LABERINTO

An Electronic Journal
of Early Modern Hispanic
Literatures and Cultures

VOLUME 12
2019

LABERINTO JOURNAL 12 (2019)

Laberinto is sponsored by the Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies (ACMRS), affiliated with the Spanish Section at the School of International Letters and Cultures (SILC), Arizona State University, and published in Tempe, Arizona.
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Special Issue: Reinventing Don Quixote in Cultural Production

Table of contents

Articles

Reviews

"Do These Pants Make Me Look Fat?": The Burgeoning of Sancho's *Panza*

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Asking (or answering) the "Do these pants make me look fat?" question has never boded well, for anyone. And Sancho's size may not figure among the weightiest of the *Quijote*'s ambiguities. However, since this special issue seeks to disgorge the ways in which don Quijote has been re-(en)visioned over the last four hundred-plus years, to this end it may prove gainful to track the growth of his squire.[1] Sancho Panza is characteristically painted—whether verbally or pictorially—in opposition to his master.[2] However, in the first published images of don Quijote and Sancho it is no easy matter to get the measure of Sancho's breadth.[3] Whereas many have

[1] P. E. Russell explains this evolving perspective: "If one seeks to discover the cause of the change which came over readers' attitudes to *Don Quixote* at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and which subsists today, this, I suggest, will be found in the modern reader's ability (and desire) to identify with the knight and, perhaps, with Sancho Panza too" (323). For Rachel Schmidt, pictorial representations of the novel evolve accordingly: "The recirculation of certain sets of illustrations, both independently and in successive editions, from Gaspar Bouttats' burlesque to Gustave Doré's romantically sentimental ones, reflects market demand. For a variety of reasons, readers at certain times and places find certain images to be interesting, provocative, pleasurable, and sympathetic. Their taste, partially formed by the illustrations, also partially forms the illustrations by demanding through the publishing market images that respond to their own interests in the novel. The circulation of illustrations both creates and reinforces already existing interpretations" (12).

[2] For Ronald Paulson, "*Don Quixote* is constructed on a basic contrast, formal and thematic, between Quixote's long, attenuated, spiritualized (desiccated) body and Sancho's plump, undignified, and plebeian body; between Quixote's elevated discourse of chivalry and Sancho's demotic, proverbial discourse; and between Quixote's idealistic actions and their contrary physical consequences" (xii).

[3] I concur with Anthony Cárdenas-Rotunno, who wonders "whether earlier images have affected subsequent images, and whether textual descriptions of Sancho, beyond his obvious paunch, have influenced iconic depictions of him" (25; n. 1). I do not attempt said study. Instead, I seek to flesh out the analysis surrounding Sancho's paunch, weighing it over time, by way of textual descriptions—including

argued for "hard" vs. "soft" readings of the *Quijote*,[4] convention consistently assumes the softness of Sancho's gut. Yet Cide Hamete Benengeli's details remain remarkably thin. This essay will attempt to chart the height and weight of Sancho Panza, beginning with Cervantes's original reckoning and following up with a survey of subsequent textual and pictorial renditions of the squire's body, thereby adding to the bulk of Sancho's corpus through the study of his swelling corpulence.[5]

For some, that Sancho is short and fat is nothing short of a big, fat lie. Critics do not agree that the squire necessarily embodies either characteristic—or if he does, to what extent and what these features entail. Citing José Manuel Lucía Megías, Miriam Elies calls attention to bloopers contained in the first edition: "Puede que la más asombrosa sea la relativa a las curvas de Sancho Panza. Aunque todas las ilustraciones muestran al leal escudero del hidalgo como un hombre gordo, Cervantes nunca lo describió como tal."[6] On the other hand, Anthony Cárdenas-Rotunno acknowledges that Sancho is unequivocally "rotund" (9), but argues convincingly that Cervantes does not attach negative significance to Sancho's weight:

English translations—and images, to determine whether or how much its amplitude has increased.

[4] For example, see Russell, Daniel Eisenberg, Frans De Bruyn, and James Parr. Schmidt sums up: "Literary historians have traced a rather sketchy and broken history of *Don Quixote*'s reception, centred around two poles: Cervantes' contemporaries, who laughed heartily at what became the seventeenth-century equivalent of a best seller but failed to acknowledge any elevated literary qualities, and the German Romantics, who loudly proclaimed the madman to be a hero, a champion of the ideal, an individual alienated from a shallow world" (18).

[5] This study owes a substantial debt to José Manuel Lucía Megías and to Schmidt. The former's meticulous analysis of the early illustrators of the *Quijote* contains more than three hundred illustrations of the novel between Jacob Savery (1657) and Francis Hayman (1755). The latter painstakingly traces the canonization of the novel by means of its illustrations up through the nineteenth century.

[6] Accompanying Elies's account is a beguiling Getty image of a 21st-century Sancho Panza, part of a theatrical production performing aboard a train, who looms larger than life. In his left hand he holds an enormous loaf of bread; in his right, he gestures to his passenger audience:
www.lavanguardia.com/cultura/20160217/302237889421/curiosidades-el-quijote.html.

"Focusing on the terms *gordo*, *gordura*, and *rollizo* as they appear in the novel, we do not detect the disdain, derision, and negativism toward Don Quixote's fat squire that he might face in today's world" (25) and "no cacomorphobia is evident" (16).[7] For Francisco Rico, neither does Sancho possess stubby legs: "Cervantes no da ninguna otra descripción del escudero, ni en ningún lugar del *Quijote* se dice que Sancho sea paticorto, como siempre se le ha pintado" (87; n. 18). In I.9[8] Cide Hamete Benengeli's translator uses the term *largo* (87), which then as now denotes length rather than width: "comúnmente en castellano se toma por un espacio muy extendido, como campo largo, carrera larga y por toda cosa en esta manera prolongada, como la lanza larga, espada larga; y en el hombre ser largo de cuerpo […]" (Covarrubias 1169). If the illustration is verisimilar, Sancho's legs may well be thick, but not short.[9]

Other critics conflate Sancho's short, stout figure with that of his donkey: "There is a contrast not only in the two characters, the thin Don Quixote and the fat Sancho, but also between the skinny Rocinante and Sancho's corpulent donkey" (Ignacio Arellano 68-69).[10] Lest we consider this distortion as a byproduct of the present day, consider Juan Páez de Valenzuela's description of a 1615 masquerade performed in Córdoba, in which Sancho "tuvo por mejor partido caminar en una burra poco menos redonda con su preñado que él iba en ella, con serlo tanto como una bola" (qtd. in R. M. Flores 7).[11] While the symmetry between protagonist and sidekick and their respective mounts seems only natural, even archetypal, the next task is to determine to what extent it is Cervantine.

With regard to Sancho, the narrator provides the following familiar, concrete observations in I.7: "En este tiempo solicitó don Quijote a un labrador vecino suyo, hombre de bien […] pobre villano" (72). Rico glosses

[7] See "The Mirth of Girth: Don Quixote's Stout Squire" for a thorough examination of how Sancho's fatness fits (or does not fit) into fat studies. I will use the inquiry of fat studies below to study the question of Sancho's bloat over time.

[8] All references to the *Quijote* are taken from Rico's edition; I indicate the volume and chapter in the following way: I.9 is the ninth chapter of the first volume.

[9] Additional examination of the portrait of don Quijote, Sancho, and the Basque man will follow.

[10] Cárdenas-Rotunno also contends that, just as with Rocinante and don Quijote, Cervantes may deliberately link the body size of donkey and squire (14-15).

[11] This description originates with Juan Páez de Valenzuela y Castillejo; Flores cites Daniel Edward Quilter.

villano: "rústico, de baja condición social" (72; n. 15).[12] As a financial strategy, José Manuel Martín Morán applauds Sancho's decision to follow don Quijote: "Sus bienes raíces son escasos: tal vez posea unas parcelas de siembra […] que serían en cualquier caso insuficientes para el sustento de la familia, y de hecho ha de servir de jornalero a los labradores ricos de la zona y contentarse incluso con la comida solamente […]" (375).[13] The Panzas, then, may well face food insecurity.[14] Given this economic hardship, Sancho's sheer joy on finding the one hundred *escudos*, "tal golosina," in the Sierra Morena in I.23 is unsurprising: "dijo por bien empleados los vuelos de la manta, el vomitar del brebaje, las bendiciones de las estacas, y las puñadas de arriero, la falta de las alforjas, el robo del gabán, y toda el hambre, sed y cansancio que había pasado en servicio de su buen señor […]" (215-16). He has, as yet, been bestowed with no governorship, but there is at least minimal remuneration.

Robust biographical detail concerning Sancho is in short supply. The narrator categorizes him as intellectually slight or "de muy poca sal en la mollera" (72).[15] Sancho's simplicity in the shadow of don Quijote's erudition heightens the contrast between the two. On a good day, even the knight's friends and family are impressed by his intellectual prowess. As his niece

[12] Citing Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Rico goes on to distinguish between two uses of *escudero*, both to refer to the squire found in the books of chivalry (a young gentleman who intends to become knighted), and in the time of Cervantes, simply a servant who follows his master (72).

[13] Alternatively, Raymond S. Willis conceives of Sancho as "a man of substance and property, a little farm at least. Poor he may have been, but not destitute, witness his donkey, his well-filled saddle bags and wine skin, when he finally set out. Especially observe his corpulent figure: starving men don 't grow fat" (214). Note that Willis takes Sancho's weight for granted.

[14] On various occasions food functions as a currency in the novel. For example, the narrator pays the *Morisco* translator, according to Edith Grossman's conversions, in about fifty pounds of raisins and about three bushels of wheat (68; n. 7). Later, in II.50, Teresa and Sanchica give bacon and eggs to the duke's page for delivering Sancho's letter.

[15] Rico notes that Sancho embodies the long tradition of the wise foolish literary sidekick, traces of whom we see in the books of chivalry (72). Below we will attempt to determine what bearing, if any, this characterization has on Sancho's weight.

remarks in II.6, "si fuese menester en una necesidad podría subir en un púlpito e irse a predicar por esas calles […]" (590). On a bad day his madness is ever the more dismaying, such as in the Sierra Morena, where the barber and the priest, "aunque ya sabían la locura de don Quijote y el género de ella, siempre que le oían se admiraban de nuevo" (253; I.26). While the Licentiate Pero Pérez—who earned his degree from Sigüenza, a second-tier institution—may be no great wit, don Quijote's complex diagnosis also stumps the exceptional Salamancan degree candidate, don Lorenzo, who "oyéndole hablar don Quijote le tuvo por discreto y agudo" (680). At first the student vacillates in his weighty assessment of the knight's discourse: "Hasta ahora […] no os podré yo juzgar por loco" (682), but he ultimately asserts that don Quijote "es un entreverado loco, lleno de lúcidos intervalos" (684). The priest, don Quijote's friend, disparages Sancho, "admirado de su simplicidad y de ver cuan encadados tenía en la fantasía los mismos disparates que su amo," where he might instead empathize with the squire's credulity (293). Don Quijote employs those considerable powers of persuasion on Sancho in full force:

> En resolución, *tanto le dijo, tanto le persuadió y prometió*, que el pobre villano se determinó de salirse con él y servirle de escudero. Decíale *entre otras cosas* don Quijote que se dispusiese a ir con él de buena gana, porque tal vez le podía suceder aventura que ganase, en quítame allá esas pajas, alguna ínsula, y le dejase a él por gobernador de ella. *Con estas promesas y otras tales*, Sancho Panza, que así se llamaba el labrador, dejó su mujer e hijos. (72; emphasis added)

The un-monied and un-lettered Sancho, increasingly incentivized to reap the benefits of the promised *ínsula*, does not stand a chance.

This credulity originates not in youth, but in lack of preparation. He hasn't read the texts. Sancho's age is, in large measure, a matter of speculation. In II.22, in the washing of the beards incident, don Quijote angrily demands of the duke's servants that "[v]uesas mercedes dejen al *mancebo* y vuélvanse por donde vinieron […]" (804; emphasis added). Covarrubias reserves this term for "el mozo que esté en la edad que en latín llamamos *adulescens*" (1231). Similarly, don Quijote intimates to Sansón Carrasco in II.2 that Sancho needs to mature, grow into his governorship: "y mientras fuere entrando en edad Sancho, con la experiencia que dan los años,

estará más idóneo y más hábil para ser gobernador que no está ahora" (570). Sancho's protest, if childish, is well-founded: "Por Dios, señor […] la isla que yo no gobernase con los años que tengo no la gobernaré con los años de Matusalén" (570). *Mancebo*, as Covarrubias goes on to note, "díjose del nombre *mancipium*, porque aún se está debajo del poder de su padre, como si fuese esclavo; y así el derecho llama emancipar el darle libertad […]" (1231). In the present day, of course, *mancebo* can also refer simply to a servant or apprentice, and even Covarrubias's definition suggests the squire's role vis-à-vis his master. Later, attempting to appease his master and procure for himself a salary, a chastened Sancho appeals to his own *mocedad* in I.28: "Vuestra merced me perdone y se duela de mi *mocedad*, y advierta que sé poco" (771; emphasis added).[16] Rico glosses this term as lack of experience (771; n. 24). Either way, in the next breath Sancho contradicts his own youth and lack of experience by claiming to have served as squire for more than twenty years.

It may be useful to consider Sancho's age relative to that of other characters in the novel. In II.5 Teresa reminds her husband that their son, Sanchico, is fifteen and that their daughter, Mari Sancha, is fourteen.[17] Moreover, she reveals that María has begun to express interest in marriage: "va dando barruntos que desea tanto tener marido como vos deseáis veros con gobierno" (583). While Sancho would have her marry a count, Teresa has set her eye on Lope Tocho, a suitable prospect from the village: "[C]on este, que es nuestro igual, estará bien casada" (584). Teresa Panza is of hardy stock. If she had married Sancho at a similar age, adding in time for an engagement, marriage, and pregnancy, she would likely have become a mother by the age of sixteen, which would make her about thirty-one. Regarding don Quijote, the narrator famously states from the beginning: "Frisaba la edad de nuestro hidalgo con los cincuenta años" (28). The present critic would argue that fifty falls comfortably into the brackets of middle age. Nevertheless, as Rico explains, "en una sociedad cuya esperanza de vida apenas llegaba a los treinta años, don Quijote era un anciano (28; n. 18). It is evident, regardless, that don Quijote is older than his squire. When discussing

[16] For this reference to *mocedad* I am indebted to Flores (192).

[17] There is a bit of a discrepancy. In II.13 Sancho tells Cecial Tomé, who plays the role of the squire to the Caballero del Bosque, that the Panzas have a fifteen-year-old daughter.

his own propensity to govern his potential vassals, Sancho tells the duke in II.33: "Eso de gobernarlos bien […] no hay para qué encargármelo, porque yo soy caritativo de mío y tengo compasión de los pobres, y a quien cuece y amasa, no le hurtes hogaza; y para mi santiguada que no me han de echar dado falso; *soy perro viejo y entiendo todo tus, tus* […]" (809; emphasis added).[18] As Rico indicates, all of these expressions suggest that Sancho, despite his rookie status as a governor, is no babe in the woods (809-10; ns. 23-26).

Sancho indicates straight away, in I.7, that his donkey will accompany him in his travels: "asimismo pensaba llevar un asno que tenía muy bueno, porque él no estaba duecho a andar mucho a pie" (73). Sancho's intention is wholly reasonable, but how do we account for his adamance? If not advanced age, what is it that would cause Sancho to have difficulty walking? Laziness? Lack of physical fitness? Below-average height? The first description of the squire in action reveals nothing more than the following: "Iba Sancho Panza sobre su jumento como un patriarca, con sus alforjas y su bota, y con mucho deseo de verse ya gobernador de la ínsula que su amo le había prometido" (73).[19]

Our best source of information about Sancho's physique comes in I.9, in the drawings purchased by the narrator at the Toledan market: "Y debía de ser que tenía, a lo que mostraba la pintura, *la barriga grande, el talle corto y las zancas largas*, y por esto se le debió de poner nombre de 'Panza" y de 'Zancas,' que con estos dos sobrenombres le llama algunas veces la historia" (87; emphasis added). At the very least Sancho is overweight. He is also short. However, as we have seen, the narrator specifies that he is short-waisted, rather than short-legged. Although he exaggerates the prevalence of the *Zancas* nickname, which appears nowhere else in the text, the narrator insistently vouches for the artistic quality of the drawings: "Estaba en el primero cartapacio pintada muy al natural la batalla de don Quijote con el vizcaíno" (87).

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[18] This reference to Sancho's charity will be additionally important further on, as we ascertain to what extent he may be considered a glutton.

[19] Pat Rogers concurs that Sancho's figure is slow to take shape: "Sancho only gradually emerges as the short and squat figure we associate with his character" (30-31). Likewise, for Cárdenas-Rotunno: "Given that most literary critics and artists consider fatness as essential to the character of Sancho, it is notable that Cervantes's approach to and description of the squire exclude this condition" (12-13).

However, even here we learn more about Rocinante and the hired mule than we do about the stature of their respective riders. The mule is a lemon: "y la mula del vizcaíno tan al vivo, que estaba mostrando ser de alquiler a tiro de ballesta" (87) and Rocinante is emaciated: "estaba Rocinante maravillosamente pintado, tan largo y tendido, tan atenuado y flaco, con tanto espinazo, tan hético confirmado, que mostraba bien al descubierto con cuánta advertencia y propiedad se le había puesto el nombre de 'Rocinante'" (87). Of the donkey we are only told that the illustration depicts Sancho holding him by the halter. Description of the donkey is only scarcely more fleshed out elsewhere in the text. For example, in II.13 Sancho clarifies to Tomé Cecial: "Verdad es que no tengo rocín, pero tengo un asno que vale dos veces más que el caballo de mi amo […]. A burla tendrá vuesa merced el valor de mi rucio; que rucio es el color de mi jumento" (639). Faint praise indeed. With regard to the donkey's body, we learn even less. Sancho assiduously tends to his donkey's needs.[20] In II. 9 he instructs his wife to double the donkey's fare over the next three days, so that he will have enough strength for a second sally, but three days of extra rations, an extravagance which the Panzas can likely ill afford, should not cause the donkey to bulk up excessively. After the disastrous end of his governorship, the squire touchingly elegizes the donkey in II.53: "cuando yo me avenía con vos y no tenía otros pensamientos que los que me daban los cuidados de remendar vuestros aparejos y de sustentar vuestro *corpuezuelo*, dichosas eran mis horas, mis días y mis años" (956; emphasis added). While Sancho's use of the diminutive may, of course, simply express his obvious affection for the animal, it also stands to reason that the donkey is not exceptionally large.

While textual evidence definitively dispels the notion of Sancho's fat ass, of his arse we have considerably more to weigh. On two occasions the narrator calls attention to the enormity of Sancho's buttocks. In I.20, preceding the adventure with the fulling hammers, Sancho "echó al aire entrambas posaderas, que no eran muy pequeñas" (181). Later, in II.35, the duke's servants, respectively playing the parts of Merlin and the enchanted Dulcinea, accuse Sancho of having "valientes posaderas" (824) and

[20] See Flores's massive appendices of Sancho-related passages in the novel; Appendix 5 contains a listing of passages documenting Sancho's love for his donkey, pp. 178-79.

"carnazas" (826). These buttocks add weight to the depiction of Sancho's prominent belly. Covarrubias elaborates on the origin of Sancho's surname: "Pança. Vocablo antiguo español, vale tanto como barriga o vientre que está lleno y levantado; puede ser de *pandus, a, um*, cosa corva, como lo es la barriga grande" (1341). Critics have made much of Sancho's *panza*, connecting him to the carnivalesque.[21] Gandalín, squire to Amadís de Gaula, purports to begrudge Sancho, albeit tongue in cheek: "Envidio a tu jumento y a tu nombre, / y a tus alforjas igualmente envidio, / que muestran tu cuerda providencia" (20). It is possible that Gandalín envies the squire's Christian name, which as Covarrubias explains, harkens back to the Castilian monarchs (1427). Covarrubias also documents two proverbs, neither of which refer explicitly to don Quijote's squire, but both of which nevertheless invoke him for readers in the present day: "Al buen callar llaman Sancho" (associated with the word *santo*, thereby reminding us of don Quijote's continual reminders that Sancho talks too much)[22] and "Allá va Sancho con su rocino," which, in Covarrubias' gloss, brings to mind Sancho's singular devotion to his donkey: "[D]icen que este era un hombre gracioso que tenía una haca, y dondequiera que entraba la metía consigo; usamos deste proverbio cuando dos amigos andan siempre juntos" (1427). However, more than likely, Gandalín instead purports to covet Sancho's surname, given that the sonnet associates Sancho and his belly with the saddlebags.

Conventional wisdom suggests that, given Sancho's legendary appetite, coupled with his evident aversion to physical exertion, he must be fat. References to Sancho's consumption abound in both volumes. It is easy to picture the hungry Sancho pining for the goat meat simmering in the herders' cauldron in I.11; or the Sancho of I.23 entering the Sierra Morena who "Ni [...] llevaba otro cuidado […] sino de satisfacer su estómago con los relieves que del despojo clerical habían quedado, y, así, iba […] sacando de un costal y embaulando en su panza" (212); and the Sancho of II.16 who injudiciously fills his master's helmet with curds; and most especially, the delighted Sancho at Camacho's wedding. In II.35 the duke's servant, playing

[21] For just two examples, see Howard Mancing, p. 651 and Arellano, pp. 68-69. W. S. Hendrix notes that for Menéndez Pelayo and Rodríguez Marín, Sancho's surname references the fiesta de Panza" (488).

[22] For additional commentary on this proverb, see the "Al buen callar llaman Sancho" entry in the Centro Virtual Cervantes "Refranero multilingüe."

the part of the enchanted Dulcinea, censures Sancho: "bestión indómito […] saca de harón ese brío, que a sólo comer y más comer te inclina" (826). But right behind this Sancho is the hungry Sancho who goes without. [23]

The attempt to control one's own or another's eating inevitably leads to increased focus on—and desire for—food. The narrative dedicates a hefty amount of space to Sancho's food intake at the *ínsula*. For the sake of entertainment, though ostensibly in the name of health and because "los manjares pocos y delicados avivaban el genio" (938), Dr. Pedro Recio de Agüero exerts stringent control of Sancho's eating that to the present-day reader presages television shows such as *The Biggest Loser*.[24] For Sancho, the doctor deems the fruit too damp, the veal too marinated, another dish too spicy, and so forth. Surely the three hens and two geese paradisaically ingested at Camacho's wedding are subsequently offset by the stringent conditions imposed during the governorship of Barataria, which lead Sancho in II.51 to lament in his letter to don Quijote: "tengo más hambre que cuando andábamos los dos por las selvas y por los despoblados" (943). During the governorship Sancho himself associates hunger with gutlessness: "en efecto, no puedo pasar sin comer, y si es que hemos de estar prontos para estas batallas que nos amenazan, menester será estar bien mantenidos, porque tripas llevan corazón y no corazón tripas" (II.47; 904). And given Sancho's timorousness throughout the novel, the notion may possibly bear some weight.

In II.53 Sancho leaves the *ínsula* to rejoin his master, packing only enough for the short journey, food that in the next chapter he immediately relinquishes as alms to a group of pilgrims, even before he recognizes among them his former neighbor Ricote: "y como él, según dice Cide Hamete Benengeli, era caritativo además, sacó de sus alforjas medio pan y medio queso, de que venía proveído" (960). Cárdenas-Rotunno notes that, despite

[23] Cárdenas-Rotunno emphasizes that Sancho's food intake is not excessive: "A search in the novel for Sancho eating to surfeit yields nothing […]. Satiating hunger, which is what Sancho does, is not gluttony" (12).

[24] As Maud Ellmann argues: "Because fat has burgeoned, rather than diminished, in response to this discursive explosion, it would seem logical to cut back on the diatribes. But that would endanger the vast economic interests invested in the war on fat, putting an army of dieticians, personal trainers, liposuctionists, stomach-staplers and talk-show pundits out of work" (59).

his master's occasional aspersions, Sancho does not commit the cardinal sin of gluttony (12). In the early modern period, as Ken Albala explains, gluttons were often depicted as fat, but being fat was not a sin. Beyond excessive eating, gluttony implied greed, eating in excess while others did without (170). Sancho, then, is no glutton.

As we have seen, based on the drawing in I.9, the narrator ascertains that the squire has "la barriga grande, el talle corto y las zancas largas […]" (87). Thomas Shelton's contemporary rendering—the novel's first ever translation, published in 1612—erroneously endows Sancho with "a great belly, a short stature, and thick legs."[25] On the surface it seems plausible to attribute both Sancho's weight gain and his shortness directly to Shelton. While "great belly" may not be more voluminous than "barriga grande," it is nevertheless bolstered by the suggestion that Sancho's legs are also fat. English and Spanish readers alike have successively viewed the *Quijote* through humorous, satirical, romantic, and other lenses. Beginning with Shelton's 1612 translation, don Quijote leaves his mark on English letters.[26] As Susan Staves asserts: "No national literature assimilated the idea of *Don Quixote* more thoroughly than the English" (193). Shelton's translation, which enjoyed numerous reprints during the second half of the seventeenth

[25] Cárdenas-Rotunno analyzes the ways in which Sancho's fatness (but not his height) is configured in the English translations of Thomas Shelton (1612 and 1620), John Ormsby (1885), Edith Grossman (2003), and Thomas Lathrop (2007). Further discussion of English translations and their significance to Sancho's weight gain will be undertaken below.

[26] In fact, as Russell notes: "*Quixote* criticism in England starts, albeit in the form of deeds not words, in 1605 itself, when an English bookseller whom Sir Thomas Bodley had sent to Spain to buy books for him included the First Part among his purchases. It was put on the shelves of the Bodleian Library that same year" (314). Paulson documents a series of English firsts: "England took to *Don Quixote*, producing the first complete translation into another language (Shelton's in 1612), the first foreign reference to Quixote (George Wilkins 1606), the first critical edition of the Spanish text (Lord Carteret's, 1738), the first published commentary (John Bowle's, 1781), and the first biography and 'portrait' of Cervantes in the Carteret edition)" (ix). See also Schmidt; Alexander Welsh; Lucía Megías; José Manuel Barrio Marco and María José Crespo Allué, eds., *La huella de Cervantes y del Quijote en la cultura anglosajona*; and J. A. G. Ardila, ed., *The Cervantean Heritage: Reception and Influence of Cervantes in Britain*.

and the first half of the eighteenth centuries, remained influential for subsequent translations into English (Rutherford, "Brevísima" 483). It is easy for the reader of the present day to critique the numerous errors contained in Shelton's translation. However, Rutherford rightfully reminds us that "a principios del XVII Shelton disponía de muy pocos diccionarios, y que éstos eran rudimentarios y deficientes" ("Brevísima" 483). Weight gain, then, whether physical, literary, or pictorial, represents a complicated phenomenon. Further studies are needed.

In any event, in Peter Motteux's translation (c. 1700), which rectifies some of these misconceptions regarding Sancho's height, the squire is: "thick and short, paunch-bellied, and long-haunched" (I: 56).[27] Interesting is the choice of "long-haunched," given that the haunch and the shank respectively denote the upper and lower portions of the leg. A close reading of the English translations reveals no progressive weight gain for Sancho over time.[28] For Smollett (1755), he is "a person of a short stature, swag belly, and long spindleshanks" (100).[29] This trend—specific reference to long shanks and a sizeable belly—remains generally consistent in the translations from here onward, though Raffel (1999) uses "long legs" (52).

Aside from the drawing found in the sheaf of papers purchased in Toledo by the narrator, the most substantial reference to Sancho's physique is contained in II.45: "El traje, las barbas, *la gordura y la pequeñez* del nuevo gobernador tenía admirada a toda la gente" (888; emphasis added).[30] Shelton

[27] For discussion of Motteux's translation, see Rutherford "Brevísima," pp. 484-85; Paulson, p. x; and Barbara Alvarez and Justin Joque.

[28] For this study I have consulted the English translations of Robinson Smith (1910), J. M. Cohen (1950), Walter Starkie (1954), Edith Grossman (2003), James H. Montgomery (2006), and Thomas A. Lathrop (2015), in addition to the translations cited below. For a chronology and analysis of the English translations, see Alvarez and Joque.

[29] Rogers notes that Smollett reproduces the apposition of thin knight and fat squire in *Sir Launcelot Greaves* (1760-62). As Smollett describes Crabshaw: "His stature was below the middle size; he was thick, squat and brawny with a prominent belly" (qtd. in Rogers 31).

[30] The narrator again references Sancho's infamous belly in II.49: "él se las tenía tiesas a todos, maguera tonto, bronco y rollizo" (917). Further evidence that Sancho is short appears in II:53: "Y al momento le trujeron dos paveses, que venían proveídos de ellos, y le pusieron encima de la camisa, sin dejarle tomar otro vestido,

(1620) refers to the "shortness" and "fatness" of the new governor; Motteux, the "short and thick shape" (II: 285); Smollett, the "corpulency, and diminutive stature" (875); Ormsby, "the fat, squat figure" (670); Watts, "the plumpness and smallness" (328); Raffel, Sancho's "girth, and how very short he was" (594); Rutherford, the "corpulence and shortness" (*Ingenious Hidalgo* 786). Other translations feature variations on the above.[31] While fascinating from the perspective of translation studies, these differences do not account for the theoretical thickening of Sancho's middle.

To what, then, may we attribute Sancho's growing waistline? Genetic factors naturally play a role. For W. S. Hendrix the comic type, one of Sancho's progenitors, is identifiable "by his crass stupidity, his credulity, his superstition, his constant desire to satisfy his animal appetite, especially eating, drinking, and sleeping, his dialectic pronunciation of words, his repetition of silly nonsensical sayings (*necedades*), his cowardice, and his familiarity with his superiors" (489).[32] This description fits Sancho to a T. However, even while genetics may predispose one to a given condition, both environmental factors and human behavior contribute heavily.

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un pavés delante y otro detrás, y por unas concavidades que traían hechas le sacaron los brazos, y le liaron muy bien con unos cordeles, de modo que quedó emparedado y entablado, derecho como un huso, sin poder doblar las rodillas ni menearse un solo paso" (954). But this does not give us a lot to go on. Rico notes that "paveses" are "escudos grandes, que cubrían todo el cuerpo" (954; n. 12). In Covarrubias's definition: "Pavés. Especie de escudo largo que ocultaba todo el cuerpo del soldado y recibía en él los golpes de los enemigos […]. En Castilla se usaron los paveses hasta los tiempos de nuestros abuelos, y hoy día en las casas de los hidalgos se conservan y se guardan" (1350). While the *pavés* (presumably "one size fits most") is designed to cover the whole body, the soldier would certainly need to be able to walk while carrying it. Sancho's feet barely stick out from the bottom.

[31] The Cervantes & Co. edition of Lathrop's translation features Jack Davis's comical, cartoon illustration of this illustration, in which a de-emphasized (unshaded and relegated to the background) and round-bellied Sancho and his donkey look on in astonishment, p. 67. This image is indexed in the digital archive on the *Proyecto Cervantes* site, Urbina, ed., under the "Imágenes" and "Iconografía del *Quijote*" tabs: www.cervantes.dh.tamu.edu/dqiDisplayInterface/displayMidImage.jsp?edition=499&image=2005NewarkCuesta-006.jpg.

[32] Hendrix distinguishes two sorts of comic fool, "stupid" and "clever," p. 489. Sancho inherits the traits of the former.

Moreover, it is not always possible to determine causation. In II.43, on the eve of Sancho's governorship, don Quijote abrades him simultaneously for a cluster of undesired behaviors: "Dios te guíe, Sancho, y te gobierne en tu gobierno, y a mí me saque del escrúpulo que me queda que has de dar con toda la ínsula patas arriba, cosa que pudiera yo excusar con descubrir al duque quién eres, diciéndole que toda esa gordura y esa personilla que tienes no es otra cosa que un costal lleno de refranes y de malicias" (876). Corteguera similarly links Sancho's "belly" with his "incurable peasant's taste for proverbs" (267). [33] His overeating and his overuse of colloquial expressions evidence the selfsame affliction. Conversely, Maud Ellmann associates wordiness with hunger, in both literary and historical figures who have undergone self-starvation: "The less these starvers ate, the more they seemed to write, as if writing were an art of discarnation" (58).[34] If hunger inspires verbosity, it is no wonder that don Quijote so frequently feels the need to admonish Sancho to reduce his consumption of proverbs. In any case, Sancho arguably gets a full makeover to assume his new administrative responsibilities. He dons the gubernatorial regalia, rides in on a mule, and sharply curtails his food intake. However, like most dietary regimens, Pedro Recio's will ultimately fail. Most dieters regain the weight.

Kathleen LeBesco and Jana Evans Braziel remind us that "corpulence is historically, culturally, and economically constructed" (7).[35] Changing attitudes towards fatness participate heavily in the re(en)visioning of Sancho. In the discourse of the twenty-first century, obesity is firmly couched in discussions of health: "The writers assume the same objectivist positions prevalent in the writing from the biomedical field that they champion. In so doing, they, like the researchers, assert their right to gaze upon, monitor, and judge the body of the fat person, even as their own bodily presence remains invisible and unseen by any critical gaze" (Elena Levy-

[33] Constitutionally, Sancho is unfit for high office. At the most, as a peasant, he might aspire to a village leadership position such as *alcalde* or *regidor* (Corteguera 264).
[34] She explicitly relates the wordiness of Proust to the waistline of his character, Baron de Charlus, and the span of *War and Peace* to its outcome, in which "the fat hero, Pierre Bezukhov, ultimately wins the girl" (64).
[35] Rogers's example is apropos here: "More and more positives come to accrue to thinness: consider the tall and excessively thin Sherlock Holmes, who would have been a joke in Smollett. Some of the modern prejudices have begun to crystalize" (35).

Navarro, *The Culture of Obesity* 13). Christopher E. Forth and Ana Carden-Coyne note that: "[I]nsofar as health and well-being are often conceptualized through moral frameworks, personal character, too seems jeopardized by poor diet and faulty habits" (1).[36] For Levy-Navarro, "the early modern period is useful because it helps us interrogate our assumption that we are simply being objective when we think in terms of 'health'" (*The Culture of Obesity* 28).[37] Ellmann concurs: "The deadly sins of greed, gluttony and sloth, once condemned as inimical to righteousness, are now reviled as injurious to health. In Anglo-American mass-culture, the doctor has usurped the role of the priest, replacing threats of fire and brimstone with those of heart-disease and diabetes" (59). To be sure, time—and with it, the pathologizing discourse of fat—marches on; both health and gluttony have presently been compounded: "[R]esearchers in Italy have proposed a way to measure the ecological impact of global food wastage due to excessive consumption. First, they estimated the net excess bodyweight of each country's population—based on BMI and height data—and distributed its energy content among food groups according to national availability" (Matthew Prior).[38] Since Sancho Panza is neither gluttonous, nor in poor health, nor ecologically destructive, how did we get from there to here?

Albala notes that though Hippocrates and Galen write about obesity, medieval and early modern medical writers leave the topic largely untouched (169).[39] This relative lack of interest continues until the early seventeenth century, when French physician Gaspard Bachot's *Erreurs populaires touchant*

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[36] While acknowledging that fat studies offers a valuable tool, Cárdenas-Rotunno maintains that "today's viewers, as well as today's artists, often perceive Sancho's depictions through a modern lens, and thus not see or understand the Sancho of his time […]. The prescriptivism of Fat Studies probably hinders a literary examination of what girth meant to Cervantes" (9).

[37] See Levy-Navarro's *The Culture of Obesity* for a comprehensive examination of fat characters in early modern England.

[38] Citing Mauro Serafini, lead author of a 2019 *Frontiers in Nutrition* study, Matthew Prior goes on to note that overeating accounts for an estimated 140 billion tons of annual food waste, compared to about 1.3 billion tons of direct food waste.

[39] Abala provides detailed discussion of fat in Europe from the medieval period through the eighteenth century. See also Lucia Dacome's analysis of the increasing instances, shifting views of, and proposed remedies for corpulence in eighteenth-century English medical writings.

la medicine et regime de santé (1626) prescribes avoiding exercise and study, eating rich and fatty foods, drinking, and more sleep *for those who wish to gain weight* (Albala 172; emphasis added). As we have seen, Bachot's proposed methods sharply diverge from Sancho's lifestyle. German physician Johann Friedrich Held's 1670 dissertation helpfully provides a specific guideline for determining obesity, which he defines as a waistline of thirty-six inches (Albala 175). This concrete detail, which does not reflect present-day standards, at best provides a nebulous point of reference with which to compare—to the extent that one can in an engraving or a painting—Sancho's height and weight.

Levy-Navarro argues that "fat is involved with a number of the institutional changes that come with modernity itself: the growth of the (British) Empire, the rise of the nation-state, industrialization, the rise of consumer capitalism, to name just a few" ("Introduction" 2). Around this time, we get our first look at Sancho in *El capitán de carnaval*, an engraving published in Leipzig in 1614. In this depiction of a parade celebrated in Dessau appear (all labeled) a dwarf riding a pony; the priest carrying a model of a windmill; the barber carrying a large barrel; a homely "La Sin par Dulcinea del Toboso;" "El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha, Caballero de la triste figura," lance and shield in hand, mounted on Rocinante; "Sancho Panza Scudiero," also bearing a lance and shield, mounted on his donkey; and "La Linda Maritornes," whose rendition is slightly more flattering than that of Dulcinea.[40] While the donkey is immediately recognizable as such, the other figures have need of their labels. Especially worthy of note, though their clothing is different, is the minimal contrast between the squire and his master; it is impossible to discern to what extent Sancho may meet Held's qualification for obesity—or even whether he is significantly fatter than his master. Since then, in the words of Schmidt, "Don Quixote and Sancho Panza have undergone the curious transformation from characters in a novel to visual icons to an extent unparalleled in the history of Western literature" (xiii). The present study will look at a handful of early illustrations by Jacob Savery (1657), Charles Antoine Coypel (1731), John Vanderbank and William Hogarth (1738), and

[40] See A. G. Lo Ré, pp. 98-100; Andreas Bretschneider's illustration also appears in Lucía Megías, p. 38.

Francis Hayman (1755).[41] Soon thereafter the sheer number becomes unmanageable. As of 30 August 2019, the *Proyecto Cervantes* catalogues 54,408 illustrations from 1,128 editions of the novel ranging from Savery's up until those of Jack Davis, published in 2012 (Urbina). Merely viewing those images in their entirety seems a Sisyphean task (to say nothing of analyzing them), leaving aside the veritably infinite sea of depictions of don Quijote and Sancho, as well as images inspired by them.

The first illustrated *Quijote* originated in Dordrecht, Holland in 1657. This Dutch translation, which featured twenty-four illustrations and two frontispieces by Jacob Savery, changed the face of the novel's publication: "A partir de su difusión, será impensable una edición del *Quijote* sin estampas. Habrá que esperar al siglo XIX […] para aparecer de nuevo ediciones sin ilustraciones" (Lucía Megías 41). Five years later, sixteen of Savery's images are reused in an edition printed in Brussels by Jan Mommaert; then, in 1672-1673, Hieronymus and Johannes Baptista Verdussen of Antwerp print an edition that includes the two frontispieces and thirty-two engravings, sixteen from the 1662 edition along with sixteen new ones engraved by Frederik Bouttats (Geoff West).[42] Savery's illustration of Sancho's blanketing differentiates more sharply between don Quijote and his squire than does Bretschneider's (Lo Ré 100). The knight is seen behind a wall, mounted on Rocinante, visible from the head up. Bearing in mind the limits of ascertaining clear information with regard to body type from these seventeenth-century engravings, Sancho, whose form is rounded,[43] appears fatter here than in the *El capitán de carnaval*.

[41] Like Vanderbank, Hogarth was commissioned to create illustrations for the Tonson edition of 1738. Lucía Megías discusses at length possible reasons that Vanderbank's were chosen over Hogarth's (225-40). Schmidt goes on to consider the nineteenth-century illustrations of Robert Smirke (1812), Tony Johannot (1836), and Gustave Doré (1863).

[42] Lucía Megías elucidates the interconnectedness of the woodcuts appearing in early European illustrated editions of the *Quijote* in the Netherlands, Italy, France, Germany and England between 1657 and 1700 (55).

[43] West's blog includes this illustration as well as one each from the Brussels (1662) and the Antwerp (1672-1673) editions. They can also be found in Urbina (*Proyecto Cervantes*).

Perhaps unsurprisingly, in the seventeenth century fatness bore a certain social prestige, leading Held's compatriot, physician Karl Christian Leisner, to caution in 1683 against the dangers posed by obesity, counteracting the ideal, common among the peasantry, that fat was desirable (Albala 177). Conversely, however, less than fifty years later, fatness comes to be esteemed among British gentlemen. Like Leisner, Thomas Short warns of the dangers inherent to obesity, despite its fashionable appeal (Albala 179). As Pat Rogers notes:

> Clearly at the start of the eighteenth century fat could still be viewed as a sign of health, or sometimes of well-being generally […]. It took a long time for the psychological and social assumptions surrounding body shape to change, and at first it was only the upper orders who consented to the change. They were sophisticated enough to have grasped that a heavy cargo of flesh could be no sure indication of good health, and rich enough to have to demonstrate to the world that they were all well fed. (32-33)

Short's *A Discourse Concerning the Causes and Effects of Corpulency together with the Method for its Prevention and Cure* (1727) offers a series of remedies, such as "choosing to live in a clear, serene air, using exercise and labor, following a moderate and spare diet, and dedicating oneself to 'all those Things which promote insensible Perspiration' such as 'the Use of Flannel Shirts,' cold baths, 'friction with a Flesh-Brush, Hair or hard Cloth,' 'Gentle Evacuations,' and the 'Smoking of Tobacco'" (Lucia Dacome 187). While it may not be of his choosing, Sancho nonetheless adheres to many of Short's prescriptions. To be sure, the requisite perspiration results more from his labors under the open sky; his evacuations are not at all gentle; and—despite the Cuban cigar that would later bear his name—Sancho is not a smoker.

Around the same time as Short, fellow English physician George Cheyne writes about his own prodigious weight loss—of more than two hundred pounds, achieved by adopting a vegetarian diet—in *The English Malady* (1733) (Dacome 190). Cheyne, whose weight fluctuated widely, equates weight loss with virtuous behavior: "Associating the 'putrefying and cadaverous' state of his overgrown body with his addiction to excess, he

evoked a state of alimentary innocence and purity" (Dacome 189).[44] Interestingly in terms of the *Quijote*, Cheyne additionally posits corpulence as a mental disorder, suffered by the wealthy gentleman (189). Dr. Recio's enforced abstinence and Sancho's concurrent governing capabilities notwithstanding, don Quijote's squire does not fit into this paradigm, either. By the eighteenth century, like nowadays, literature on nutrition and weight loss was contradictory, extreme, and wrong-headed, perhaps culminating in Malcolm Flemying's recommendation to ingest soap (Albala 180).[45] This remedy falls easily into Sancho's purview: "In so far as the quality of soap was concerned, Flemyng preferred the Spanish soap from Alicant. But Castille soap could do. And Flemyng recommended a course of at least three months based on the daily ingestion of no more than four drachms of soap" (Dacome 188). Fortunately, however, Sancho's use of soap does not extend beyond the washing of his beard at the sumptuous palace of the duke and duchess.

Court painter Charles-Antoine Coypel designed twenty-eight don Quijote tapestries for the Gobelins Manufactory between 1714 and 1751. These images were immensely popular, and they circulated in their own right. Schmidt perceives Coypel's cartoons as a sort of intermediary. Like Bouttats, Coypel is interested in the *Quijote*'s burlesque elements. However:

> The artist paid much attention to the episodes that took place among spectacle and luxury, such as Camacho's wedding and the adventures in the palace of the Duke and Duchess. In addition to his depiction of elegant courtiers and courtesans, he endowed peasant girls with round, sweet faces, simple elegant dresses with low-cut bodices revealing perfect shoulders, and tresses falling in gentle curls or neat coils. Flourishes of drapery, plumage, or clothing are often echoed in swirls of clouds or foliage […]. (38)

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[44] Dacome notes that the fat physician became prevalent enough to become a type: "[giving] rise to the image of the physician who was too corpulent to walk and check patients" (189).

[45] As Dacome explains: "[Flemyng] maintained that corpulence consisted in an accumulation of fat rather than of blood. As such, it could be cured by soap […]. As much as it helped to eliminate oil and fat from clothes […] it could also wash away the unnecessary fat of the body" (188).

Indeed, Coypel's tapestry, *L'Entrée de Sancho dans l'Ille de Barataria*, depicts a fat Sancho in a gold robe and an elaborate plumed cap, borne in not by a mule, but on the shoulders of two of the Baratarians themselves. The black and white print of Coypel's *Memorable Jugement de Sancho* depicts Sancho's second case as judge, regarding the old men and the lent ten gold *escudos* from II.45. Sancho is seated on a throne, with the plaintiff and the defendant before him. Here his shortness seems to be highlighted, but the viewer has difficulty ascertaining his weight, given the flowing judicial robes.

Tonson published the first English illustrated edition, patronized by Lord Carteret and illustrated by John Vanderbank, in London in 1738. The Tonson edition is instrumental in the transformation of the *Quijote* from a popular work into a classical one (Schmidt 47).[46] The artist has been faulted for drawing don Quijote and Sancho in the English countryside in English dress (Paulson xi). However, Schmidt observes that Vanderbank's illustrations are quite faithful to specific and identifiable passages from the text, and that in them the viewer can discern hints of the Romantic reading of the novel and of present-day psychological readings of don Quijote and Sancho (83). For the purposes of this study, Vanderbank's figuring of Sancho seems appreciably larger than Coypel's. For example, in *Don Quixote Asks the Galley Slaves about their Crimes*, which depicts the incident from I.22, Sancho is significantly fatter and shorter—and additionally, more childlike—than the prisoners. The latter, long and muscular, further underscore the size differential between Sancho and don Quijote, who—even wearing armor—is considerably narrower than they. Impressionistically, at least, in Vanderbank's illustration of Sancho deciding the case of the alleged rape by the swineherd from II.45, the squire's breadth and lack of height are simultaneously emphasized. As in Coypel's illustration of a similar scene, Sancho is richly dressed in robes and a plumed cap. However, his robes hang open in front, revealing strained buttons on the waistcoat beneath. His shanks seem lengthened, yet his short stature is preserved. The figures standing around the dais, where Sancho rises from his throne, appear thin and elongated in comparison.

Although Hogarth's six illustrations did not appear in the Tonson edition, they nevertheless circulated widely. Hogarth's Sancho, like

[46] Lucía Megías, too, considers the Tonson edition to be a game-changer in boosting the spread of the *Quijote* in Europe (215).

Vanderbank's, is obviously fat.[47] Sancho seems to plateau between Vanderbank and Hayman, who represents, for Lucía Megías, a culmination in the pictorial renderings of the *Quijote* to date, in that they compromise between Vanderbank's neoclassical, didactic vision and Hogarth's satirical one, while retaining the theatricality of Coypel (249). Although he does not comment upon Sancho's belly, convenient to the present study is Lucía Megías's comparison of three British illustrations from II.71 that depict Sancho ostensibly carrying out the compulsory lashings required for the disenchantment of Dulcinea. In the first two, by Vanderbank and Hayman, don Quijote—believing Sancho to be dutifully administering his lashes—takes pity and interrupts him. In the meantime, of course, Sancho has instead been flogging the trees in the interest of self-preservation. In the third, by Smirke (1818), don Quijote counts the lashings from a distance (256-57; Figs. 301-303).[48] These three images offer the unimpeded view of Sancho's shirtless *panza* shining in the moonlight, and they reveal the prominent dimensions of said belly, which is further accentuated by the proximity of the thin don Quijote. The squire's most significant weight gain thus far seems to occur between Bretschneider and Savery (between 1614 and 1657) and between Coypel and Vanderbank (between 1731 and 1738). This second occurrence coincides with changed perspectives toward weight.

Rogers attributes these attitude shifts in the middle of the eighteenth century in part to the increased interest—predominant among wealthy men—in weighing oneself. At this time, public scales were available in Paris, and by 1760 in London, though physicians did not weigh their patients as a matter of course, even in the case of newborns (23-25). By the nineteenth century writers begin to classify bodies according to type, e.g., ectomorph vs. endomorph (Rogers 33). The advent of current preoccupation with weight and weight loss resides in the novel as a genre (especially the high Victorian

[47] See Lucía Megías for a side-by-side comparison of Vanderbank's, Hogarth's, and Antonio Carnicero's (Madrid, 1780) respective depictions of Sancho's frustrated banquet in Barataria, Figures 288-91 (238-41). See Urbina for these and other illustrations of this episode (*Proyecto Cervantes*).

[48] For Lucía Megías, Hayman's execution of Sancho's facial expression is superior to Vanderbank's. Furthermore, he notes that Smirke skillfully recasts the scene, setting Sancho as its protagonist. See Urbina for these and other illustrations of this episode (*Proyecto Cervantes*).

novel), where "bodies are much less often bundles of symptoms than they are boxes of psychological tricks, clusters of sensations, collections of desires, outlines of will and destiny" (Rogers 36). Romantic readers of the *Quijote*, then, might find themselves ever more attracted to such an exploration of Sancho.

By far the most well-known illustrator of the *Quijote* is Paul Gustave Doré, who created more than two hundred illustrations, published in Paris in 1863.[49] The engraving from I.7 that depicts the moment when don Quijote asks Sancho to be his squire is both revealing and indistinct. Don Quijote stands beside Sancho, his right hand around his neighbor's shoulder, his left hand gesticulating wildly. Children and farm animals—including pigs, chickens, and the donkey—populate the scene. Sancho holds a yoke in his hands. Since both men are on their feet, side by side, the illustration is accommodating in perspective. Don Quijote's shoulder is slightly taller than Sancho's head. Furthermore, the knight's shanks are significantly longer than Sancho's. Sancho's weight appears inconclusive. Don Quijote is taller and slenderer, but Sancho does not appear inordinately fat. However, a second illustration from the same chapter depicts don Quijote's second sally, with the knight and squire respectively riding Rocinante and the donkey. Here, Sancho's buttons are again strained, as in Vanderbank's illustration. Sancho is rounder and thicker than his master, not only in the belly, but in the limbs, head, and neck. At this point in the narrative, Sancho would likely weigh his heaviest, as he has not undergone any of the deprivations to come. The two set out in high spirits. In a third example, an illustration from II.53, Sancho, about to leave Barataria, embraces his donkey. A heavyset Sancho is visible from the waist up; his donkey's head appears next to a hay-filled manger. Tears stream from Sancho's eyes onto the donkey's muzzle. The image is emblematic. In the estimation of Schmidt: "Doré indulged his sympathy with Don Quixote to such an extent that the deluded fool appeared to be the hero of a chivalric romance rather than the protagonist of a parodic novel […]. Only with Doré did the tears drown the laughter, for subsequent illustrators reincorporated burlesque and satirical elements in tension with the sentimental" (172). Perhaps this sympathy is a decisive factor behind the dramatic and widespread appeal of Doré's exquisitely wrought illustrations, which are poignant and evocative rather than humorous—here I concede my

[49] See Urbina for Dore's illustrations (*Proyecto Cervantes*).

tremendous soft spot as a viewer for the illustrations of Doré, probably in part precisely for their sweeping, sentimental rendering of don Quijote. Lucía Megías rightly asserts that Doré's don Quijote is not Cervantes's don Quijote; or rather: "El de Doré […] tampoco es el *Quijote*, el libro de caballerías, que imprimió a su costa Francisco de Robles en 1605, ni tampoco, como no podía ser de otro modo, el que se difundió por toda Europa a partir de este momento" (13). On the other hand, maybe he is. Maybe Cervantes's don Quijote is Savery's, is Hayman's, is Doré's, is my don Quijote, and one of the knight's numerous virtues is his suppleness, his at once collective and individual appeal, such that readers continue to envision him.

To conclude, let us jump ahead nearly one hundred years—for even in today's post-Romantic readings Sancho has yet to take off any weight—to consider Picasso's ever-famous black line drawing on a white background originally made for the cover of *Les Lettres Françaises* on the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the publication of the first volume of the *Quijote*. Perhaps the most famous illustration of the two to date, the drawing portrays the knight mounted on Rocinante and the squire on his donkey. The Castilian sun shines overhead; windmills are set off in the distance. Sancho, shorter, rounder, and wider than his master, faces the viewer head-on, while don Quijote and Rocinante stand in profile, looking towards Sancho. The tall, long necked, and bearded don Quijote, wearing Mambrino's helmet, wields his lance. At once simple and complex, the drawing—recognizable without description—bestows upon Sancho his characteristic *panza*.

The miniscule serving of images analyzed here, a mere drop in the bucket, represents individual, discrete readings or views of Sancho, and while a distinct temporal progression does not reveal itself, neither does the trend ever reverse itself, producing a smaller squire. Sancho does not readily fit into the various models of fatness outlined above. Yet the figure of Sancho increases in magnitude, so much so that influence of don Quijote and Sancho, "the original hero and sidekick duo, inspiring centuries of fictional partnerships," reveals itself in the outlines of the tall, skinny C-3PO and the short, rounded R2-D2 (Ilan Stavans).[50] While the Romantic approach seems

[50] In this video the lightly penned, unassuming animations that accompany Ilan Stavans's text depict a tall, thin don Quijote alongside a shorter, fatter Sancho, though the contrast between their respective physiques does not appear unduly

to overlap with a preliminary increase in Sancho's BMI, evidence proves inconclusive. His amplitude may be in part a matter of perception. Adage insists that the camera adds ten pounds. As the photographer moves further away from the subject, the latter appears wider or fatter. In the same way, changing views of fat change viewings of Sancho. That *cervantistas* continue to think about him seems wholly unremarkable. However, that Elies can editorialize in a leading Catalan newspaper about the novel's "*curiosidades*," among which, apparently, figures the squire's weight, suggests that everyday readers, too, continue to envision Sancho.[51] As this study (which in many ways "propone algo y no concluye nada") reveals, body size and weight gain—whether perceived or real, physical or figurative—result from the complex interplay of numerous innate and environmental factors; perhaps "es menester esperar" any potential changes to Sancho's *panza* wrought by the next four hundred years of reader and viewership (68). Fat—like beauty—resides in the eye of the beholder.

emphasized. Stavans explicitly juxtaposes don Quijote and Sancho with George Lucas's characters.

[51] Willis attributes the enormity of Cervantes's novel in no small part to Sancho: "Cervantes bequeathed to every modern novelist his central theme and preoccupation: the plight of the plain man, the man of human dimensions, who is a stranger to himself, an exile in his own land, an alien to his own times, trying to forge an authentic existence within these impossible circumstances" (227). However, at the same time, it is important to keep Russell's emphasis in mind: "[E]arlier readers of the book cannot have thought of identifying themselves *con amore* with don Quijote or with Sancho; their clear-cut notions about insanity and folly, about the nature of laughter and the causes of the ridiculous ruled out any such thing" (323).

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