Neostructuralist Sancho: The Functionality of the Squire

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It would be difficult to deny that Sancho Panza represents a brilliant creation within a brilliant creation. The role of Sancho Panza in Don Quijote is both crucial and wide-ranging. Its significance has been detailed, analyzed, and debated, and, as in the case of most topics related to Miguel de Cervantes’s narrative, remains open to further commentary. As squire to the knight-errant, Sancho complements Don Quijote and occupies a unique position in the developing plot. In this essay, I would like to examine Sancho Panza under the rubrics of functionality (see Culler 1975, 202-210 passim) and characterization, in the hope that the investigation will add new considerations to the study of one of the most intriguing second-leads in the history of the novel.

The primary intertext of Don Quijote is the romance of chivalry, but Don Quijote is, in many ways, the antithesis of chivalric romance. Cervantes’s work, or works, can be seen as a component of the trend toward realism, a counterargument, as it were, to the idealism of pastoral, sentimental, and chivalric romance. The literary response to popular methods of storytelling moves in two key directions: picaresque narrative and the metafiction of Don Quijote (see Friedman 2006). The publication of the anonymous Lazarillo de Tormes in 1554—or earlier, in the publication of Francisco Delicado’s La lozana andaluza, in dialogue form, in 1528—initiates an approach to characterization that stresses modification and change. The pícaro or pícara grows before the reader’s eyes, and the figure at the conclusion of the narrative is a product, and a composite, of the events and experiences illustrated in the text. Characters in idealistic fiction tend to be static, one-dimensional, with a single identity or set of features in place. The picaresque protagonists are adaptable, erratic, and evolving, even though they are bound by the principles of social determinism. The writers of picaresque fiction offer a conspicuously secular variation on the theme of the spiritual autobiography, in which progression is converted into retrogression. Process is fundamental here, although it does not translate into advancement, but precisely the opposite. There is a psychology to picaresque narrative that is missing from the idealistic genres. Representation and self-representation become part of the story, or personal history.

Contemporary readers may take the concept of characterization for granted, yet the trajectory of Lázaro de Tormes’s life evinces a remarkable pattern that starts with his birth and ends at a mature age. The brevity and the economy of the first-person narration allow the reader to follow a line of encounters, social interactions, and misfortunes that blend to culminate in the citizen of Tratado 7, the final chapter. The complexity of this modest tome is extraordinary, given its date and the state of fictional narrative in mid-sixteenth-century Spain. The author takes aspects of the spiritual confession, folklore, popular culture, and oral tradition, combining them in an autobiographical structure that is ultimately pseudo-autobiographical, intermingled with the figurative voice-over of an implied author. Lázaro’s self-fashioning is laced, or laden, with irony, as the author teases and toys with the narrator. The implied author, coined by Wayne C. Booth in The Rhetoric of Fiction and amplified by other narrative theorists, is an abstraction that makes its presence known as Lázaro’s self-defense is transformed into an admission and a type of self-incrimination. Lázaro seeks upward mobility in a society that will only permit the maintenance of the status quo. In the first half of the narrative, the protagonist must satisfy his hunger. In the second half, his appetite for social prominence must be curbed. Lázaro reframes the reality of the
situation by “puffing” his descriptions, but his self-promoting posturing shows through (see, e.g., Shipley). Because irony has no bounds, one now may note the double target of the satire: the pícaro and the society that maintains a strict hierarchy of values and standards. To an extent, Lazarillo de Tormes defines the protagonist jointly by his actions and by his discourse. As an outsider, he is confined to the margins, and his rhetorical strategies, aimed at recasting his ills into triumphs—or at least at defending himself as the victim of a scandal—are subject to scrutiny. The story is unusual in itself, narrated by a figure who is anything but exemplary. It is, in essence, a spiritual confession turned upside-down and brought down to earth. The intricacies of story and discourse veer from idealism to realism and toward what will mark what has been called the modern novel.

Lazarillo de Tormes traces the pícaro’s life: his humble birth, his less-than-admirable parents and stepfather, his service to a series of masters, his employment, and his domestic ills. One may sense that the literary space allotted to the narrator is a set-up for disparagement. His purported rise in society is undercut by his attachment to the honor code. It disturbs him that people are talking about him, his wife, and the archpriest to whom each is obligated. Readers of spiritual autobiographies are lower than the writers who have moved upward, but in picaresque narrative the protagonists assume the inferior spot. The fact that they are unlikely subjects enhances the satirical vision of the texts and the innovative nature of picaresque fiction. The comic underpinnings of the picaresque coexist with the portrayal of an unequal social system that ostracizes and punishes a segment of the population at birth. The intentions may be ironic, but the picaresque gives voice (and even status, albeit inadvertent) to the outcast. The picaresque provides a detailed view of the sensibility of forgotten members of society, in a manner that reverses the predetermined identities of characters in idealistic fiction. The picaresque captures a particular atmosphere in early modern Spain, an atmosphere dominated simultaneously by heredity and environment. Lázaro does not merely “age” in his narrative. Instead, he becomes a compendium of the factors that have influenced his treatment by others and that have led to his specific reactions and behavior. By using a first-person narrative, the anonymous author complicates the design and the literary art of the venture. Rhetoric—most prominently, the trope of irony—is vital to the narrative as a fictional creation and as a social document, in concert. The psychology of Lázaro and his fellow and sister pícaros distances this early form of narrative realism from its idealistic counterparts, which are not bereft of emotions but which demonstrate consistency of character as opposed to development and growth.

Picaresque narrative becomes more diverse and more elaborate in the successors to Lazarillo de Tormes. Mateo Alemán’s Guzmán de Alfarache, published in two parts in 1599 and 1604, is over ten times longer than Lazarillo de Tormes, and the narrator alternates between recounting his autobiography and his thoughts on an array of issues, the latter of which have been labeled as sermons. The format gives Alemán the opportunity to depict not only the struggle of the marginalized individual in society, but to enter the dialogue as something more perceptible—and more palpable—than the implied author. Guzmán de Alfarache is an exceptional work of social commentary, which may not have the unity, and certainly not the economy, of Lazarillo de Tormes, but which accentuates the outlook of the alienated soul and his authorial alter ego, of converso blood. Alemán engages in a tightrope act of sorts, as he dissociates himself from the protagonist without fully managing the separation. A false continuation published in 1602 further muddies the waters and sets itself up as a link to Don Quijote and the Avellaneda sequel. In Alemán’s opus, discourse analysis reaches new heights. Lazarillo de Tormes proposes a template upon which later authors build. The pícaros are trapped
in blind alleys, but they are accorded time and space in which to narrate their stories. They self-fashion and refashion their lives. Guzmán de Alfarache is far more convoluted than Lazarillo de Tormes. In La vida del Buscón, first published in 1626 but written some years earlier, the baroque artist Francisco de Quevedo seems to take special pleasure in intensifying the discourse of his pícaro Pablos, who is more of a wordsmith and more of a delinquent than his predecessors.

Just as Quevedo puts words into Pablos’s mouth, society predetermines the outsider’s path. The pícaro’s impractical goal of rising in society—of becoming a gentleman—will be squelched time and again, and his transgressions multiply and escalate. In a climactic moment, Pablos chooses to be a criminal rather than a nonentity; he prefers a negative identity to eradication from the picture. On one extreme of the Buscón, the elevated language and wordplay that befit Quevedo are clearly on exhibit. On the other, the solitude and the desperation of the protagonist stand out, despite the verbal pyrotechnics that mediate the discourse. Pablos is an object of derision and a subject who cannot completely hide his feelings. Quevedo manipulates him, but Pablos has a mind and an attitude of his own (see, e.g., Williamson 1977). The radical contrasts associated with baroque art are evident in the dialectics of ostentatious language and a personal history, of outward audacity and inner thoughts, and of Pablos’s role as narrator and Quevedo’s barely concealed intervention. Pablos may not win the compassion of readers—but perhaps he will—but his losing battle against the norms of society is hardly a fair fight. His best option is to behave himself as a servant, and he selects a totally different course, with dire consequences. Quevedo appears to deplore him, but he does not silence him, and Pablos’s words reflect his predicament and the ironclad rules of a society that leads him astray. The mature Pablos is a product of continued rejection, an underprivileged boy turned criminal.

The feminine variations of the picaresque, notably those narrated in the first-person, distinguish more vigorously the play of narrator and implied author. Typically, the pícara schemes to wed a man above her social class, and, like the pícaros, she is doomed to fail. The protagonist of Francisco López de Úbeda’s La pícara Justina (1605), for example, comments with substantial force on the psychology of women and on the act of writing. López de Úbeda seems to recognize the irony of the circumstances, as he condemns the narrator through words that purport to be her own. Nonetheless, the text, together what might be categorized as its sister texts, exposes the marginalization of women and the injustices that face them from birth. The pícaras cannot succeed in their deceptions, but they control the stage as they are being controlled by male authors and by the society mirrored in the narrative. A beauty of irony is its mutability, its ability to reprise itself ad infinitum. In these texts, a woman’s place, however limited, is superseded by woman’s space, with signs for future advancement. Although the authors take recourse to the underside of society and to concentrating on misbehaving women, the social symbolism of the narratives may be lost on their creators, but probably not on a good percentage of readers. As with the antisocial men of picaresque narrative, the wayward women do not emerge victorious, yet they have a centrality in the narratives that previous was denied them. La pícara Justina is especially noteworthy in this regard, since it is a hefty tome voiced by the protagonist herself, aided, of course, by a master ventriloquist. The sheer bulk of material addresses the social and psychological backdrop, as well as the accumulation of grievances committed against Justina and the rationale for her desire for revenge against social mores. Lozana, Justina, and other pícaras operate in new literary territory. The episodes of their lives, and of their life stories, are configured to relate starting points to endpoints and to emphasize poetic justice (from a hegemonic stance) in the conclusions. It may not be intentional that
ambiguity prevails, but the lot of the female protagonists in the eyes of the readership may improve over time. In spite of their lack of independence in the texts and in early modern Spanish society, the pícaras can bare their (heavy) hearts and (shared) souls to an audience unaccustomed to seeing their anguish in print (see Friedman 1987).

Picaresque narrative does nothing short of revolutionizing story, discourse, and subjectivity. Characters develop from youth to adulthood as the accounts progress, and there is a correspondence between cause and effect. The devices of confessional literature, biography, autobiography, folktales, and an assortment of cultural artifacts merge as unusual—and, for many, aberrant—lives are placed on display. In poststructuralist terms, the picaresque interchanges center and margin (see, e.g. Culler 1982, 89ff.), with results that may be surprising to readers and to the authors themselves. Pablos of the Buscón may be the most arresting example of a character who—expressed paradoxically—rises above degradation and belittling by society and by Quevedo to reveal his humanity along with his criminality. The picaresque stories foreshadow the multiperspectivism of Cervantes and, as with Don Quijote and the Novelas ejemplares, have no room for “idle readers.” Heredity determines environment; environment corroborates heredity. The picaresque by no means excludes free will, and the pícaros are never blameless. While they do not hold sway over their destinies, they are not defenseless, and their fighting spirit is always worth observing, for whatever reason. Unquestionably, I would contend, there is no pícaro or pícara without a distinct personality, without a meaningful back-story, or without a record of momentous decisions, be they sound or foolish. Picaresque narratives are chronicles of the trials and travails of tortured subjects whom readers get to know, one might say, up and down and often in their own words, which are quite deliberately not their own words. The picaresque subjects acknowledge and run counter to their predecessors. Awkwardly placed in their narratives and in society, they blur centers and margins as they challenge the intertext. Interestingly, and ironically, it is the lower-class protagonist (and frequently the narrator) who fosters a paradigm shift in form, content, and characterization.

Lázaro de Tormes, Guzmán de Alfarache, Pablos, and Justina have discernible, and intricately projected, character arcs. Amadís de Gaula and his brethren do not. To a large degree, the picaresque rewrites the element of character development in narrative fiction. Like Don Quijote, the picaresque seems to begin as satire and then move to illuminating discoveries on multiple levels. The ridicule and the mockery directed toward the pícaros cannot erase the portrait of the displaced individual or obscure the social strictures that restrain the baseborn, nor can disdain and ostracism—thanks to the meticulously implemented literary technique and to irony—silence the outsider. The elevation of the antisocial character and the motif of the margin as center affect discourse and the impact of (auto)biography. The shaping of character has depth and novelty. The picaresque evokes personal histories, but cannot replicate their customary exemplarity. Don Quijote alludes to the romances of chivalry as it diverges from the model. Conversely, Don Quijote conveys the forthrightness and single-minded sense of purpose of the knights-errant of old. The narrative is filled with stratagems and breakthroughs galore, but the title figure is unswerving in his constancy and in his devotion to the tenets of chivalry. Don Quijote undertakes to emulate, figuratively and literally, Amadís de Gaula and other forerunners. He strives for similitude, not difference. Unchanging in his demeanor and aspirations, Don Quijote remains steadfast and faithful to his chivalric vows until the disillusionment (desengaño) that comes only in the final chapter of Part 2. In his dealings with others, he is more tenacious than malleable, more unwavering than vacillating, more attracted to the lessons of literature than to visible reality. The chivalric heroes fit into their surroundings and their happenances. Don
Quijote is out of place, and the narrative revels in capturing this incongruity. Much of plot draws attention to the strangeness of Don Quijote in his adopted milieu and thus to the response of other characters to his fantasies. Those who do not know him are awestruck. Later, in Part 2, those who have read Part 1 convert themselves into actors in his tableaux, and some elect to follow his lead and become metadramatists in their own right. Don Quijote alters people and things around him, but he is true to his principles and to his mission to right wrongs and to serve his lady Dulcinea del Toboso. Notwithstanding his madness and his anachronistic convictions, he is a stable presence. Sancho Panza is another story.

*Don Quijote* defies classification. It has been described as realism, metafiction, a precursor of the novel, the first modern novel, an antinovel, and so forth. It is, arguably, all those things and more. It has not only stood the test of time, but, if anything, it has improved—become richer, more suggestive, and more engaging—over the centuries, as it interacts with criticism, theory, the expanding corpus of texts, and other arts and media. *Don Quijote* is unlike sixteenth-century Spanish idealistic fiction and, by the same token, unlike eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European narrative realism. Its peculiar brand of realism highlights its deviation from romance, whereas its glaring self-consciousness and self-referentiality, in conjunction with the obsessive temperament of the protagonist, puts *Don Quijote* in a class by itself. Don Quijote is motivated by the literature of idealism, and the romances of chivalry arouse and guide him. Cervantes and his corps of narrators are the purveyors of metafiction. Sancho Panza, an increasingly important supporting player, stands on the side of realism as he makes an indelible imprint on the text. Sancho is a poor farmer, a married man with children, and a neighbor of the man who turns himself into Don Quijote. He has traveled beyond his village, but only rarely. In profound contrast to his master, he is illiterate. When Don Quijote sets out on his first sally, he goes alone, and Sancho accompanies him on his subsequent sallies. Bearing in mind the absence of Sancho in the early chapters of Part 1, one may survey the weight (pun intended) of his contribution to the narrative. He is Don Quijote’s dialogue partner. He largely takes the place of the narrator(s) in identifying the reality that the knight obfuscates. Their first adventure, memorably, is that of the windmills/giants. If Don Quijote epitomizes literacy and the overwhelming power of the printing press, Sancho stands for oral tradition and for knowledge that derives from sources other than books. Don Quijote is a most eloquent advocate for the values of classical antiquity—for the Golden Age—but he is dependent on the latest technology for access to the tomes that he consumes and that consume him. As a kind of middleman, or mediator, Sancho experiences firsthand the ups and downs of his master, a man drawn to the ethos of the past while chronologically bound to the present. The squire is also a veritable depository of humor, verbal and physical.

Cervantes shows an awareness of picaresque narrative in *Don Quijote* and in other works that explore human psychology, discursive strategies, and social concerns of the day. Sancho Panza is obviously not a *pícaro*, but he is persuaded to accept the position of squire from the minute that Don Quijote dangles the prospect of the governorship of an island (“ínsula”) before him. The temptation of a rise in rank is a constant in Sancho’s behavior and in his acceptance of the rigors of the road. In short, he is enticed by the idea of improving his lot, of upgrading his station in life. He does not intellectualize the possibilities, nor does he question his qualifications for gubernatorial responsibilities. He has a stimulus that will shape forthwith his objectives, his conduct, and his actions. Readers respond to Sancho based on the narrator’s descriptions, on comments from Don Quijote and other characters, and on Sancho’s own words and performance. His fascination with the *ínsula* is not a minor detail; it is the primum mobile of his service as
Don Quijote’s squire and a justification for the slings and arrows that he must endure as the knight puts the two of them in harm’s way. Sancho does not leave his home and family on a whim. He is moved by the incentive of social and material gain, and he repeatedly reminds Don Quijote of the commitment. There is in Sancho Panza’s imagined glory an echo of the picaresque dreams of social conquest juxtaposed with fierce protocols and restrictions regarding social standing. When dealing with Sancho, Cervantes takes society’s inflexibility and hostility toward the pícaros’ ambitions down a number of notches. The writer may make light of Sancho’s speculations, but Sancho himself absolutely does not. The characterization of Sancho Panza, in various respects, relies on his self-image as governor. The fanciful notion gives him confidence and drive—a calling, so to speak—and it factors regularly into his dialogues with Don Quijote. Sancho’s preoccupation with the island is validated in Part 2, thanks to the metatheatrical instincts and theatrical fervor of the duke and duchess. And Sancho does not disappoint.

After his first sally, his rescue by a kindly neighbor, and two weeks of rest at home, Don Quijote fears that the world is underequipped with knights-errant, and he gears up for a new venture. In chapter 7 of Part 1, he approaches Sancho Panza, whom the narrator describes, tellingly, as “a good man—if that title can be given to someone who is poor—but without much in the way of brains” (Cervantes 2003, 55). This initial depiction predisposes the reader to accept as a fact the low intelligence of Sancho and to qualify his measure of goodness. The Spanish phrase, “de muy poca sal en la mollera” (Cervantes 2012, 64), acerbically punctuates the ignorance of the soon-to-be squire, and this may have been part of Cervantes’s original conception. Don Quijote tantalizes Sancho with the allusion to the governorship of an insula, and Sancho is instantly intrigued. They set forth—neither taking formal leave—and “Sancho Panza rode on his donkey like a patriarch” (Cervantes 2003, 56). The chivalric fixation of Don Quijote is plainly established. Sancho hears about islands and governorships for the first time. He contemplates his wife as a queen and his children as royalty. He offers comic relief, but shows faith in his master. Each has a mission. In chapter 8, Sancho can identify the much-celebrated giants as windmills, and Don Quijote can claim that the evil enchanter Frestón is responsible for the confusion. The knight brags that the squire is fortunate to be able to witness his acts of derring-do. He laughs at Sancho’s simplemindedness, but the two converse on matters great and small, from religion to diet. As a knight, Don Quijote is bellicose, anxious to enter into conflict. Sancho cannot fight legitimately until he is dubbed a knight, and, as a proponent of pacifism, that suits him fine. Misreading the situation, Don Quijote attacks a Benedictine friar who is accompanying a lady in a carriage. Sancho starts to take the clothes off the friar, as spoils of his master’s defeat of the enemy, when he is attacked and beaten by servants of the lady. Don Quijote is confronted by a Basque squire, and their skirmish is brought to a halt when the narrator announces that he has run out of information to share. The chance discovery and the translation of the manuscript of Cide Hamete Benengeli, an Arab historian and a boon to the evaluation of historical objectivity, gives the narrator the rest of the story, including Don Quijote’s victory over the Basque squire. Sancho wonders if this will be sufficient for the rewarding of an insula, but Don Quijote deems that the request is premature.

Sancho is learning the ropes, sometimes the hard way. He can be impetuous, as when he rushes in for the spoils of battle. He is engrossed in thoughts of the governorship, but he worries about the real threat of the Holy Brotherhood, officers of justice in rural areas. The dialogue between Don Quijote and Sancho is a major portion of the narrative. The knight and his squire are comfortable with each other. They are companions, although Don Quijote never dismisses the hierarchical social structure and Sancho, regardless of the camaraderie, is cognizant of his
subservient status. Sancho knows his place, most of the time, and he relishes the latitude that frees him from the demands of social propriety. Still, the governorship is ingrained in his mind, and the representative of reality principles has his quixotic moments. Sancho habitually is a pawn of fate—and a pawn of Don Quijote—as he plays the squire. When Rocinante attempts to seek satisfaction with the Yangesian mares in chapter 15, for example, Don Quijote is willing to fight the offended Galicians with the aid of Sancho, for the adversaries are of lower class. When Sancho cries out that there are twenty attackers versus two (or one and a half) of them, Don Quijote avers that he is worth a hundred. Sancho suffers in the scuffle and afterwards, in chapter 17, when he reacts violently to Don Quijote’s concoction, the balsam of Fierabrás. Sancho declares that henceforth he will not participate in battles of any sort. Humbled and wounded, Don Quijote and Sancho head to Juan Palomeque’s inn, or castle, looking the worse for wear, with their mounts in tow. With a pride that may surprise the reader, Sancho attributes his master’s cuts and bruises to a fall. One lie leads to others, but the story is a hard sell. At the inn, Don Quijote and Sancho become casualties of the servant-girl Maritornes’s muddled rendezvous with a muleteer in the dark of night. To add insult to injury, Don Quijote departs without paying Juan Palomeque, and Sancho must undergo a humiliating blanketing (“manteamiento”) at the hands of patrons of the inn. Sancho refuses to accept Don Quijote’s enchantment defense for his nonintervention, and he entreats his master to let him return home for the harvest season. Endeavoring to assuage Sancho’s anxiety, Don Quijote exerts himself to mollify and to animate his squire by urging him to trust that heaven will be on his side.

Don Quijote keeps Sancho busy. Sancho warns Don Quijote that approaching armies are flocks of sheep, but enchantment wins out, and the squire is left to distract his master from his pain and missing teeth. Don Quijote is, to be sure, set in his ways, but Sancho forces him to explain his positions and becomes an ever-more-proficient debater. When Don Quijote imagines a dire plot involving a procession that carries a dead body, he breaks the leg of an innocent university graduate who is with the mourners. Don Quijote rationalizes his actions as the “bachelor” berates him. As the wounded man departs, Sancho delivers a renowned passage: “If, by chance, those gentlemen would like to know who the valiant man is who offended them, your grace can say he is the famous Don Quixote of La Mancha, also known as The Knight of the Sorrowful Face” (Cervantes 2003, 139). When Don Quijote inquires as to Sancho’s motivation for inventing the appellative, the squire answers that the sadness of the knight’s expression, weary and with a loss of molars, made the epithet seem logical. Don Quijote begs to differ: “It is not that, … but rather that the wise man whose task it will be to write the history of my deeds must have thought it would be a good idea if I took some appellative title as did the knights of the past. … And so I say that this wise man … must have put on your tongue and in your thoughts the idea of calling me … [by] this name” (Cervantes 2003, 139). Sancho conveniently places himself within the realm of chivalry. Don Quijote unremittingly places himself within the realm of chivalry. Sancho looks toward the insula, Don Quijote toward the historical record. Cervantes segues into the incomparable episode in which nothing happens. Don Quijote and Sancho hear a frighteningly loud noise. Don Quijote wishes to face the peril, and Sancho wishes to flee. Chapter 20 may seem to be about one man’s valor, another’s cowardice, and an anticlimax, but Sancho wins the day. He becomes a master of delaying strategies. He binds Rocinante’s legs together so that the Don Quijote’s steed cannot move. He tells a never-ending story that may be poorly narrated, but not without a purpose. He takes charge of the plot, and, in the sighting of the fulling hammers, the knight and the squire can take comfort in danger averted.

Sancho Panza is not reluctant to critique the decisions of Don Quijote. In Chapter 21, for
example, he chastises the knight for avoiding lofty adventures, that is, serving lords, princes, and emperors rather than entering into combat against more unassuming foes. Sancho has entered the chivalric mindset, with nuanced points of consideration and arguments. He mentions a time, many years earlier, in which he spent a month near the court, during which he learned to respect his place in the scheme of things. Nevertheless, he envisions Don Quijote becoming a king and making him a count. Don Quijote is impulsive to the nth degree. Sancho becomes a calming agent and a bit of a protector. In the episode of the galley slaves, Sancho reminds his master of the system of justice sanctioned by the king himself, but Don Quijote is blinded by a sense of absolute justice. When the knight frees the criminals, he is unperturbed by the repercussions of his act—although he is dumbfounded by the ingratitude of Ginés de Pasamonte and the other prisoners, who refuse to go to El Toboso to pay homage to the lady Dulcinea—and it is Sancho who plans an exit route into the Sierra Morena mountain range. Sancho saves Don Quijote from the ramifications of breaking the law by fleeing the Holy Brotherhood. Don Quijote is satisfied with the plan, as long as he makes it clear that he is honoring Sancho’s wishes, not escaping through his own volition. The knight calls his squire a coward, but Sancho replies that withdrawal is not running away (an alibi not unknown to Don Quijote), and, for the moment, he has the last word. Strikingly, the ignorant farmer has become the voice of reason.

The Sierra Morena sequence builds to the meeting with the crazed lover Cardenio and a series of narratives within the narrative. When Cardenio casts a stone at Don Quijote, the peace-loving Sancho attacks him and then attacks the goatherd who did not warn them of Cardenio’s wrath. His master has unjustly marked him a coward, but Sancho rushes, here and elsewhere, to protect Don Quijote. As Sancho prepares to deliver a missive to Dulcinea del Toboso, he learns that the love object is Aldonza Lorenzo, whom he describes in graphic, and unflattering, terms in chapter 25. Sancho sets off as Don Quijote begins a solitary penance in imitation of Amadís de Gaula. Reaching Juan Palomeque’s inn, he comes across the priest and the barber from Don Quijote’s village. They have a plan to lure Don Quijote home. Sancho will notify Don Quijote of their (disguised) presence. Left by themselves, the priest and the barber meet Cardenio, who brings his story up to date, and Dorotea, disguised as a boy, who will fill in critical gaps and give hope to Cardenio. Stories intersect; they wind and unwind in steady succession. When Sancho returns, Dorotea has consented to play the princess Micomicona, the damsel in distress, and she immediately captivates the squire, who buys into her story. He is ready to forsake Dulcinea as a marriage partner for Don Quijote, in favor of the beleaguered princess. When Don Quijote rejects the possibility of marrying Micomicona, Sancho erupts in annoyance, for he sees the princess as his entry into earthly rewards. Don Quijote is robbing him of a priceless opportunity. Meanwhile, Sancho must rack his brain to conjure details of the trip to El Toboso that he did not make.

In chapter 35, Sancho interrupts the reading aloud of The Man Who Was Recklessly Curious (El curioso impertinente) to shout to the public that enchantment has overtaken his master, who has cut off the head of a giant. The innkeeper informs him that Don Quijote has slashed wineskins, which have spread wine rather than blood over the room. Sancho, who had thought that this might have been a defining moment, is exceedingly disappointed, and he must listen to others lash out at his gullibility. He feels redeemed when Don Quijote proclaims a triumph on behalf of Micomicona, and Sancho takes this as a sign that his countship is on the way. The berating of Don Quijote and Sancho continues. Don Quijote is put back to bed, and Dorotea (as Micomicona) tries to console Sancho, as the interrupted narrative resumes. Micomicona lights a spark in Sancho. To him, she is the culmination of all that is beautiful,
ideal, and readily accessible. Dulcinea del Toboso is remote, and she is linked to the undesirable farmgirl Aldonza Lorenzo. Micomicona seems to be the perfect partner for his master, but, to his vexation, Don Quijote rebuffs his attempt at matchmaking and thwarts for now his claim to social ascendance. When Sancho realizes that the princess Micomicona is playing a role, he is dispirited. The astute Dorotea, for her part, endeavors to convince Don Quijote of her dual identity, a product of enchantment. Sancho has trusted her. She has let him down, and he feels deceived. The truth about Micomicona remains a source of contention, and of squabbling, during the rest of the stay at the inn. Exhausted and deflated but somehow optimistic, Sancho believes that an esteemed position awaits him, and he grasps onto anything that can be construed as an omen of his future success. He is impatient with the stream of events emanating from Cardenio and company, and from the arrival at the inn of the captive and Zoraida, the judge and his daughter Doña Clara, and the teenage suitor Don Luis. Sancho laments losing sleep and sets himself up to be left hanging, literally, by Maritornes and the innkeeper’s daughter. The barber of the basin that becomes “Mambrino’s helmet” returns, and, in the disputes that follow, Sancho must suffer additional insults. In chapter 44, he formulates the neologism baciyelmo to cover the dual properties of the object. He knows that words and distinctions among them are imperative. Angry words lead to fights, and the Holy Brotherhood is again involved. The priest and the barber, with accomplices, tie a sleeping Don Quijote down, and “phantoms” remove him from the inn to a cage that will bear him home. Don Quijote bemoans his fate, but he praises the loyalty of Sancho, who bows before his master and kisses his hands, although he confesses that “I’d say and even swear that these phantoms wandering around here are not entirely Catholic” (Cervantes 2003, 603) as they discuss devils and such. On the road, Sancho refutes the barber’s incredulity about the insula and his envisaged rise in social rank.

When the canon from Toledo comes into the frame, the discussion centers on the romances of chivalry and the theater of the day, with the Council of Trent, censorship, and the playwright Lope de Vega—not to mention Cervantes’s frustrating career as a dramatist—as corollary issues. Sancho Panza supplies comic relief in dialogues with Don Quijote on the veracity of the books of chivalry and their conspicuous consumption, on the unceasing theme of enchantment, and on how an encaged knight can relieve himself when nature calls. With the canon present, Sancho reiterates his zeal to become governor of an island and his natural gifts in the art of administration: “… the gentleman sits with his feet up, enjoying the rent they pay him and not worrying about anything else, and that’s what I’ll do; I won’t haggle over trifles, but I’ll turn my back on everything, and enjoy my rent like a duke, and let others do the work” (Cervantes 2003, 431). When the goatherd who has narrated the story of Leandra insults Don Quijote, the knight responds by hitting him on the head with a loaf of bread, and Sancho must intervene to protect his master. When Don Quijote attacks a group of penitents, Sancho tries in vain to keep Don Quijote from injury. While others respond with laughter, the squire is distraught, believing that his master has succumbed to the blows. Hearing Sancho’s sobbing, Don Quijote regains consciousness, and Sancho proposes for the future “another sally that will bring us more profit and greater fame” (Cervantes 2003, 443). They reach the village. Sancho is received by his wife Juana, who understands nothing about Ínsulas. In the concluding section of Part 1, the author of the history speaks of the few fact that he knows of the third sally. He mentions the discovery of parchment tablets that contain allusions to, among other things, the continued fidelity of Sancho Panza. One of the closing sonnets of the Academy of Argamasilla is a tribute to Sancho.

Part 1 of Don Quijote attests to Sancho Panza’s loyalty, his misuse of language, his
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naïveté, and his confusion, but not to his ignorance. Sancho may misread many signs, but others—including his master—routinely misread him. He is not directionless; from his first conversation with Don Quijote, Sancho is transfixed by the end of the rainbow for a squire: the governorship of an island. Every adventure holds the promise of success for his master and a reward for him. Sancho is continually discouraged, but not disheartened. His monomania has points of contact with that of his master, but the experiences along the road are, character-wise, a metaphorical growth spurt, as evidenced in his actions, in his reactions, and in his performance in the dialogues. His self-interest is basic to his subjectivity, his sense of self. Don Quijote lives in a dream world of chivalry. Sancho invades that world with doses of reality, but he invests abundant emotional energy in his own pipedream. Sancho is not a tabula rasa. He has a past, but he begins a new life as a squire, and this places him in a middle ground between chivalric fantasies—Don Quijote’s and now his own—and his perception of reality. Sancho’s instability is his identifying mark. He knows a windmill from a giant, but he does not want to know that islands ruled by peasants are chimeras. He knows that Aldonza Lorenzo is a far cry from Dulcinea del Toboso, but he does not want to know that the princess Micomicona is the alter ego of Dorotea. He knows that his beloved master is hopelessly mad, but he does not want to know that the insula is a part of that madness. Disregarding the scrambled visions of the knight, Sancho keeps the faith, yet he hedges his bets. He trains himself to overlook even the obvious, when the island is at stake. The illiterate Sancho becomes an expert at rhetoric and at breaking boundaries. One may guess what Don Quixote will say next. That is not the case with Sancho, whose talking points can surprise and often impress. Sancho continuously encounters characters engaged in metatheater, from Don Quijote to the priest and the barber and to others assembled in the Sierra Morena. Every episode is, in its own way, a newly minted scenario, and Sancho is called upon to adjust, respond, shield his master, and watch after himself. As in society, there is an exacting hierarchy in place with respect to knight and squire, but Sancho’s adherence to that order is variable, dependent on whether the situation requires reverence, obsequiousness, or temporary rebellion. Sancho can be comic, cowardly, cautious, and caring, but predictable only when the governorship is on the agenda. The insula is part of—and complicates—his reality.

Sancho Panza wants to get ahead in life, as do the pícaros. The latter are, in general, aware of their uphill battle for survival and of the need to use trickery and fraud to achieve their aims. They quickly lose their innocence as they are stirred, or forced, to circumvent decorum and decency. Sancho operates in a different mode. While the pícaros and their fabrications are relegated to a well-defined social context, he has more creative freedom, since the island, in Part 1, is purely a mental image. The image sustains Sancho on a road with many curves. Don Quijote works from a script that he cannot see is out of date. The knight wants others to conform to his stage directions. He rewrites the chivalric romance, just as Marcela rewrites pastoral romance. The priest and the barber prepare a dramatic text, with casting changes along the way. In the narrative introduced by Cardenio, Luscinda and Don Fernando are metatheatrical figures, she for just causes and he for deception, but Fernando is the most aristocratic of the dramatis personae, and he has the last word. Each of the characters in The Man Who Was Recklessly Curious is a metadramatist. The captive’s tale is about history, religion, and metatheater. Sancho Panza stands out for not having books or historical records as models, for being “unscripted.” Don Quijote may imitate knights-errant, but Sancho makes no effort to imitate their squires. From the outset, Sancho has a goal—a focal point that he never loses—but little control over his fate. He has to await a supreme victory by Don Quijote in order to attain his reward. The promise keeps him going and keeps him at Don Quijote’s side. There, he engages in dialogues that show his
strengths and weaknesses, and that show his progress. Sancho argues with Don Quijote, but he defends his master against others and against himself. His common sense and practicality come in handy. It is Sancho, to cite one case, who engineers the escape from the Holy Brotherhood into the Sierra Morena. Sancho is humble, uneducated, but not invisible. As with the picaresque protagonists, the work of fiction grants him a space in which to break away from obscurity. The poor farmer with no credentials becomes the costar of a major literary production. He steps out of the background as a foil figure, but, more significantly, as an evolving, and mutable, character. He is loquacious, and what he has to say is worthy of note. The argument for Sancho’s indispensability in Part 1 of *Don Quijote* is intensified in Part 2.

The summit of Sancho’s quest is his governorship of Barataria, which comes in the second half of Part 2. This is his signature moment, impressive if bittersweet. Cervantes has been preparing the reader from Sancho’s introduction into the narrative. As Don Quijote rests in his home, he—and then Sancho—must deal with the niece, the housekeeper, the priest, and the barber. Sancho is not greeted in a welcoming manner. He brags about the *insula* to the niece and the housekeeper, who have no of what this is; the niece thinks it may be a food item. He persists, and Don Quijote will meet with him alone. As it happens, Don Quijote will pay the price of celebrity. Sancho informs him that people are calling him, and his squire, crazy. The brash young man of letters, Sansón Carrasco, conveys the news of the publication of a chronicle of his adventures by an Arab historian, a shock to Don Quijote. The primary intertext shifts from the romances of chivalry to Part 1 itself, for the book has entered the world, and, in turn, the world has entered the book. Sancho is caught off-guard, unable to comprehend all the data. Carrasco has a plan: he will incite Don Quijote to embark on a third sally, so that he may rescue the knight from self-endangerment and bring him home for a year of penance. Don Quijote packs in secret. Sancho bids farewell to his wife (now Teresa), after disclosing his plans for the future. The dialogue of chapter 5 signals a new and revised Sancho Panza; he moves the discourse forward, and Teresa seems more rustic and prone to malapropisms, as if she were playing Sancho to Sancho’s Don Quijote. Regarding noble pursuits, Teresa defends a conservative position: Sancho should remember and respect his place in the social order. Sancho disagrees: why be a peasant when one can be a count and bring status and riches to his family? He will be a governor, and he will train his son Sanchico to be the same. If opportunity awaits him, Sancho will be there to take advantage of the opening. Sancho’s assertiveness in the dialogue with Teresa is symbolic, the foreshadowing of a power move in chapter 10.

Before heading for a jousting tournament in Zaragoza, Don Quijote decides to pay homage to Dulcinea. Sancho fears that a trip to El Toboso will expose his lies about his visit to the fair lady. He devises an enchantment, whereby he claims that a peasant girl and her two companions are Dulcinea and her ladies-in-waiting. It is Don Quijote who can see only the three country girls on their mounts. Cide Hamete’s chronicle has brought fame to Don Quijote, but it has taken away the element of surprise and amazement from those who have read or heard about the book. Cervantes appears to see in Sancho Panza a complement to the more passive knight, for whom success in print is a benefit and an ironic form of competition. The calling now includes the “disenchantment” of Dulcinea. Directly following the enchantment episode, Don Quijote meets an acting troupe, and Sancho advises him to keep his distance from actors, who are favored by the public, no matter what their offenses. Sansón Carrasco shows up as the Knight of the Wood, or of the Mirrors, with his squire, the disguised Tomé Cecial, a neighbor of Sancho. The Knight of the Wood boasts of his defeat of Don Quijote and of the admitted superiority of his lady, Casildea de Vandalia. Don Quijote is incensed. Cervantes gives the two squires equal
time and more amusing dialogue of their own; they talk and drink until they fall asleep. Carrasco’s plan goes awry when Don Quijote, out of the blue, defeats him in battle, and his benevolence turns into a desire for revenge. The Squire of the Wood challenges Sancho, who uses his agility and his wit to dissuade his rival, who reveals his true identity when his artificial nose falls off. Cecial ends by reprimanding Carrasco for acting mad against a madman when he himself is sane. The episode upsets and perplexes Sancho, who is more disposed to believe the “reality” of the contentious knight and squire than the confessions of their “enchanted” doubles, even though he is the recent enchanter of Dulcinea. Without a doubt, reality has become more uncertain and more problematic in Part 2, since history and fiction cannot be deemed as mutually exclusive. Part 1 becomes a “player” in Part 2, Don Quijote struggles to come to terms with the chronicle of his deeds, and Sancho Panza remains dedicated to earning the insula.

Don Quijote and Sancho meet Don Diego de Miranda on the road. Don Diego is similar in rank to Don Quijote, but he is a family man with few eccentricities and no romances of chivalry in his library. He invites the knight and the squire to his home, yet first this staid and refined gentleman witnesses the frightening encounter of Don Quijote with a lion (in chapter 17). The fearless knight dares the lion to do battle with him. Sancho pleads with him, in vain, that this incident has nothing to do with enchantment and that he should retire. Don Quijote refuses. Sancho weeps for the imminent loss of his master and berates himself for having consented to serve as his squire. Sancho continues to try to reason with Don Quijote, to no avail. Luckily, the rather lethargic lion refuses to leave his cage. The episode demonstrates the heights of Don Quijote’s madness and the contrast between him and the rational Don Diego, who is admirable but hardly intriguing. Sancho especially enjoys the four-day visit to Don Diego’s home, a place of abundance versus the return to the hunger that he and his master face on a daily basis. The protagonists move into the episode of Camacho’s wedding. They hear the story of Basilio’s love for Quiteria, offset by the riches of Camacho and his successful appeal to Quiteria’s parents. Sancho expresses his opinion with confidence and with faith in happy endings; he is emphatic, neither shy nor reserved. He argues that fortune can change from one day to the next, and that is exactly what happens, due to Basilio’s ingenuity (industria). Don Quijote and Sancho are spectators at the “spoken dances” that precede the marriage ceremony and at the metatheater of Basilio, who wins the bride. Sancho reverses his position when he catches sight of the sumptuous meal that Camacho is offering. On reflection, he must favor the “haves” over the “have-nots.” The squire is not above choosing the practical—and the self-serving—over the altruistic. The missed gastronomic bounty stays on his mind. Sancho is unconventional and capricious. He is plainspoken, but perhaps somewhat misguided and not quite fit to govern an island. He is a folk philosopher, though, and maybe something akin to a pre-capitalist. And he never waits for permission to speak to his master or to anyone else.

In the mind-boggling episode of the cave of Montesinos, Don Quijote’s subconscious is on display. He mixes chivalric characters with none other than the enchanted Dulcinea and her maids-of-honor. Hearing his master’s account, Sancho cannot contain himself, and he insolently and audaciously bewails the “foolishness” of the report. Unable to block the discrepancies from his mind, Sancho denies the validity of the story and blames the enchanters, while Don Quijote, commendably patient, avows that he is telling the truth. This point of controversy arises anew in the episode of the soothsaying monkey owned by the puppeteer Maese Pedro (aka Ginés de Pasamonte, one of the galley slaves of Part 1), who receives the knight and the squire, to their astonishment, with unbridled enthusiasm. When posed with the question of the veracity of the events purported to have taken place in the cave, the monkey is noncommittal, saying (through
Maese Pedro) that some details are true and others false. Sancho feels redeemed. Don Quijote is sure that the truth will be revealed at a later date. There ensues the ornate puppet show of the chivalric adventure of Gaiferos and Melisendra. Don Quijote become so enrapt in the action that he attacks and destroys the stage. Maese Pedro is dejected, and a compassionate Sancho tries to comfort him: “Don’t cry, Master Pedro, and don’t wail, or you’ll break my heart, and let me tell you that my master, Don Quixote, is so Catholic and so scrupulous a Christian that if he realizes he’s done you any harm, he’ll tell you so and want to pay and satisfy you, and with interest” (Cervantes 2003, 634). Don Quijote does, in fact, pay the damages, as he does in the following episode of the enchanted boat. In the braying incident of chapters 25 and 27, Sancho boldly brays at a manifestly inopportune time, right after Don Quijote has delivered a sensitive and uplifting message to the offended parties. The villagers knock Sancho to the ground. Don Quijote flees, with trepidation. He offers a weak excuse. Sancho is demoralized and threatens to return to the village. They make amends. Neither the knight nor the squire comes out smelling like a rose. The blanketing, now a distant memory, may cross the reader’s mind, but one can take the braying incident as an anomaly. Both men are armed with potential critiques of the other, but their mutual affection is sincere. Sancho is Don Quijote’s strongest defender and his greatest critic. Madness gets in the way of Don Quijote’s judgments and Sancho’s analyses. The squire is hard to pinpoint, and that is a good thing for the narrative, which is about to thoroughly change direction.

Don Quijote and Sancho meet a duchess who is on a hunting excursion, and she invites them to the palatial estate that she shares with her husband. Sancho is elated, for he senses that there will be food aplenty. The duke and the duchess are aristocrats with time on their hands and unlimited funds in their pocketbooks, and they have read Part 1 of the chronicle. They greet Don Quijote ceremoniously, with unsurpassed veneration and pomp, and for the first time he feels an acknowledgment of his knightly merits. They transform their home and adjacent land into an enormous stage, and they transform themselves into producers, directors, playwrights, and actors, with what seems to be a dynamism bordering on the perverse. Don Quijote and Sancho become their jesters, their whipping boys. At the palace, Sancho is a fish out of water, unacquainted with—and uninterested in learning—the etiquette of the ducal court. Unfiltered, he insults the duchess’s lady Doña Rodríguez and defies orders. He relays inappropriate anecdotes. He embarrasses Don Quijote, whose reproaches yield no returns. Sancho falls naturally into the jester role, and he amuses everyone but the somber cleric—in-residence, who makes it known that he cannot abide either the squire or the knight. He ridicules Don Quijote’s knightly ambitions and Sancho’s dream of governing an ínsula. The duke takes it upon himself to favor the squire with “the governorship of a spare one that I own, which is of no small quality” (Cervantes 2003, 667). Don Quijote orders Sancho to kiss the feet of the duke, and the ecstatic squire does so with gratitude. The ecclesiastic leaves in a huff, and the others heartily celebrate Sancho’s impending escalation on the social ladder. The clergyman’s indignant departure from the proceedings does not impede Sancho from maligning the distrust of knight errantry: “… I’m sure if Reinaldos de Montalbán had heard that little man saying those things, he would have slapped him so hard across the mouth he wouldn’t have said another word for three years” (Cervantes 2003, 668). The duke and duchess are delighted with Sancho, whom they find more amusing and more outrageous than his master. In a lengthy conversation with the duke and duchess in chapter 32, Don Quijote lauds Sancho for his innate goodness and interest in doing the right thing; the squire is just in need of some refinement. The next scene proves the point: Sancho complains about those charged with washing his beard.
The duchess and her ladies corner Sancho to have a private chat with him. Sancho gloats over fooling Don Quijote with the “enchantment” of Dulcinea. The duchess inverts the premise and charges that Sancho may be the victim of the enchantment. She further posits that if a master is a fool, the one who serves him must be a greater fool, and she questions his aptitude to govern. Unintimidated and undeterred, Sancho counters that his very foolishness might aid in overseeing the *insula*. The duchess is shrewd and formidable as a debater. Sancho holds his own. The duke and duchess are avid readers of the chronicle, and they learn about the third sally from the mouths of the knight and the squire. They instigate a series of tricks, with negligible concern for the welfare of their targets. These are not mild pranks, but threats to their health and safety. A wild boar comes into the picture, for example. Soon thereafter, a devil appears, sent by Montesinos and announcing the arrival of Merlín, who will address the disenchantment of Dulcinea. Merlin’s remedy is for Sancho to give himself three-thousand three-hundred lashes on his imposing buttocks, a solution that Sancho finds untenable. Don Quijote rushes in to say that he will administer the lashes himself, but Merlín stresses that the act must be voluntary. Don Quijote is furious. Sancho is self-protective. The duke intimates that he may take the *insula* off the table. Sancho asks for two days to consider his options. Merlín denies the request. The duchess pushes Sancho to agree. Sancho wonders why Montesinos did not appear. Merlín responds that he is in his cave, pondering the disenchantment. Sancho argues back, but finally accepts the apportioning of the lashes. Happiness reigns. The duke and duchess congratulate themselves on their theatrical coup.

The countess Trifaldi shows up to initiate a new challenge. She has allowed her charge, a princess, to have relations with a young man, and young woman has become pregnant, causing the death of her mother the queen. In revenge, the queen’s cousin Malambruno, a giant, has converted the bride into a bronze monkey and the groom into a metallic crocodile, and he has given beards to the countess and her ladies. To rectify the situation, a knight must battle the giant, and the countess hopes to enlist Don Quijote and Sancho to travel to her kingdom atop a wooden horse named Clavileño. Don Quijote is willing. Sancho adamantly resists, noting that now that he is going to be a governor he has no interest in enchantments. The duke once again cautions Sancho not to put the *insula* in jeopardy, and the squire joins his master in mounting Clavileño. The blindfolded pair will go nowhere, but there is much noise and smoke. Sharing his vast knowledge, Don Quijote pontificates on the regions that they must be passing. When they have “landed,” a parchment from Malambruno credits them with success for having taken on the venture. The young couple is out of danger, and the ladies no longer have their beards. Sancho admits that he removed a part of the blindfold and saw that he had reached the sky. He dismounted for a while, playing with nanny goats that he found at the site. Don Quijote states that he never removed the blindfold, and he submits that Sancho must be dreaming or lying. The duke and duchess grill Sancho on details of the goats, and he answers with assurance. Sensing that Sancho can finesse his way through the interrogation, the ducal pair retreats. At the end of chapter 41, Don Quijote delivers an unforgettable speech: “Sancho, just as you want people to believe what you have seen in the sky, I want you to believe what I saw in the Cave of Montesinos. And that is all I have to say” (Cervantes 2003, 727).

The transition to the governorship moves along. The duke encourages Sancho. A tad haughtily, Sancho comments that, having seen the heavens, an earthly territory seems less inviting, but he is primed to go forward, in spite of having to deal with the rascals and rogues
who may be on the island. When the duke brings up the proper attire, the governor-to-be notes, “They can dress me … however they want; no matter what clothes I wear, I’ll still be Sancho Panza” (Cervantes 2003, 729). Before the official departure, Don Quijote wishes to counsel Sancho on his behavior, state of mind, and other matters. Chapters 42 and 43 contain a wealth of wisdom, common sense, and practical advice, signs of the good judgment (cordura) of the knight, which alternates with his madness (locura) through the narrative. The comments are philosophical, political, ideological, ethical, and theological in nature. The second set of recommendations treats hygiene, the consumption of food and drink, the proper way to mount a horse, the overuse of proverbs (unlikely to be obeyed, ever), and so on. Sancho tends to exasperate Don Quijote in this instance, as always, but when he confirms that he would “rather go to heaven as Sancho than to hell as governor” (Cervantes 2003, 737), his master is convinced that he is prepared to rule, that is, that he will strive to let virtue lead him to do the right thing.

What seemed to be a throw-away line in chapter 7 of Part 1—the allusion to the prize of an ínsula for a deserving squire—culminates in Barataria, the landlocked island fabricated by the duke and duchess for their personal amusement and to humble an already humble peasant. Like the pícaros, Sancho essentially will end where he began, yet he does let virtue lead him and he does the right thing. The governorship is a combination of a scripted play by the ducal royalty and major adlibs by the untrained and unsophisticated, but not untalented, protagonist. Sancho’s decency and no-nonsense style are winning, although he is a solitary soldier fighting a troop of adversaries that include his principal donors. Sancho is the product of his actions and experiences, and the service to Don Quijote has taught him how to adapt to the unexpected, to defend himself when he is unprotected, and to face polemics without hesitation. He starts and ends with a sense of pride and with survival skills, and he gains maturity through the trials that beset him. The island metadrama of the duke and duchess give them control, but Sancho comes out morally—if not physically—unscathed. If this were an audition, Sancho would earn the part, even though he decides to withdraw at the end. Sancho is separated from Don Quijote, as in the Sierra Morena, but his master—who must deal with Doña Rodríguez, the lovestruck teenager Altisidora, and a slew of other obstacles in the palace—is with him in spirit.

The tenure in Barataria is built around the personality of Sancho Panza and his responses to the tests placed before him. The standout episode may be the three cases that the governor must arbitrate: the tailor, the moneylender, and the woman who accuses a man of assaulting her. The judgments are fair, clever, and rapid, and Sancho is deemed “a new Solomon.” His observations as he tours the island are keen, and on no occasion does he back down. His decisions are prudent and thoughtful, even when he must put up with silliness, aggravating petitioners, and charlatans. He masters the liar’s paradox. No surprise can stump him with regard to the gubernatorial duties. The directors of the plot—a couple scarcely averse to cruelty—are not on his side, though. The duke appoints a doctor, Pedro Recio de Aguero, to monitor Sancho’s health, when the physician’s real purpose is to keep food away from a consummate gourmand, and Sancho cannot conceal his annoyance. He resolves to keep plugging away. In the meantime, a page of the duke and duchess—who earlier had been cast as the enchanted Dulcinea—delivers Sancho’s letter to Teresa, who shares the good tidings with her daughter Sanchica. The priest and Sansón Carrasco happen to be nearby, and they learn, to their chagrin, that Sancho is now governor of an island. Don Quijote praises Sancho in a letter: “When I expected to hear news of your negligence and impertinence, Sancho my friend, I have heard about your intelligence, for which I gave special thanks to heaven, which can raise the poor from the dungheap, and make wise men out of fools” (Cervantes 2003, 793). In his reply, Sancho ends with “… may God free
you from the evil intentions of enchanters, and take me from this governorship safe and sound, which I doubt, because according to how Dr. Pedro Recio treats me, I don’t think I’ll get away with more than my life” (Cervantes 2003, 797). Food deprivation continues to unnerve Sancho, and the duke and duchess and their accomplices stage an enemy attack that leaves him—caught powerless between two shields—hurt, ruffled, and utterly dispirited. With no space for vacillation, Sancho renounces the governorship, averring that he was born to be a farmer and that he will return to his modest, but safe, existence. As he began his journey to the palace, the islanders “embraced him, and he, weeping, embraced all of them, and he left them marveling not only at his words but at his decision, which was so resolute and intelligent” (Cervantes 2003, 809). Although the doctors and others urge Sancho to stay, they and their directors must know that the performance has to be temporary, for there is no island and no long-term set. Sancho, in contrast, trusts in the veracity of the governorship, and he acts, as his people note, stanchly and intelligently. He is, ironically, an estimable leader.

In an aside with a nod to history, Sancho runs into Ricote, his Morisco neighbor who had been exiled from Spain with his cohorts in 1609 and was now allowed to return. Ricote asks for Sancho’s help in recovering the treasure that he had left buried near the village. Sancho elects not to aid Ricote, but he wishes him well and goes on his way, only to fall into a deep and dark pit (cima), in which he and his donkey are trapped. The pit may be seen as analogous to the cave of Montesinos, and, fittingly, it is Don Quijote who hears Sancho’s cries and rescues him. Sancho explains his departure from the island to the duke and duchess in such a manner that, to Don Quijote’s relief, befitted his unpretentious character and unexpectedly sound judgment. The ducal pair applaud their theatrical feat, or joke at Sancho’s expense, which has given them much amusement. Literary history repeats itself in the Barataria sequence. Just as the effort at upward mobility fails in the picaresque tradition, the peasant Sancho Panza does not assume the role of count or otherwise. Forces beyond his control win out. The circumstances are far different, but the outcome is the same: a return to the status quo. The duke and duchess have used Sancho as a buffoon, but he has shown kindness, perspicacity, and discretion beyond what they—and Don Quijote—could have anticipated.

The dream of an ínsula fulfilled and left unfulfilled, Sancho will resume his duties as squire. The knight and the squire leave the castle en route to Zaragoza and new adventures. They come across men working on images of saints, whom Don Quijote compares with chivalric heroes. Sancho, spellbound by his master’s recital of knowledge, is thrilled that Don Quijote has been all talk and no action. Next, they meet a group of shepherds and shepherdesses who are constructing a “feigned” Arcadia modeled after pastoral romance. One shepherdess has read Part 1 of Cide Hamete Benengeli’s chronicle. The tranquility of the setting is disrupted by the arrival of a herd of bulls, which trample on the knight, the squire, and their trusty mounts. When they are safe, Don Quijote reminds Sancho of the many lashes that remain for the disenchantment of Dulcinea. The squire is not inclined to whip himself at that moment; he needs to get his battered and undernourished body in shape for the assignment.

From chapter 59 forward, the narrative takes a new direction. At an inn, two gentlemen show Don Quijote a copy of (the pseudonymous) Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda’s sequel to Cide Hamete’s chronicle. The consensus is that the continuation is false, illegitimate, with gross misrepresentations of Don Quijote and Sancho Panza. The “spurious sequel” determines much of the rest of the plot, and it animates Don Quijote to resist and to counterattack the hateful volume, filled with errors and misconceptions. First, he will cancel the plan to visit Zaragoza, since that city appears in the continuation. He will go to Barcelona instead, with a side trip to the countryside, where he meets the legendary criminal Roque Guinart and the jealous lover Claudia
Jerónima. Don Quijote is welcomed to Barcelona by Don Antonio Moreno, a friend of Roque, where he is regaled and mocked. Sancho indulges in quips and opinions, and he surprises his host with the story of his governorship. Don Antonio confides in Don Quijote the acquisition of an enchanted head, which, when consulted in the presence of the knight and squire, gives responses that could not be called daring. The talking head—obviously a contrivance, as fake as Maese Pedro’s soothsaying monkey—ventures little into the truth of Don Quijote’s account of his descent into the cave of Montesinos; it says that Sancho’s lashes will go slowly, and that Dulcinea eventually will be disenchanted. Regarding Sancho’s questions, the head states that his future governorship will be the governing of his household and that when he stops serving Don Quijote, he will no longer be a squire. Sancho objects that he himself could have made these prognostications. Don Quijote dances in the streets of Barcelona, finds—to his dismay and disapproval—a copy of the Avellaneda tome in a printing establishment, and witnesses the reunion of Ricote with his daughter Ana Félix at the harbor. Out of nowhere, the Knight of the White Moon (Sansón Carrasco, out for revenge) appears, challenges, and defeats Don Quijote, and sends him home for a year of retirement from chivalry. Sancho is grateful that his master was not injured in the battle, and Don Quijote vows to continue his chivalric mission when the year is up. Understandably depressed, Don Quijote departs from Barcelona, no longer wearing his armor, which is now carried by Sancho’s donkey. Sancho, turning philosophical, attempts to reassure him: “… the woman they call Fortune is drunken and fickle, and most of all blind, so she doesn’t see what she’s doing and doesn’t know who she’s throwing down or raising up” (Cervantes 2003, 893).

On the journey homeward, Don Quijote and Sancho review the course of chivalry that they have traversed, and they reach the meadow where the feigned Arcadia was being set up, Don Quijote contemplates an idyllic year in which the two could become the shepherds Quijotiz and Pancino, and they speak of their neighbors becoming part of the fold. Sancho is carried away (and worn out) by the mental exercise, and the two stop for the night. Don Quijote awakens his comrade from a sound sleep—a sign of hard-heartedness, he believes—to admonish Sancho to give himself some lashes. Sancho praises the benefits of slumber in a way that Don Quijote calls elegant. The calm is interrupted by swineherds who bring an unruly group of pigs to pound on Don Quijote and Sancho. Then a group of captors arrive and steal Don Quijote and Sancho to the estate of the duke and duchess. The highlight of the return is Altisidora’s account of a near-death experience, in which devils play a game like tennis but with copies of the Avellaneda book instead of balls. As the duke and duchess entertain themselves, Sancho must suffer an attack from courtly duennas who slap him and prick him with pins. Sancho is given some credit for Altisidora’s miraculous recovery, and he leaves the palace with gifts of gratitude, now as more of an observer of human nature than as a squire. Don Quijote has reminded him endlessly of the remaining lashes, but when Sancho starts to whip himself, Don Quijote feels the pain and tells Sancho that he need not rush to comply. As they near home, in chapter 72, they stop at an inn, where fortuitously they meet Don Álvaro Tarfe, a figure from the Avellaneda sequel, who certifies before a notary that those who stand before him are the “real” Don Quijote and Sancho Panza, and he renounces the false knight and squire. This is yet another superb stroke on the part of Cervantes at denouncing Avellaneda and his spiteful publication. When Don Quijote and Sancho reach their village, Sancho drops to his knees and asks that they be received, if not as full-fledged conquerors, as native sons. Don Quijote sees bad omens; Sancho looks to the bright side. They are received by their respectively families, and Don Quijote is eager to speak of his pastoral project, which the priest and Carrasco take as a new form of madness. The former knight
will be pampered by the women of his household, the former squire by his wife and daughter.

In the concluding chapter 74 comes Don Quijote’s—or Alonso Quijano the Good’s—enlightenment and his relentless renunciation of chivalry. His last will and testament forbids his niece from marrying a reader of chivalric romance if she wishes to claim her inheritance, and, in a final barb, Cervantes has Don Alonso beg the pardon of Avellaneda for giving him such meaty material for his absurd tome. When the doctor informs friends and family that the hidalgo is dying, they try to animate him. They are devastated by the news, for he was a benign and gracious man, whether mad or sane. A weeping Sancho tries to raise his master’s spirits by speaking of chivalric quests and pastoral romps in green pastures, but he is too late to change the course of events. Alonso Quijano the Good dies with his Christian faith intact. Sancho is grateful to receive a modest bequest from the disillusioned knight. The great majority of readers—if not all—will know that Sancho’s tears and sadness are genuine, and that they are the tears not of a servant but of a dear friend.

For 125 of the 126 chapters of the two parts of Don Quijote, the eponymous protagonist is firmly entrenched in his knightly fantasies, the by-product of excessive time spent in reading romances of chivalry. His brain, in effect, has dried up. His disillusionment comes in the blink of an eye, ex machina, and his repudiation of knight-errantry is as sudden as it is unequivocal. The characterization of Don Quijote is marked by consistency and by commitment to his mission, service to his lady, and absolute truth. He can see no gray areas, no relative truths. He is a satirical rendering of the knight-errant of romance and a metafictional reversal of the prototype, but he shares with Amadís de Gaula et al. a ready-made and seemingly inalterable persona. In multiple areas, picaresque narrative modifies the paradigms of fiction. At the end of a picaresque biography or autobiography, the protagonist is the sum of the parts to which the reader will have had access. The picaresque exemplifies social determinism before the concept has been fully articulated. Analogously, Sancho Panza at the end of Don Quijote is the sum of his parts. He has been affected by the interplay of his back-story and prior experiences with the chivalric exploits alongside Don Quijote. Sancho grows and changes, yet he is, from the beginning, consistently inconsistent, and thereby a figure of contrast to his master. The squire’s motivating force is the governorship of an island, and this drives him from his first appearance in the text to far after his tenure is completed. His performance as governor relates to the influence of the past on the present and to the factors that guide one’s decisions. These elements are necessarily complex and distinct, and the openness of Sancho’s characterization is a drawing card. The insula becomes Sancho’s center, the focal point of his motivation and the testing ground for his qualifications or lack thereof. He succeeds morally but not materially. He does not defeat the social barriers to upward mobility. Cervantes gives Sancho a massive presence in the narrative, as an interlocutor, a figure of contrast, and a virtuoso of physical and verbal humor. Sancho is marvelously unfiltered, indecorous, and intuitive. Cervantes creates a range of memorable set pieces around him: a lack of familiarity with the details of chivalry, a disjointed vocabulary, a love of proverbs, gluttony, resistance to the lashes, etc. Sancho learns, and Sancho teaches; he never bores, and he never takes a back seat, even when riding behind his master. He symbolizes movement and mutability. He is, sui generis, a version of the function within structuralist theory—the “character-function,” it could be termed—not predetermined as in the case of Don Quijote, but a literary creation and a growing organism, distinguishable from the actors in idealistic fiction and from his own master. With parallels to the picaresque protagonists, Sancho is a caso único. Both knight and squire are heroic antiheroes, cutting-edge yet classic in every regard. Don Quijote turns literary chivalry on its head. Sancho Panza proves, indisputably, that two can be better than
My consideration of the role of Sancho Panza in *Don Quijote* has been influenced over many years by many illustrious scholars. I would note “among others” with each entry here. For book-length studies of Sancho, see Flores and Urbina. On the development of Sancho within the narrative, see Aveleyra, Barbagallo, Bernaschina Schürmann, Cárdenas-Rotunno, Close, Duclos, Friedman 1995, Lorca, Ramírez Santacruz, Wagschal, Williamson 2007, and Worden 2003, 2005, and 2006. Willis looks at Sancho’s relation to the creation of the modern novel. For commentaries that focus on the palace episodes and the governorship, see Bell, Canavaggio, and Schmitz. Connor and Mancing examine Sancho from the lens of cognitive theory.

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