Don Quixote – A Crusader?

Christoph Strosetzki
(Universität Münster)

Since the 7th century, as a result of Islamic expansion, Christian territories in the Middle East, North Africa, Italy, Spain, and Portugal were subjugated through Arab–Muslim military conquest. Since the year 638, Jerusalem had been under Muslim rule. Unhindered access to the holy sites had become impossible for Christian pilgrims and was to be restored. The reconquest was viewed by Christians as an act of defending Christianity and was supported by the Church. The participants in a crusade saw themselves as being on a penitential journey and pilgrimage that corresponded to God's will and was initiated by the Pope, and not least served the remission of all their sins. Since they were proclaimed by a legitimate authority, the Pope, and since the liberation of Christians from their oppressors as well as the recovery of formerly Christian territories were just causes for war, the crusades were legitimized as just. Even though the medieval crusades took place between the 11th and 13th centuries and were directed against the Muslim states in the Middle East, the reconquest of the Moorish-occupied territories of Spain, which ended in 1492, can be classified within this tradition as a "*Reconquista*."

Interpretations and Consequences of the 1571 Naval Victory

The Battle of Lepanto in 1571 plays a central role in the conflict with the Muslim Turks. It is seen in the context of other important events. The conquest of Constantinople in 1453 marked the fall of the Byzantine Empire, also known as the Eastern Roman Empire, and the rise of the Ottoman Empire to great power status. In contrast, the second siege of Vienna by the Turks in 1683 was just as unsuccessful as the first in 1529, thanks to the intervention of Poland. Even in connection with the Spanish defeat of 1898, Lepanto was cited as a triumphant victory of a heroic past (Hassiotis 2022).

The Battle of Lepanto took place on October 7, 1571, between the Ottoman Empire and the Holy League. The Turks lost 30,000 dead or wounded and 3,000 prisoners, while the Christians suffered 8,000 dead and 21,000 wounded. The battle is considered a clash between two civilizations, two ethnic currents, and two moral worldviews (Hanß 2015, 18). The advance of the Turks had fueled propaganda about the Turkish threat and fear of the Turks. For Leopold von Ranke, the Battle of Lepanto was an event that shifted the balance of power in the Mediterranean in favor of Christian powers; for Fernand Braudel, it was a non-event and therefore meaningless in that it did not structurally change the course of history (Hanß 2015, 34, 38). For Braudel, events are grains of dust that flash and disappear in the beam of light of history, but can sometimes unfold into a grand panorama. For him, they are comparable to trailers, which suggest a first impression but never tell the whole story, the whole film. Nevertheless, Lepanto strengthened Christian self-confidence, which seemed defeatable for the first time after 300 years of Ottoman expansion into Christian territory.

As numerous documents show, Spanish soldiers such as Miguel de Cervantes intended to fight for the king and for God in the Battle of Lepanto. They did not see themselves as loyal to their country, as was later the case in the 19th century, but primarily to God and the king (Alvar Ezquerra 2025, 76). When Philip II was informed of the naval victory on October 31, he had a thanksgiving service celebrated with a *Te Deum laudamus*. Lepanto was considered a victory bestowed upon the monarchy by God, which was celebrated not only in all the major cities of Spain, but also in the Spanish Netherlands, Central and South America, Italy, France, and Portugal. After all, this victory was thanks to his brother Juan de Austria, an illegitimate son of Charles V. The birth of the Spanish heir to the throne, Fernande de Austria, on December 4 also appears to be a result of God's grace for the House of Habsburg, enabling a symbolic

connection between war and birth and turning the commemoration practices of Lepanto into an instrument of power and domination for the Spanish crown (Hanß 2015, 183).

Nevertheless, one should not imagine Christian countries as homogeneous, as can be illustrated by the example of Venice, where Muslims, Jews, and Orthodox Christians lived together (Hanß 2015, 77). And the Ottoman Empire did not simply stand there as the loser, but immediately decided to rebuild the Ottoman fleet and strengthen its defenses in anticipation of further Christian attacks. In fact, there were efforts to continue the Christian victory and completely destroy the enemy. In Milan, a proposal was made to have the Christian fleet winter on site, but this was no longer possible as it was already on its way back and the Holy League dissolved after the Venetian–Ottoman peace treaty of 1573 (Hanß 2015, 390, 401).

Some Roman *Discorsi*, treatise- or memorial-like considerations of political decisions and future plans, also suggest moving on to Istanbul. Comparisons are made with Hannibal's hesitation after the Battle of Cannae or the Battle of Actium, which led to the establishment of the Augustan Principate. However, Venice would have preferred to continue in the Peloponnese, while Spain would have preferred to take action against North Africa. Crusade euphoria also arose. In the hope that this would lead to uprisings among the Christians living in the Ottoman Empire, it was believed that after the capture of Istanbul, the Sultan could be converted and the Holy Land taken. Here, Lepanto becomes an event in the context of the Crusades and an occasion for visions of the future (Hanß 2015, 396–400).

Although these did not become reality, Lepanto triggered a culture of remembrance. October 7, the day of the naval victory, became an annual holiday in Venice, combining the veneration of the saint of the day, Justina, with the veneration of St. Mark, the patron saint of Venice. In 1573, Pope Gregory XIII established the Feast of the Rosary on the anniversary of Lepanto as a church holiday, which was adopted in Spain just one year later (Hanß 2015, 440–441).

Literary Representations and Crusade Ideology

What traces does Lepanto leave in literature? There are numerous representations of the Battle of Lepanto in poems, romances, plays, and stories from both the 16th and 17th centuries in Italy and Spain. They focus either on the historical side or on psychological aspects. They make predictions, honor certain personalities, or pay tribute to the *Santa Liga* (López de Toro 1950).

Fernando de Herrera takes different perspectives in his *Relación de la guerra de Cipre y suceso de la batalla naval de Lepanto* (1572). He describes the Battle of Lepanto not only as a victory for the Christians, but also as a bloodbath on an unprecedented scale, in which the blood of Christians and Muslims mixed in the sea – an image that Cervantes also uses in his *Epístola a Mateo Vázquez* (Lucía Megías 2016, 149–150). On the other hand, Fernando de Herrera is characterized by his references to the past. When he describes Juan de Austria as "capitán de Cristo" and compares him to Jason, who brings back the Golden Fleece from Asia, and sees the Spaniards as the new Argonauts accompanying him, this reveals not only his humanistic education but also his crusading spirit. He places Lepanto in the context of the centuries-long struggle between Asia and Europe, between Islam and Christianity (Montero 1995, 285-287).

Lope de Vega, who often brings Spanish history to the stage, identifies Spain with the Spanish monarchy, spreads the ideology of Spanish rule through his theater, and assigns the Catholic monarch of Spain, as King of Jerusalem, the task of defending the true faith against the infidels (García Martín 2016, 397, 404, 405). In *La Santa Liga*, one can recognize a structure typical of plays dealing with the conflict between Moors and Christians, in which the historical plot is enriched by love stories (Sambrián 2021, 164–166). Sultan Selín is portrayed as an evil ruler devoted to his passions and sensual pleasures. His generals appear cruel and barbaric. In contrast, Pius V is depicted as a saint and the best pope the Church has ever had. Juan de Austria

is a divine mixture of religious piety and extreme bravery. He was popular like no other. It is a picaro who illustrates the contrast between the two opponents: "!Muera el perro Solimán! / !Vivan Felipe y don Juan! / !Viva Felipe famoso / y el gran don Juan glorioso / que por venir victorioso, / la palma y laurel le dan / Muera el perro Sulimán!" (Lope de Vega 1621, 117v; cf. Renuncio Roba 2005, 216).

Another literary testimony to the Battle of Lepanto is Joan Pujol's epic poem *La singular i admirable victòria que, per gràcia de nostre senyor Déu, obtingué el serinissím senyor don Joan d'Austria de la potentissima armada turquesca* (1574). Here, Lepanto is celebrated as a great victory for Catholicism thanks to the League protected by the Pope, which was only possible through unity against the enemy (García Hernán 2023, 217).

Crusading Ideology: The Knights of Santiago

All of the interpretations of the Battle of Lepanto cited above have in common that the military conflict between Christians and Moors is seen as a war of religion. In a sense, it thus follows in the tradition of the medieval crusades. Religious military orders of knights, who wanted to recapture the holy sites of the Bible, had sprung up all over Europe. In Spain, the Orders of Calatrava, Alcántara, Santiago, and Montesa dominated (Egido 2023, 34, 59).

We will take a look at the ideology of the crusaders using the example of the Knights of Santiago. The raison d'être of the Order of Santiago was based on the mission of its members, which was to fight the enemies of Christianity and free Christian prisoners. Even in its early days, the order was involved in the expulsion of the Moors from Spain. They saw themselves as crusaders in a holy war that God commanded his people to wage, as evidenced by expressions such as *Deo ducente*, *Deo conviatore et cooperante*, and *auxiliante Deo per vos agente* (Kieslinger 2023, 30). Drawing on the motif of the chosen people, the members of the order also saw themselves as chosen, so that divine authority and human obedience worked together in it. The turning away from the old and turning toward the new life takes place in a *conversio*, which leads to the inner disposition that was a prerequisite for a crusade understood as penance. The story of Covadonga, where in 722 Christian troops led by Pelayo defeated a Moorish army, is considered the beginning of the *Reconquista*. The reconquest of formerly Christian territories appears to be a defensive measure. It is not a war of aggression, but of liberation, which makes the knights appear as *defensores* and their war as just. Where they help Christians threatened or oppressed by the Moors, they perform a work of mercy. The liberation of prisoners was ultimately at the heart of the call for the Fifth Crusade in 1213 (Kieslinger 2023, 73).

It is striking that various motives of crusading, which we have demonstrated using the example of the Knights of Santiago, also occur in Don Quixote. For him, *conversio* becomes a turning away from his old life as a country squire and a turning toward a new life as a knight. He undertakes penance, a prerequisite for crusaders, in the Sierra Morena. Out of mercy, he frees the peasant boy and the galley slaves. He explains in detail that only defense is a just cause for war. (939) That he attributes an outstanding position to himself becomes clear when he is defeated because he makes the mistake of raising his sword against people who are not knights: "creo que, en pena de haber pasado las leyes de la caballería, ha permitido el dios de las batallas que se me desse este castigo" (176). For the *canonigo*, it is clear that "así suele Dios ayudar al buen deseo del simple como desfavorecer al malo del discreto" (627). The knight Don Quixote also counts on God's help: "y Dios ayude a la razón y a la verdad, y a la verdadera caballería" (837).

Cervantes' Biography and the Lepanto Experience

Before we take a closer look at *Don Quixote*, let's take a look at Cervantes' biography. Miguel de Cervantes, who was to have his right hand chopped off as punishment for injuring a master mason in a duel, fled to Naples, where he enlisted in the navy. During the Battle of Lepanto, he was hit by two bullets, one in the chest and the other shattering his left hand. On

the return voyage to Spain, his ship was captured by Muslim pirates. He was taken to Algiers to be sold as a slave. Muslim piracy is known to have been a flanking measure in the conflict between Muslims and Christians (Renuncio Roba 2005, 206). It was not until five years later, after numerous failed escape attempts, that he was released in exchange for a ransom. To illustrate the significance of these events for Cervantes, reference is often made to the evocation of the sea battle in *Don Quixote*, in which two galleys are so wedged together that the soldiers, in their valiant attempt to board the enemy ship, have no more space than two feet on the bowsprit *tabla del espolón*, where they are targets for cannons and arquebuses *arcabucería*.[1] This experience is also shared in the novel by the son who was destined by his father for military service. In Flanders, he had heard of the league that Pope Pius V had formed with Venice and Spain against the Turks. And soon he himself was able to take part, but while boarding an enemy ship he was separated from his troops and taken prisoner of war (I, 39). The significance of the battle, it is said, lies in the fact that it refuted the widespread belief that the Turks were invincible at sea:

> Y aquel día, que fue para la cristiandad tan dichoso, porque en él se desengañó el mundo y todas las naciones del error en que estaban, creyendo que los turcos eran invencibles por la mar: en aquel día, digo, donde quedó el orgullo y soberbia otomana quebrantada. (203)

Moorish Captivity and Roman Siege

The autobiographical character of the play *Los baños de Argel* is also often pointed out, in which Berber pirates capture a group of Christians and take them to Algiers, from where they are able to flee to Spain after numerous complications. In the play *El trato de Argel*, Christian prisoners under Moorish rule take center stage.

The captivity of Christians by the Moors is often described as a path of suffering in the sense of an *imitatio Christi*, which purifies sins like martyrdom. It does not seem to be a matter of a struggle between two political and military powers, but rather a universal conflict between Christianity and Islam. The reality, however, was more complex. Since the prisoners could be ransomed, they were valuable assets whose health and well-being were carefully looked after. Cristóbal de Villalón's *El viaje de Turquía* illustrates the advantages of peaceful coexistence between the two different religions. Similarly, personal experiences of captivity under the Moors can lead to a better understanding of Islam and an appeal for tolerance. Cervantes' *El trato de Argel* and his *Historia del cautivo* are eloquent testimonies to this (Ohanna 2011,19-25, 142–148).

However, the confrontation between two parties in the case of a siege is warlike. But even in the case of Cervantes' tragedy *El cerco de Numancia*, there are different patterns of identification. The play shows the fate of the besieged city of Numantia, which was finally conquered and destroyed by the Roman Scipio Aemilianus in 133 BC. One could project Spanish identity onto the heroic resistance of the besieged against their external enemies. When the situation became hopeless, they preferred to die rather than surrender to the Romans. However, one can also identify the Romans with the Spaniards, who acted with similar cruelty during the conquest of America or the sieges of Haarlem and Maastricht. Finally, Cervantes' recourse to the period before the Moorish occupation can be interpreted as an indication that he

[1] "Y si éste parece pequeño peligro, veamos si le iguala o hace ventajas el de embestirse dos galeras por las proas en mitad del mar espacioso, las cuales enclavijadas y trabadas, no le queda al soldado más espacio del que concede dos pies de tabla del espolón; y, con todo esto, viendo que tiene delante de sí tantos ministros de la muerte que le amenazan cuantos cañones de artillería se asestan de la parte contraria, que no distan de su cuerpo una lanza, y viendo que al primer descuido de los pies iría a visitar los profundos senos de Neptuno; y, con todo esto, con intrépido corazón, llevado de la honra que le incita, se pone a ser blanco de tanta arcabucería, y procura pasar por tan estrecho paso al bajel contrario." (Cervantes, 2015, 200)

wants to anchor Spanish identity in the early Gothic past, when there were no Moorish elements yet. Crusade ideology shines through when the river god Duero sees the future of all in Catholicism and in the succession of the powerful Goths (Martín Morán 2021, 221, 210).

Christian–Moorish Conflict in Don Quixote

Other scenes of Moorish captivity in *Quixote* also bear witness to the conflict between Christians and Moors. The eldest son of a rich man became a soldier and, after all kinds of war turmoil, was taken prisoner by the Moor Uchalí, whom he followed first to Constantinople, then to Goleta. After Uchalí's death, he came to a renegade with whom he reached Algiers. He is able to flee with the Moorish woman Zoraida, who wants to be baptized (I, 39–41). In a letter, he had encouraged her: "El verdadero Alá te guarde, señora mía, y aquella bendita Marién, que es la verdadera madre de Dios y es la que te ha puesto en corazón que te vayas a tierra de cristianos, porque te quiere bien" (513). The Christian Moorish woman Ana Félix was also in Algiers before she was sent back to Spain. She tells her story and ends with the following words: Éste es, señores, el fin de mi lamentable historia, tan verdadera como desdichada; lo que os ruego es que me dejéis morir como cristiana, pues, como ya he dicho, en ninguna cosa he sido culpante de la culpa en que los de mi nación han caído. (1261)

What appears to be a tangible conflict in fiction becomes incompatibility in theory. The contrast between Christians and Moors is already evident in their thinking and understanding. If one tries to convince the Moors of the truth of Christianity and the error of Islam with reasonable arguments or passages from the Bible, they remain unteachable. They do not even understand a clear mathematical formula such as "Si de dos partes iguales quitamos partes iguales, las que quedan también son iguales" (418). Even when confronted with the harshest reality, which they can grasp with their hands and see with their eyes, they remain unrepentant. Those who deny the truth in this way are moving in the realm of untruth. That is why, ultimately, Maure Cide, as a Moor, can only be a liar.[2]

Don Quixote as Crusader: Motifs and Role Models

Don Quixote mistakes a puppet show for reality and wants to protect Don Gaiferos from an overwhelming number of Moors, which is why he furiously strikes at the Moorish figures with his sword. Finally, they want to hold him back: "Deténgase vuesa merced, señor don Quijote, y advierta que estos que derriba, destroza y mata no son verdaderos moros, sino unas figurillas de pasta" (929).

Does the knight Don Quixote see himself as a crusader in battle against the Moors? When he sets out, he initially wants to fight and kill thirty or more giants, which he considers a just war: "que ésta es buena guerra, y es gran servicio de Dios quitar tan mala simiente de sobre la faz de la tierra" (103). Shortly thereafter, he compares himself to the knight Diego Pérez de Vargas, who, when his sword had broken in battle, continued fighting with an oak branch and "con él hizo tales cosas aquel día, y machacó tantos moros, que le quedó por sobrenombre Machuca" (105). For the battle with the Moors, there are other role models. One of the heroic deeds that Vicente de la Roca tells of Juan de Urbina is: "No había tierra en todo el orbe que no hubiese visto, ni batalla donde no se hubiese hallado; había muerto más moros que tiene Marruecos y Túnez" (633). And in all duels he had won.

Of the covered holy images that are to be transported to an altar in a village, first that of Saint George is viewed, then that of Saint Martin. Finally, the gaze falls on that of Santiago, the patron saint of Spain, as he strikes down Moors with a bloody sword and rides over their skulls. Don Quixote comments: "Éste sí que es caballero, y de las escuadras de Cristo; éste se llama don San Diego Matamoros, uno de los más valientes santos y caballeros que tuvo el mundo y

[2] "de los moros no se podía esperar verdad alguna, porque todos son embelecadores, falsarios y quimeristas." (Cervantes, 2015, 704)

tiene agora el cielo" (1197). It is well known that both Santiago and Diego are derivatives of the Hebrew name Jacob. Later Don Quixote explains to Sancho:

> Este gran caballero de la cruz bermeja háselo dado Dios a España por patrón y amparo suyo, especialmente en los rigurosos trances que con los moros los españoles han tenido; y así, le invocan y llaman como a defensor suyo en todas las batallas que acometen, y muchas veces le han visto visiblemente en ellas, derribando, atropellando, destruyendo y matando los agarenos escuadrones. (1200)

Fortitude and Justice as Knightly Virtues

Strength is a quality that is found throughout the novel *Don Quixote*. At the end, the following is written on the protagonist's grave: "Yace aquí el Hidalgo fuerte/que a tanto estremo llegó/de valiente" (1335). For Sancho, fortitude is a quality characteristic of Don Quixote: "es caballero aventurero, y de los mejores y más fuertes que de luengos tiempos acá se han visto en el mundo" (184).

According to Pedro de Rivadeneira (1526–1611), who demonstrates the virtues of a Christian ruler, fortitude requires practice and training to be strengthened. "Y es cierto que aquel es más apto para alcanzar la fortaleza, que tiene el cuerpo más acostumbrado para padecer trabajos y fatigas, y que desde niño se ha criado al frío y al calor, y al sol y al aire, en pobreza y necesidad, sin regalo y deleite" (Rivadeneira 1952, 575). Don Quixote becomes stronger when he explains to Sancho that "es honra de los caballeros andantes no comer en un mes […] no he hallado hecha relación de que los caballeros andantes comiesen, si no era acaso y en algunos suntuosos banquetes" (129). Strength is also shown to be linked to effort and suffering. In this sense, Rivadeneira proposes, drawing on Antiquity and Scholasticism, a different definition of fortitude that distinguishes between an active and a passive part: "Y Aristoteles enseña que la virtud de la fortaleza tiene dos partes principales, que son, como dije, acometer y sufrir" (Rivadeneira 1952, 572). The passive part also corresponds to disregarding external matters and suffering many things for the sake of virtue. And, referring to Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas, he emphasizes that the passive part is the "más principal oficio de la fortaleza" (Rivadeneira 1952, 569). In this sense, Don Quixote, who is repeatedly defeated, can also be described as strong.

But strength is also a means of enforcing justice. Don Quixote sees this very clearly in the discourse in which he discusses the superiority of arms or letters. The task of the latter is "poner en su punto la justicia distributiva y dar a cada uno lo que es suyo, entender y hacer que las buenas leyes se guarden" (485); however, he considers arms to be superior, since they serve to maintain peace through their monopoly on the use of violence. Thus, it is not surprising that Don Quixote is expected to restore justice through the use of force, and it is understandable that Princess Micomicona explains "que es al señor don Quijote de la Mancha, cuyas nuevas llegaron a mis oídos así como puse los pies en España, y ellas me movieron a buscarle, para encomendarme en su cortesía y fiar mi justicia del valor de su invencible brazo" (376). It should be noted that in the *Book of the Order of Chivalry* it is said: "La justicia debe ser mantenida por los caballeros. Así como los jueces tienen el oficio de juzgar, así los caballeros tienen el oficio de mantener la justicia" (Llull 1949, 32–33).

The word *justice* appears 50 times in Don Quixote, and the word *just* appears 36 times (Pérez Martínez 2012, 146). Don Quixote says: "Pienso favorecer a los labradores, guardar sus preeminencias a los hidalgos, premiar a los virtuosos, y, sobre todo, tener respeto a la religión y a la honra de los religiosos" (1119). For the Spanish legal theorist Francisco Suarez, in *De legibus* (1612), natural and human laws are derived from divine laws. He characterizes divine law, which he also calls *lex aeterna*, as "ratio gubernatrix universi in Dei mente existens" (Suarez 1971, 5). Natural laws can be described as the law of nature. Human laws form positive law.

As a knight-errant, Don Quixote feels responsible for maintaining and promoting justice, since knights–errant are "ministros de Dios en la tierra, y brazos por quien se ejecuta en ella su justicia" (151–152). Indeed, among the fields of knowledge belonging to knight-errantry, Don Quixote names jurisprudence first, since

el que la profesa ha de ser jurisperito, y saber las leyes de la justicia distributiva y comutativa, para dar a cada uno lo que es suyo y lo que le conviene; ha de ser teólogo, para saber dar razón de la cristiana ley que profesa, clara y distintamente, adondequiera que le fuere pedido (844–845).

It is clear that divine and secular law must be taken into account equally by the knight-errant. For this reason, particularly serious deceptions, such as the case of Doña Rodríguez and her daughter, offend both "justicia de Dios y del Rey" (1188). As is well known, secular laws must be in harmony with divine laws, and if the latter are contradicted, a right to resistance against positive law could be derived from the higher laws. Don Quixote deduces his own role as an ordering force from the evolution that things have taken since the Golden Age (Pérez Martínez 2012, 150). It is said of a long-ago *Golden Age*:

> No había la fraude, el engaño ni la malicia mezcládose con la verdad y llaneza. La justicia se estaba en sus proprios términos. [...] andando más los tiempos y creciendo más la malicia, se instituyó la orden de los caballeros andantes, para defender las doncellas, amparar las viudas y socorrer a los huérfanos y a los menesterosos. Desta orden soy yo (134–135).

Don Quixote thus places his duties as a knight–errant in a historical context. He wants to restore a prehistoric state of origin in which the aberrations of history have not yet corrupted morals.

From Justice to Just War

The idea of a just war already links the virtue of fortitude to that of justice. But what is a just war? Ramón Llull writes that it is the knight's duty to uphold and defend the holy Catholic faith. With armed force, the knight must take action against "los infieles que cada día se afanan en destruir la Santa Iglesia" (Llull 1949, 28–29). Don Quixote follows the tradition of the Crusades when he explains: "que esta aventura, y las a esta semejantes, no son aventuras de ínsulas, sino de encrucijadas, en las cuales no se gana otra cosa que sacar rota la cabeza, o una oreja menos" (123).

Thomas Aquinas had accepted as conditions for a just war, first, the authority of a legitimate prince who gives the order for war; second, the guilt of those against whom the war is directed; and third, right intention, that is, the intention to promote good and avoid evil. The thirst for revenge, the desire for dispute, and vandalism are therefore not just intentions. The Thomistic approach is continued in Francisco de Vitoria's treatise *Sobre el derecho de la guerra*. In his opinion, it is permissible to draw the sword and take up arms against evildoers and insurgents in one's own country as well as against enemies abroad. He bases this on Psalm 82:4: "Liberad al débil y al pobre, sacadle de las garras del impío" (Vitoria 1998, 164). Don Quixote seems to adopt the system of reasons for war, although he caricatures its order with a slight touch of persiflage. He asserts the following reasons for war:

> La primera, por defender la fe católica; la segunda, por defender su vida, que es de ley natural y divina; la tercera, en defensa de su honra, de su familia y hacienda; la cuarta, en servicio de su rey en la guerra justa; y si le quisiéremos añadir la quinta, que se puede contar por segunda, es en defensa de su patria (939).

Clearly, the aim is to show that Don Quixote is well–versed in the arguments for the legitimacy of war. It is unusual, however, that the fifth point should also appear in second place (Strosetzki 2006, 89). Nevertheless, Alfonso X had already demanded that the Church be defended and protected first, then the king, and only then everyone else: knights, he says, "han a defender la Iglesia e los reyes e todos los otros" (Alfonso X 1491, II, XXI, 4). The requirement to defend the Church was already noted in the intentions of the orders of chivalry that conquered Jerusalem, expelled the Turks, and were to wage war against Islam (Huizinga 1987, 68, 91). This requirement is also found in Ramón Llull, when he writes: "Es oficio del caballero mantener y defender la santa fe católica" and "la mayor amistad que puede haber en este mundo, debería ser entre clérigo y caballero." The knight must take up arms against "los infieles que cada día se afanan en destruir la Santa Iglesia" (Llull 1949, 28-29).

That Don Quixote is familiar with the discourse of *guerra lícita* is shown time and again when he justifies an action with his casuistry. Thus, he teaches Sancho that the horse of the defeated can only be taken as booty when one has lost one's own in the fight, "que en tal caso lícito es tomar el del vencido, como ganado en guerra lícita" (248). Don Quixote also emphasizes the legitimacy of his action in the case of Mambrino's helmet, "el cual se lo quité yo en buena guerra, y me hice señor dél con ligítima y lícita posesión" (569). And in his discourse on *armas y letras*, Don Quixote emphasizes that "la guerra también tiene sus leyes y está sujeta a ellas" (489). According to Sancho, who changes Don Quixote's list of priorities, the right to self-defense would belong especially to these rules: "Pues las divinas y humanas [leyes] permiten que cada uno se defienda de quien quisiere agraviarle" (108).

Below are specific arguments by Francisco de Vitoria that legitimize war. One legitimizing reason would be an offense. Francisco de Vitoria states: "Además la guerra ofensiva se hace para vengar una injuria y escarmentar a los enemigos, como ya se ha dicho. Pero no puede haber venganza donde no ha precedido una injuria y una culpa" (Vitoria 1998, 175). Another important justification for war is the theft of property. Thus, in a just war, it is permissible to "recuperar todas las cosas perdidas o su valor" (Vitoria 1998, 177). A third justification for a military attack is the oppression of the good and the innocent by a tyrant, a criminal, or a wrongdoer. Finally, war must serve as punishment and intimidation,

> porque incluso la guerra defensiva no puede hacerse convenientemente si no se castiga la ofensa que hicieron o intentaron hacer los enemigos. De lo contrario se harían cada vez más atrevidos y volverían a cometerla si no se les disuadiera con el miedo o el castigo" (Vitoria 1998, 165).

Behavior in war therefore varies depending on whether one is fighting against Christians or infidels. According to Francisco de Vitoria, infidels can be destroyed because they pose a constant threat to peace:

> Se prueba porque la guerra se hace también para conseguir la paz y la seguridad, y a veces la seguridad no puede conseguirse si no es eliminando a todos los enemigos. Esto se ve, sobre todo, con los infieles, de quienes nunca se puede esperar una paz justa con ninguna clase de condiciones. Por consiguiente, no queda otro remedio que eliminar a todos los que puedan tomar las armas en contra, con tal que hubieran sido culpables (Vitoria 1998, 203).

Time and again, Don Quixote fights alongside the attacked Christians against Moorish armies. Seeing two enemy armies, he recognizes that of the pagan emperor Alifanfarón and that of the Christian king Pentapolín. Alifanfarón wants to marry the latter's daughter, which Pentapolín refuses, "si no deja primero la ley de su falso profeta Mahoma y se vuelve a la suya" (206). Sancho wants to help Pentapolin, and Don Quixote joins him and exclaims: "¡Veréis cuán

fácilmente le doy venganza de su enemigo Alifanfarón de la Trapobana!" (211). And also when, in the puppet show, a Christian couple in love is persecuted and threatened by a band of Moors, Don Quixote, as is well known, takes up his sword and smashes the puppets and the puppet show to pieces (924–930).

Incidentally, it should be noted that Suárez describes the duel as a "privatum bellum" and thus demonstrates the relationship between the discussion of just war and Don Quixote's "private" attacks and struggles (Suárez 1954, 244). The same legitimizing reasons apply: "Todo duelo entre particulares, esto es, que no cumple de algún modo todas las condiciones de una guerra justa, es intrínsicamente malo" (Suárez 1954, 247). Specifically, "privata pugna" must be understood as "la que se entabla entre dos o pocos individuos [...] Porque la guerra entre muchos con las condiciones ya expuestas puede ser justa, luego también la guerra entre pocos, ya que la sola diferencia en el número de personas no cambia la moralidad o justicia" (Suárez 1954, 261). Given that in Cervantes' time dueling and war were placed on the same level, it is completely natural that Don Quixote judges his confrontations with others according to the rules of just war.

Law Hierarchies

The natural law model was predominant in the Middle Ages. The story of creation establishes a common order for the creator and creation, thus establishing the link between *ius divinum* and *ius naturale*. The *lex Dei* is valid on three levels: in nature, in the laws of the state, and in the moral commandments of the individual. If the latter acts morally well, it is because he is guided by his individual reason in the rationality of creation. From *ius divinum*, therefore, a *ius naturale* is derived, which in turn must be decisive for the laws of positive law. As a result, a hierarchy is established in which the higher law corresponds to greater authority than the lower law. Thus, anyone who breaks the laws in force will act illegally but legitimately, as long as they can enforce the higher laws. By breaking positive law on so many occasions, Don Quixote is constantly under pressure to legitimize himself, and time and again he resorts to higher law to seek justification.

Don Quixote speaks of a "ley natural" when he emphasizes that all are "obligados a favorecer a los caballeros andantes" (135). Furthermore, he resorts to the law to legitimize the "buena guerra" (Strosetzki 2006), but also, very frequently and willingly, to the laws of knight-errantry and the books he has read and from which he claims to have derived those laws. With this, he seems convinced of the superiority of the laws of knight-errantry over the police violence of the Holy Brotherhood, which is defended by positive law, thus allowing him to consider himself invulnerable: "Y ¿dónde has visto tú, o leído jamás, que caballero andante haya sido puesto ante la justicia, por más homicidios que hubiese cometido?" (124). In freeing the galley slaves, Don Quixote argues that they "van de por fuerza, y no de su voluntad" (258). Hence, Sancho warns that justice in the person of the king has only imposed a deserved punishment, but Don Quixote explains, that he sees it as his duty to "desfacer fuerzas y socorrer y acudir a los miserables" (258). Evidence that Don Quixote effectively prioritizes the rules of chivalry over the positive law enacted by the king is also evident in the priest's commentary on what happened, according to which he is a scoundrel who "quiso defraudar la justicia, ir contra su rey y señor natural, pues fue contra sus justos mandamientos" (377).

References to the religious context include phrases such as "la santa ley que profesamos, en la cual se nos manda que hagamos bien" (939), "la cristiana ley que profesa" (845), "las divinas y humanas [leyes] permiten que cada uno se defienda" (108), but also, dismissively, "la ley de su falso profeta Mahoma" (206). Don Quixote, however, is generally under the dictates of the "ley de caballería" or the "leyes de caballería" (70, 176, 200, 203, 248). Such laws prevent Sancho from helping Don Quixote in his fight against knights: "En ninguna manera te es lícito ni concedido por las leyes de caballería que me ayudes, hasta que seas armado caballero" (107). For Don Diego, Don Quixote is nothing less than the incarnation of the laws of chivalry: "Si

las ordenanzas y leyes de la caballería andante se perdiesen, se hallarían en el pecho de vuesa merced como en su mismo depósito y archivo" (840).

Knighthood and Crusade

When it comes to the lady for whom the knight performs his heroic deeds, an archetype can be found in the courtly novels of Chrétien de Troyes. *Erec et Enide* (c. 1170) provides a model of the connection between knighthood and love. The Arthurian knight Erec woos Enide by undertaking a knightly contest in which the winner receives a live sparrowhawk as a prize, with which he can distinguish his lady as the most beautiful woman. When Don Quixote fights for the greater honor of Dulcinea, whom he considers the most beautiful woman in the world, he adopts this pattern and appears less committed to the church than to his lady (Villanueva 2005, 15–30, 24).

The *Segunda Partida* by Alfonso X el Sabio is more generally applicable to the configuration and reception of the laws of chivalry. In it, one can find the concept of monarchy and explanations of the ideal figure of the knight (Nieto Soria 2008). Numerous later texts have been influenced by the *Segunda Partida*: *Avisación de la dignidad real*; *Doctrinal de caballeros*, by Alonso de Cartagena; *Espejo de la verdadera nobleza*, by Diego de Valera; *Ceremonial de príncipes*, also by Diego de Valera; *Nobiliario vero*, by Fernán Mexía. The *Siete Partidas* also had a major influence on the "leyes de la caballería" in the 15th century and on Don Quixote (Gómez Moreno 2008).

Ramón Llull was influenced by Alfonso X El Sabio's *Segunda Partida* (Genovart 2004, 170; cf. Gustà 1992; Agejas Esteban 2009). Ultimately, Ramón Llull regarded the *Llibre de l'ordre de cavalleria* (1274–1276) as a "school" of the order of chivalry (Lucía Mejías 1990). Ramon Llull attributed to the knight, like the priest, the task of spreading and practicing the Christian faith. The knight seems to be on a par not only with the priest, but also with the judge, namely when he has the task of upholding justice. Insofar as he is completely imbued with the Christian religion, he can be compared to a monk. As *milites Christi*, knights are allowed to kill evildoers, which is not counted as a sin but rather as an honor (Cortijo Ocaña 2022, 63–69). Don Quixote's descent into the cave of Montesinos serves the function that Ramón Llull assigns to the knight in his *Libre de l'Ordre de Cavalleria*, who, far from court and in solitude, is initiated into the central mysteries by a master and thus formed into a future hero who can free others from their enemies and save them (Cortijo Ocaña 2016, 6, 28).

No less inspired by the idea of the Crusades is *Tirante el Blanco,* a very realistic knightly romance, which the priest in *Don Quixote* stylistically describes as "el mejor libro del mundo". The author, Joanot Martorell, published it in 1490 in Old Valencian. It tells the story of Tirante, who, after numerous adventures, successfully supports the Eastern Roman Emperor in the war against the Turks and dies before he can marry the most beautiful woman in the country. Unlike in Don Quixote, warfare and chivalry are never portrayed satirically in this novel. On the contrary, the defense of the West against the Turks appears to be the most important task of Christianity in the 14th and 15th centuries. Peace is only possible after the Turkish threat has been eliminated (Madrid Gutiérrez 2017, 254–256). Here, as in Chrétien de Troyes, a connection is made between chivalry and love, but the idea of the Crusades dominates.

Secular vs. Divine Knighthood

The naval battle of Lepanto and its literary stylization as a crusade certainly influenced Miguel de Cervantes as much as Alfonso X El Sabio, Ramón Llull, or Martorell did. This is evidenced by corresponding passages in *Don Quixote* and other works. But did he adopt the crusader ideology for himself, or did he elaborate on it in such detail in order to distance himself from it? Does he even make it the subject of ridicule when Don Quixote's supposed crusades turn out to be battles against windmills or puppets? Is Don Quixote's argument that the laws of

chivalry should take precedence over positive law and that it is a law of nature that everyone must support knights–errant meant seriously?

If knights are supposed to establish justice through bravery, then Don Quixote's strength lies less in his assertiveness than in his endurance of painful experiences. However, where justice leads to a just war, Don Quixote's belligerence can fully unfold. It is well known that there is only a quantitative difference between a war and a duel. However, when he considers Mambrino's helmet to be appropriate spoils in a just duel, his argument is refuted by reality and appears as nonsensical as it is comical, since there was no fight at all and the helmet is only a barber's basin.

And when the systematic enumeration of just causes for war states that the fifth could also be in second place, which would put national defense on a par with the defense of one's own life and relegate service to the king to last place, this seems unconvincing.

However, Don Quixote repeatedly evokes the religious level, for example when he speaks of a holy or Christian law that he follows and which he contrasts with the false law of Mohammed. The confrontation between the *miles Christianus* and the Moors is an essential component that recurs throughout the novel. The question arises whether Don Quixote sees himself in the medieval crusader tradition or whether his knighthood is rather a secularized variant. He himself explains:

> Estos santos y caballeros profesaron lo que yo profeso, que es el ejercicio de las armas; sino que la diferencia que hay entre mí y ellos es que ellos fueron santos y pelearon a lo divino, y yo soy pecador y peleo a lo humano. Ellos conquistaron el cielo a fuerza de brazos, porque el cielo padece fuerza, y yo hasta agora no sé lo que conquisto a fuerza de mis trabajos (1198).

Like Don Quixote, the crusaders practice the craft of war. However, they differ not only with regard to the balance of success but also with regard to their mission. While the crusaders as saints fought on divine orders, he describes himself as a poor sinner in a worldly context. The crusaders, like the Knights of Santiago, wanted to fight enemies of Christianity in a war with divine help, free Christian prisoners, wage just defensive wars, and perform works of mercy – traces of this can also be found in *Don Quixote*.

What does it mean when Don Quixote wants to distinguish himself from the crusaders at this point but otherwise admires them? Does it perhaps testify to modesty in the usually not particularly reserved knight? Yet elsewhere Pérez de Vargas, Vicente de la Roca, and Santiago appear to him as role models, precisely because they killed numerous Moors. Considering how present the crusading idea was in Spain after the *Reconquista* and after Lepanto, it is not surprising that the knight Don Quixote is also influenced by it and follows it in words and initiatives. However, the question of the extent to which the entire novel *Don Quixote* tends more toward an apology or a satire of crusader ideology must remain up in the air, as so much else in Cervantes' work.

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