel, B. (Trans.) and Armas Wilson, D. (Ed.). New York: W.W. Norton, p. 148.]

[33] In this image, Dalí also includes several large ants on the wall in close proximity to the lance. Ants are an important iconographic element in Dalí's work, considered as symbols of death, decay, and fertility or sexuality. A rather interesting article discusses the iconographic associations of ants depicted in crucifixion images. This article could provide support for yet another Dalinian allusion to the connection between Don Quixote and Christ. For more, see ROSASCO, B., PANOFKY, E. and JANSON, H. W. (2003). "'The Mystical Crucifixion': A Dominican Picture?'. In *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* 62, pp.50-67.

[34] BROWN, J. (1986). *Velázquez, Painter and Courtier*. New Haven: Yale University Press, p.234.

[35] SILVER, L. (2006). *Hieronymus Bosch*, New York: Abbeville Press, p.147.

[36] BAX, op. cit., pp. 29-30, 295. Bax gives a second example of a similar use of the lance in Bosch's *The Peddler* (formerly known as *The Prodigal Son*) in which a lance is leaned against the side of a house near a soldier and a young woman, thus highlighting both violent and sexual meanings simultaneously.

[37] Examples of "demonic presences" symbolic of and throughout the piece include flying fish, the use of the color red, crutches, jugs, and monster-like figures, among many other things. For more see SILVER, L. (2006). *Hieronymus Bosch*, New York: Abbeville Press Publishers, p.232.

[38] This portion of the chapter begins with Don Quixote saying: "Por lo menos, quiero, Sancho, y porque es menester así, quiero, digo, que me veas en cueros, y hacer una o dos docenas de locuras, que las haré en menos de media hora, porque habiéndolas tú visto por tus ojos, puedas jurar a tu salvo en las demás que quisieres añadir; y asegúrote que no dirás tú tantas cuantas yo pienso hacer." ["At least, Sancho, I want you—and also because I think you really need to—I want you, let me say, to see me stark naked a doing a few dozen mad things, which I can accomplish in less than half an hour, so that, having seen them with your own eyes, you can safely swear to all the others you plan to tell her about—and let me promise you, you'll never tell her as many as I plan to perform."] To this Sancho replies, "Por amor de Dios, señor mío, que no vea yo en cueros a vuestra merced, que dará mucha lástima y no podré dejar de llorar...Porque, ¿dónde se ha de sufrir que un caballero andante, tan famoso como vuestra merced, se vuelva loco, sin qué ni para qué, por una...?" ["For the love of God, my lord, don't let me see your grace naked, because it will make me terribly sad and I won't be able to keep

from crying...Because why should such a famous knight errant as your grace have to suffer, and turn himself into a lunatic, and just for a—for a..."] Spanish from CERVANTES, M. (2004). *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, de Riquer, M. (Ed.). Barcelona: Fundació Gala-Salvador Dalí, p. 158-59. English from CERVANTES, M. (1999). *Don Quijote: A New Translation, Backgrounds, and Criticism*, Raffel, B. (Trans.) and de Armas Wilson, D. (Ed.). New York: W.W. Norton, pp.158-159.

[39] The text reads: "Y desnudándose con toda priesa los calzones, quedó en carnes y en pañales, y luego, sin más ni más, dio dos zapatetas en el aire y dos tumbas la cabeza abajo y los pies en alto, descubriendo cosas que, por no verlas otra vez, volvió Sancho la rienda a Rocinante, y se dio por contento y satisfecho de que podía jurar que su amo quedaba loco." ["And quickly pulling off his breeches, leaving himself in just his shirttails and his skin, without more ado he swiftly jumped as high as he could and did a pair of somersaults, head over heels, uncovering things that, to keep from seeing again, Sancho swung Rocinante around, more than satisfied that, now, he could really his master was crazy." Spanish from CERVANTES, M. (2004). *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, de Riquer, M. (Ed.). Barcelona: Fundació Gala-Salvador Dalí, p. 159. English from CERVANTES, M. (1999). *Don Quijote: A New Translation, Backgrounds, and Criticism*, Raffel, B. (Trans.) and de Armas Wilson, D. (Ed.). New York: W.W. Norton, p.160.

[40] In an interesting linguistic note, in the phrase "dar tumbas" (which has been translated as "somersault" or "tumble"), "tumba" is also the Spanish word for "tomb" or "grave." Thus, Dalí literally "gives a tomb," or portrays a symbol of death, by showing a crucified form.

[41] ZIOLKOWSKI, J. E. (1991). "Don Quijote's Windmill and Fortune's Wheel". In *The Modern Language Review* 86.4, pp. 885. Ziolkowski notes the windmill episode of chapter 8 of Part 1 is not only among the most famous in scholarship today but was even noted as such by Cervantes in his sequel published in 1615.

[42] GIBSON, W. S. (1975-1976). "Bosch's Boy with a Whirligig: Some Iconographical Speculations". In *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, Vo. 8, No. 1, p.11. This association is also asserted by Lynn F. Jacobs in the article "The Triptychs of Hieronymus Bosch", in *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 31.4 (Winter 2000) p.1032.

[43] GIBSON, *ibid.*, pp.9-15.

[44] Scholars that have confirmed the identity of this child as the Christ child, and thus as connected with the depiction of Christ on the image's reverse side include Charles de Tolnay in his book *Hieronymus Bosch*, (Baden-Baden, 1966, p. 27), Dirk Bax in his *Ontcijfering van Jeroen Bosch*, (The Hague, 1946, p. 127), and Lynn F. Jacobs in the article "The Triptychs of Hieronymus Bosch, *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 31.4 (Winter 2000 p.1032), among others.

[45] GIBSON, *ibid.*, pp.11-12. Gibson importantly notes that all forms of "mill" imagery (hand mills, water mills, wind mills, or toy mills) seem to have the same symbolic connotations. He also lists several interesting examples showing the correlations between medieval cross and mill imagery. One correlation is Eucharistic in nature, in which the body of Christ, who spoke of himself as "the living bread which came down from heaven," is literally being ground by a mill (operated by the apostles) to be transformed into "spiritual food." Another more nationalistic association of the cross depicted alongside windmill imagery is through the

equivocation between Christ's crucifixion and a decidedly Dutch landscape.

[46] GIBSON, *ibid.*, p.9. In this context, mills or whirligigs were often depicted being carried by fools carnivalesque celebrations.

[47] GIBSON, *ibid.*, p.9.

[48] GIBSON, *ibid.*

[49] GIBSON, *ibid.*, p.12.

[50] CERVANTES, M. (2004). *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, de Riquer, M (Ed.). Barcelona: Fundación Gala-Salvador Dalí, p. 44. The text reads: "Y diciendo esto, y encomendándose de todo corazón a su señora Dulcinea, pidiéndole que ne tal trance le socorriese, bien cubierto de su rodela, con la lanza en el ristre, arremetió a todo el galope de Rocinante y embistió con el primero Molino que estaba delante; y dándole una lanzada en el aspa, la volvió el viento con tanta furia, que hizo la lanza pedazos, llevándose tras sí al caballo y al caballero, que fue rodando muy maltrecho por el campo. Acudió Sancho Panza a socorrerle, a todo el corer de su asno, y cuando llegó halló que no se podía menear: tal fue el golp que dio con él Rocinante." ["As he said this, he entrusted himself with all his heart to his lady Dulcinea, imploring her to help and sustain him at such a critical moment, and then, with his shield held high and his spear braced in its socket, and Rocinante at a full gallop, he charged directly at the first windmill he came to, just as a sudden swift gust of wind sent its sail swinging hard around, smashing the spear to bits and sweeping up the knight and his horse, tumbling them all battered and bruised to the ground. Sancho Panza came rushing to his aid, as fast as his donkey could run, but when he got to his master, found him unable to move, such a blow had he been given by the falling horse." From CERVANTES, M. (1999). *Don Quijote: A New Translation, Backgrounds, and Criticism*, Raffel, B. (Trans.) and de Armas Wilson, D. (Ed.). New York: W.W. Norton, p.44].

[51] SILVER, *op.cit.*, p. 232. Silver also refers to the similarity between the whirligig on the head of this demon and the whirligig held by the child on the reverse of Bosch's *Christ Carrying the Cross*. He also notes other features of the demon that confirm negative associations: the red color of his robe, which symbolizes evil in the triptych, and the jug on his waist, which is a symbol of weakness and indulgence.

[52] For specific text, see note 49.

[53] SCHMIDT, R. L. (1999). *Critical Images: the Canonization of Don Quixote through Illustrated Editions of the Eighteenth Century*. London: McGill-Queen's University Press, pp.166-167. I find it of *great* interest that the eighteenth-century illustration depicts a cross slightly above and left of Alonso Quijano in bed. Schmidt argues this image is actually illustrating support for the enlightenment of the protagonist as he regains his sanity, symbolized by his visual concentration on a circle of light produced by two candles in the piece. I see this as possibly being linked to the idea that he is *not* looking to the image of the cross to his left, the symbol of his "folly." This idea could also be supported by various imagery of the suffering Christ contemplating the cross.

[54] It is of interest to note that, for the 1945 edition of *Don Quixote*, Dalí's illustrations are only shown alongside Part One of *Quixote*, and Part Two is notably vacant of illustration. However, Dalí's final image does not visually relate to the ending text of Part One, in which Cervantes describes Don Quixote's peculiar procession home after his journey, an odd proclamation from the author stating he was "unable to learn how Don Quijote came to die," and then a list of various

epitaphs to the dead Quixote (from Cervantes, pt. 1, ch. 52, Raffel, op. cit., p. 352-353). Dalí's image does, however, seem to illustrate the ending of Part Two, which describes Don Quixote laying in bed, contemplating his foolish adventures, recovering his self-identification as Alonso Quijano, creating his will, falling into a coma-like state of unconsciousness for three days, and then coming to his end (from Cervantes, pt. 2, ch. 74, Raffel, *ibid.*, p. 744-745). Thus, in my interpretation of the text and images, Dalí's image appears to illustrate the knight in bed and thus is meant to be associated with the final pages of the book as a whole, despite its location at the end of Part 1. Scholars Urbina and Maestro also refer to this image as Don Quixote on his deathbed (see Urbina, E. and Maestro, J. G. (2005). *Don Quixote Illustrated: Textual Images and Visual Readings (Iconografía del Quijote)*. Vilagarcía de Arousa: Mirabel Editorial, p.113).

[55] MACGREGOR, N. (2000). *Seeing Salvation: Images of Christ in Art*, New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 126-132. MacGregor states this image of Christ, part of a small diptych with the Virgin and Child, became an extremely popular depiction of Christ under Franciscan influence.

[56] An additional interesting feature of *The Man of Sorrows* image of Christ is the placement of his hands. Instead of the his hands being stretched

across the limbs of the cross, they are crossed in front of his body and appear to be nailed directly to his chest. Comparing this with Dalí's Don Quixote image, one can note a glimpse of the knight's hand on his chest, yet another visual similarity between the images.

[57] CERVANTES, M. (2004). *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, de Riquer, M (Ed.). Barcelona: Fundación Gala-Salvador Dalí, p. 617. In the final chapter of Part 2, Cervantes' protagonist says, "Señores... vámonos poco a poco, pues ya en los nidos de antaño no hay pájaros hogaño. Yo fui loco, y ya soy cuerdo: fui don Quijote de la Mancha, y soy agora, como he dicho, Alonso Quijano el Bueno. Pueda con vuestras mercedes mi arrepentimiento y mi verdad volverme a la estimación que de mí se tenía." ["Not so fast, gentlemen...not so fast, for now there are no more birds in last autumn's nests. I was mad, and now I am sane; I was Don Quijote de La Mancha and now, as I have said, I am Alonso Quijano the Good. I pray that my repentance, and my honesty, may return me to the good opinion your graces once held of me."] English from CERVANTES, M. (1999). *Don Quijote: A New Translation, Backgrounds, and Criticism*, Raffel, B. (Trans.) and de Armas Wilson, D. (Ed.). New York: W. Norton, p.744.