

Migratory Shepherds and Ballad Diffusion¹

Antonio Sánchez Romeralo

In 1928, in his now famous anthology of Spanish ballads, *Flor nueva de romances viejos*, Ramón Menéndez Pidal included the following comment concerning a *romance* that is very well known throughout the central regions of the Iberian Peninsula, particularly among shepherds:

This attractive, authentically pastoral ballad, of purely rustic origin, had its origin, I believe, among the shepherds of Extremadura, where it is widely sung today, accompanied by the rebec, especially on Christmas Eve. Nomadic shepherds disseminated it throughout Old and New Castile and León; I heard it sung even in the mountains of Riaño, bordering on Asturias, at the very point where the Leonese *cañada* [nomadic shepherds' path] comes to an end. But it is completely unknown in Asturias, as well as in Aragon, Catalonia, and Andalusia. This means that areas which did not get their sheep from Extremadura did not come to know this pastoral composition. (Menéndez Pidal 1928:291).

Years later, in 1953, Menéndez Pidal was to modify his commentary on the ballad's geographic diffusion, extending it to "all provinces crossed by the great paths of migration, those of León and Segovia, which go from the valleys of Alcuía, south of the Guadiana, to the Cantabrian mountains and El Bierzo," and would now make no definite statement concerning the composition's exact origin (Menéndez Pidal 1953:2:410). The ballad to which these comments refer is *La loba parda* (The Brindled She-Wolf). The present article will discuss two of Menéndez Pidal's assertions regarding this *romance*: a) its supposedly rustic, pastoral character ("de pura cepa rústica . . . auténticamente pastoril") and b) its

diffusion, coincident with the regions traversed by the nomadic routes (“las dos grandes cañadas de la trashumancia, la leonesa y la segoviana”) and contiguous areas. We will use this ballad to illustrate an interesting feature of the *romancero*, which possibly is little known to readers not familiar with Hispanic balladry: the role of shepherds and their migration routes (*cañadas*) in the diffusion of Spanish ballads.

The Ballad of *La loba parda*

The following version of this *romance* was collected by Ramón Menéndez Pidal in 1905, in the village of Bercimuel (judicial district of Sepúlveda, Segovia Province). This text was edited, along with many other versions of the *romance* (a total of some 192) in the *Romancero rústico* by Sánchez Romeralo (1978:130-31; abbreviated henceforth *Rr*). The volume brings together all known versions of four rustic ballads, concerned particularly with shepherds: *La loba parda* (The Brindled She-Wolf); *La mujer del pastor* (The Shepherd’s Wife); *El reguñir, yo regañar* (He Grumbles and I Scold); and *La malcasada del pastor* (The Shepherd’s Mismatched Wife). Here is our version of *La loba parda* (*Rr*: I.111):

	Las cabrillas ya van altas la Luna va revelada;	The Pleiades are at their height, the moon is well in sight;
2	las ovejas de un cornudo no paran en la majada. Se pone el pastor en vela vio venir la loba parda.	The accursed sheep of a cuckold are restless in the fold. The shepherd begins his watch; he saw the brindled wolf:
4	—Llega, llega, loba parda, no tendrás mala llegada, con mis siete cachorrillos y mi perra Truquillana,	“Come, come, brindled wolf, a fine welcome you’ll surely have, with my seven little dogs, and my Truquillana bitch,
6	y mi perro el de los hierros que para ti solo basta. —Ni tus siete cachorritos, ni tu perra Truquillana,	and my dog of the iron collar that alone is enough for you.” “Your seven little dogs, your Truquillana bitch,
8	ni tu perro el de los hierros para mí no valen nada.— Le ha llevado una borrega que era hija de una blanca,	your dog of the iron collar don’t mean a thing to me.” She has taken a lamb of his, that was daughter of a white one,
10	pariente de una cornuda y nieta de una picalba, que la tenían los amos para la mañana ‘e Pascua.	a relative of a horned one, granddaughter of a white-nosed one, that the owners had kept specially for Easter morning.
12	— Aquí, siete cachorritos, aquí, perra Truquillana, aquí, perro de los hierros,	“Come here, seven little dogs, come here, Truquillana bitch, come here, dog of the iron collar,

	a correr la loba parda!—	give chase to the brindled wolf!"
14	La corrieron siete leguas por unas fuertes montañas, la arrastraron otras tantas por una tierras aradas,	They chased her for seven leagues over the rugged mountains; they urged her on as many more over the plowed fields,
16	y al subir un cotarrito y al bajar una cotarra, sale el pastor al encuentro con el cuchillo a matarla.	and going up a gully and coming down a ravine, out comes the shepherd to meet her with the knife to kill her there:
18	—No me mates, pastorcito, por la Virgen soberana, yo te dare tu borrega sin faltarla una tajada.	"Don't kill me, little shepherd, in the sovereign Virgin's name. I'll give you your lamb without even a morsel less."
20	—Yo no quiero mi borrega de tu boca embaboseada, que yo quiero tu pelleja para hacer una zamarra;	"I don't want my lamb, all frothy from your mouth, what I want is your hide to make a shepherd's coat;
22	siete pellejitas tengo para hacer una zamarra, con la tuya serán ocho para acabar de aforrarla;	seven little hides have I to make a shepherd's coat; with yours there will be eight to finish lining it;
24	las orejas pa pendientes, las patas para polainas, el rabo para agujetas para atacarme las bragas,	the ears for earrings and the legs for leggings, the tail for laces to tie my breeches with,
26	para poder correr bien la mañanita de Pascua.	so I can run well on the morning of Easter.

The Ballad's Rustic and Pastoral Character

Just as there are women's *romances* (associated in some way with the work or household tasks of women, and therefore conserved particularly by women), there are also, for the same reason, *romances* that are specifically attributable to men. The ballad of *La loba parda* is such a man's *romance* or, more concretely, a shepherd *romance*, remembered and known by shepherds, or by men, women, or children connected with them.² In his *Flor nueva de romances viejos*, Menéndez Pidal stated that, at that time (1928), the ballad was widely sung by shepherds "accompanied by the rebec, especially on Christmas Eve" ("al son del rabel, sobre todo en Nochebuena" (Menéndez Pidal 1928:291). The *rabel* (*rebec* in English and French) is a very crude, stringed instrument, characteristically played by shepherds.³ Federico Olmeda (1903:43, 56, 57) published the music of three versions of the ballad, from Burgos, along with the complete text of one of them, and presented them as songs typical of the shearing season (*esquileo*), which was considered as a "great event," when

shepherds “began the day singing, sang while shearing the flocks, resumed after eating, and continued after the day’s work was done” (1903:54).

La loba parda is also a rustic ballad in its theme and in its expressive elements. The theme can be seen as rustic, if we recall that *rústico* comes from the Latin *rusticus*, which in turn derives from *rus* “campo” (field), as Alonso de Palencia observed, in his *Universal vocabulario* (1490): “ca *rus* es donde tiene miel y leche y ganado, donde se llaman rústicos los que entienden en estas cosas” (for *rus* is where they have honey and milk and cattle, where those who are knowledgeable about these things are called rustics). The ballad is rustic in expression, according to the two definitions of rusticity (*rusticidad*) given in the dictionary of the Royal Spanish Academy of 1726 (known as the *Diccionario de autoridades*): “la sencillez, naturalidad y poco artificio que tienen las cosas rústicas . . . [y] la tosquedad, aspereza y rudeza de las cosas rústicas” (The simplicity, naturalness, and lack of artifice of rural things . . . [and] their coarseness, harshness, and rudeness).⁴

The Ballad’s History

There are no early printed versions of this ballad. The earliest texts we possess belong to the first decade of the present century. However, we know that the ballad was already old and popular (in the sense of belonging to and being transmitted in popular oral tradition) by the end of the sixteenth century. We can be certain of this because the ballad’s opening lines (as they also appear in some modern versions) were known to the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century scholar, *Maestro* Gonzalo Correas. Correas was a professor of Greek and Hebrew at the University of Salamanca. When he died in 1631, at the age of 60, he left an unpublished *Vocabulario de refranes i frases proverbiales* (Glossary of Proverbs and Proverbial Expressions), which is one of the richest and most interesting collections of Spanish folk-speech ever assembled. The proverb collected by Correas (1967:211) reads as follows:

Las kabrillas se ponían,
la kaiada ia enpinava
las ovexas de una puta
no kieren tomar maxada.

In a slightly bowdlerized version, this text could be translated:

The Pleiades were setting,
the Big Dipper was on the rise;
these damned sheep
won't go into the fold!

This is obviously the beginning of a text of *La loba parda*. Correas' citation is very similar to the opening lines of some versions that are still sung today. Compare, for example, the following texts (as well as the Bercimuel version transcribed above):

Las estrellas ya van bajas	y la luna revelada;
las ovejas de un cornudo	solas duermen en majada. ⁵
	<i>Rr I.83</i>
Ay qué alta va la luna	y el aire que la meneaba,
las ovejas de un cornudo	se salen de la majada. ⁶
	<i>Rr I.117</i>

Flock Migration in Spain: The *Mesta* and the *Cañadas Reales*, Past and Present

In 1910, in an important article on flock migration in Spain, Andre Fribourg stated:

For almost a thousand years, flock migration has been carried out in Spain to an extent and under conditions unparalleled in any other part of Europe. From north to south, from east to west, immense flocks were moved, until only yesterday, from the Pyrenees to the Ebro, from Galicia and the Cantabrian mountains to La Mancha and Extremadura, from the Iberian mountains to New Castile, from Andalusia to Valencia; like an ebb and flow of wool in a rhythmic oscillation of flocks. In groups of 10,000, following special routes, the sheep went, devouring the grass, trampling and beating down the earth. Each group was divided into smaller flocks, of from 1000 to 1200 head each. At the front of each group was an overseer (*mayoral*); the head shepherds (*rabadanes*), with the help of the other shepherds, urged the animals along. Armed with slings and carrying long crooks, the shepherds traversed the Peninsula, twice a year, with their mules, their cooking pots, and their

dogs (1910:231-44).⁷

When this passage was written, in 1910, the situation was already changing, but the migrations continued and, even today, are still carried out, although under different conditions.

To explain the migrations' historical and, although lessened, present importance, one must remember that, due to its climate and topography, Spain is a land of violent contrasts; and that, although its latitudinal variation is only eight degrees, it includes some of the rainiest and some of the most arid regions of continental Europe. Such circumstances mean that, in any season of the year, shepherds can find sufficient pasturage for their flocks by merely moving to wherever the grazing is good. Moreover, the continual state of war throughout the Middle Ages, during the centuries of the Reconquest, encouraged the development of livestock raising. Stock was an easily transportable commodity, preferable to the products of agriculture, which were subject to periodic devastation.

The origin of the migration seems, however, to predate the Arab invasion. It already existed in Visigothic Spain, and possibly in Roman and even in pre-Roman times. It is said that the Carthaginians in Spain were aided in their war against Rome by seemingly nomadic shepherds. The *Fuero Juzgo*, an important seventh-century Visigothic legal code, reserves established passageways for the transit of migratory stock.⁸ These routes are mentioned, already as fixed and established, in diverse documents from the beginning of the Middle Ages, covering the period from the reign of Sancho the Elder (970-1035) until the founding of the *Mesta* (the sheep raisers' union) in 1273. By the end of the twelfth century, the migratory routes were already known as *cañadas*. The Royal *Fuero* of 1254 grants to the Crown ownership rights to all these routes, whatever their characteristics may be. A royal charter of 1284 specifies their full legal width as "seys sogas de marco de cada quarenta y cinco palmos la sogá", (six *sogas*, at 45 spans per *soga*), equivalent to 90 Castilian *varas*, or 75.22 meters. If the Reconquest, during the entire Middle Ages, contributed to the development of an economy based on livestock rather than on agriculture, the introduction into Andalusia of merino sheep from North Africa (around 1300) helped to further its development. This produced a strong demand for Spanish wool, which in turn led to new forms of government protectionism.

In 1273, the Crown brought all the various associations of

sheep owners into a single organization, which later became known as the *Mesta*. In return for financial contributions, the Crown granted the *Mesta* important privileges, often in conflict with the interests of farmers, without regard for the complaints and resolutions of the courts that attempted to restrain the abuses perpetrated by the stockmen. The *Mesta* had its own tribunal and was entrusted with the supervision and regulation of the migratory movements of sheep. We find the term *reales* (royal) applied to the *cañadas* for the first time in a charter of 1462. The royal *cañadas* became especially important in the sixteenth century, when the wool of the migratory merino sheep became the principal economic resource of the country. The wool's high quality was largely due to continuity and homogeneity of pasturage, which was achieved by means of migration. The routes were wide enough to allow passage of over three million head of sheep, at the height of the season. Gradually, the *Mesta* ceased to be an owners' association and became, instead, a tool of the Crown. In 1500, an advisor to the king, Pérez de Monreal, became its president. In 1511, the Council of the *Mesta* entrusted to a jurist, Palacios Rubios (also advisor to the king and queen and second president of the *Mesta*, 1510-1522) the task of gathering all dispersed charters and ordinances that proved the legality of the organization's privileges and submitting the resultant compilation for ratification by the king.⁹ Thanks to this compilation, we know today the workings of the Honorable Council of the *Mesta* and the privileges it enjoyed for many years, making it a formidable enemy of the farmers.¹⁰

There were four basic privileges: 1) the right of the *Mesta* flocks to graze and drink water on all Castilian lands except for those that were referred to as the five forbidden things (*cosas vedadas*): orchards, sown lands, vineyards, mowed fields, and those devoted to the pasturage of oxen; 2) exclusive rights to the use of paths, tracks, trails, and resting places (*cañadas, cordeles, veredas, descansaderos*);¹¹ 3) exemption from many taxes; and 4) the right to cut smaller trees as fodder during the winter, or when pasturage was scarce, which effectively left the forests at the mercy of the flocks. These privileges were especially protected by the *Mesta*'s court of first appeal, which had its own judges, as well as its own administration and budget.¹² As the economic importance of wool waned, there was a corresponding reduction in royal protection of the *cañadas*. During the reign of Carlos III (1759-88), the

relationship between farming and stock ranching underwent a radical change. The construction of roads, canals, and bridges over the length and breadth of Spain made it possible to market wheat, and agriculture began to escape from the suffocation that had inhibited it for centuries. The relationship between city and countryside also began to change. Madrid was being transformed into the economic center of Castile, La Mancha, Extremadura, and part of Andalusia. A livestock-based economy was giving way to a system based on grain. Campomanes conducted a series of inquiries on the *Mesta*, followed by measures aimed at reducing its privileges.¹³ Years later, Jovellanos would defend the right of agriculture to develop, free from the obstacles imposed by the *Mesta* (*Informe sobre la ley agraria*, 1795). The courts of Cadiz and the constitution of 1812 reinforced this policy. In 1815, the right to enclose town commons was legally recognized and, in 1835-36, the *Mesta* and its special tribunal were discontinued. Its interests were taken over by the *Asociación General de Ganaderos del Reino* (Royal Association of Sheep Owners and Breeders). The *Asociación* acquired the *Mesta*'s files and added to them the reports of their special *visitadores* (inspectors). These archives continue to be the main source of information on the *cañadas*.¹⁴

Migration did not disappear along with the *Mesta*. The number of nomadic sheep decreased to half a million by the middle of the last century, but increased again toward the end of the 1800s. In 1910, the *Dirección General de Agricultura* (General Agriculture Administration) estimated the number at 1,355,630 (migratory) head, approximately one tenth of the total Spanish flock (figured then at 13,359,473 head of sheep).¹⁵ What did decrease and deteriorate notably was the network of pastoral roadways. The less travelled ones were encroached upon by farmers in many places along the way and some disappeared altogether.

At the beginning of the present century, a new blow was struck against the conservation and use of the *cañadas*: the railroads. In 1899, the Madrid-Zaragoza-Alicante railroad company established a special service for transporting migratory sheep and goats and, in 1901, the Madrid-Cáceres-Portugal line followed suit. This service was to change radically the character of the migration along the great *cañadas* and their use would be notably reduced. Since that time, and still today, the great majority of flocks make the journey from the northern pastures to the winter grazing land,

in lower Extremadura or in the southern part of La Mancha, in railroad cars prepared especially for them. Thus the railroads came to resolve the serious problem that had confronted stockmen and farmers for centuries, making it possible to utilize the winter pastures on the plains and in the valleys of the south and the summer pastures in the mountains, without impeding the agricultural development of the lands in between.

Toward the middle of the last century, the *Asociación General de Ganaderos* published a series of bulletins containing detailed descriptions of the main *cañadas* and many pastoral trails. There are eight pamphlets in all, with the following titles:

Cañada de La Vizana y parte del cordel de Babia de Abajo. Empieza en el puerto de Bahabrán, límite de Asturias y León, y termina en el puente de La Lavandera (provincia de Cáceres). n.p., n.d. (Map; circa 1866) (The *cañada* of La Vizana, with part of the track of Babia de Abajo: It starts at the pass of Bahabrán, on the border between Asturias and León, and ends at the bridge of La Lavandera in Cáceres Province).

Descripción de la cañada leonesa, desde Valdeburón a Montemolín. Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel Minuesa, 1856 (Description of the Leonese *cañada*, from Valdeburón to Montemolín).

Cañada leonesa desde El Espinar a Valdeburón. n.p., n.d. (Map; circa 1860) (The Leonese *cañada*, from El Espinar to Valdeburón).

Cañada occidental de la provincia de Soria. Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel Minuesa, 1856 (The western *cañada* of Soria province).

Descripción de la cañada segoviana, desde Carabias al valle de la Alcudia. Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel Minuesa, 1856 (Description of the *cañada* of Segovia, from Carabias to the valley of Alcudia).

Descripción de la cañada soriana, desde Yanguas al valle de la Alcudia. Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel

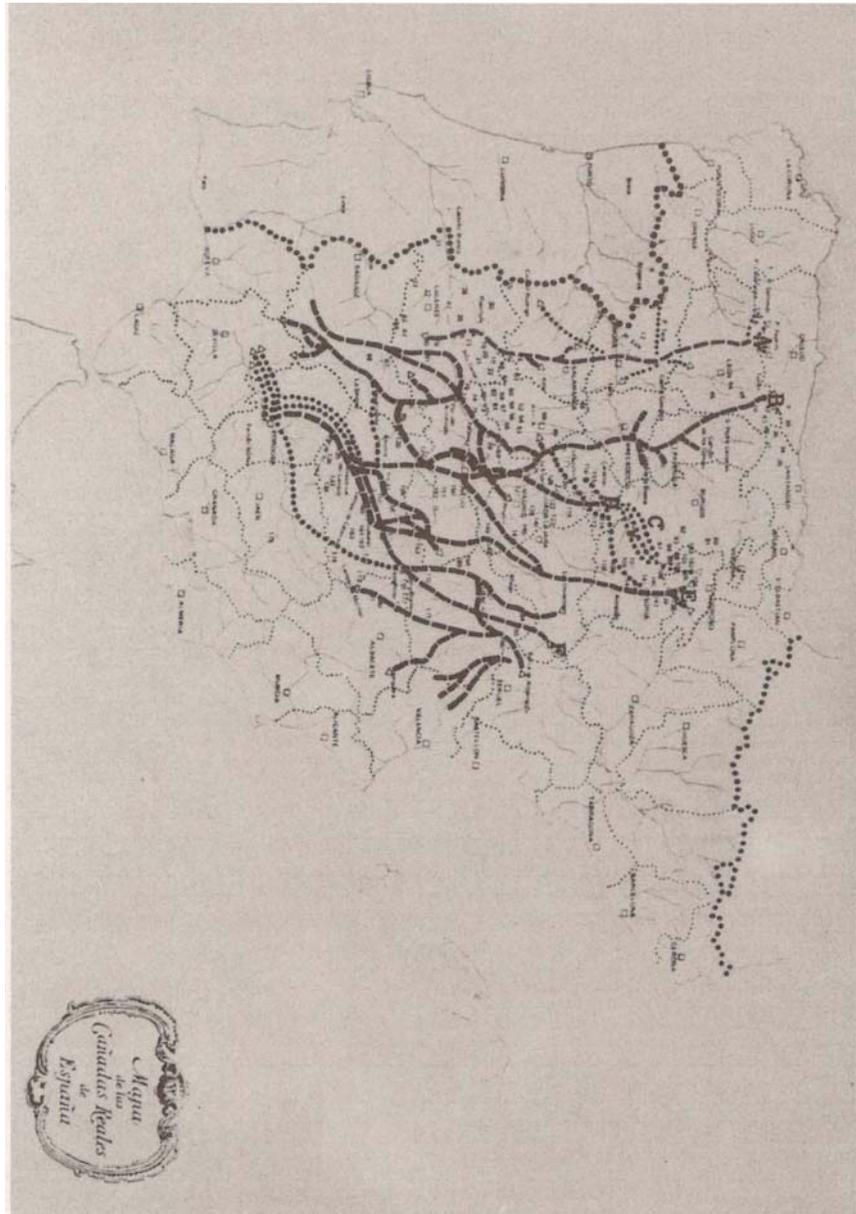
Minuesa, 1857 (Description of the *cañada* of Soria, from Yanguas to the valley of Alcudia).

Descripción de los ramales de la cañada soriana desde Villacañas y Quero al valle de la Alcudia [with an appendix: “Descripción de la cañada real de la provincia de Córdoba”]. Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel Minuesa, 1858 (Description of the branch routes of the *cañada* of Soria, from Villacañas and Quero to the valley of Alcudia, with an appendix: “Description of the Royal *Cañada* of Córdoba Province”).

Descripción de las cañadas de Cuenca, desde Tragacete y Peralejos, al valle de la Alcudia, al Campo de Calatrava y a Linares. Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel Minuesa, 1860 (Description of the *cañadas* of Cuenca, from Tragacete and Peralejos to the valley of Alcudia, the Calatrava region, and Linares).¹⁶

The descriptions contained in these pamphlets are, in general, quite complete, as far as the principal routes described in them are concerned, but there are *cañadas* and *ramales* whose descriptions were never published. Detailed information concerning many of them has been preserved, still in unedited form and in various stages of completion, in the holdings of the Archivo Histórico Nacional, waiting for some scholar to undertake the difficult task of putting in order and studying these documents. In any event, the pamphlets published in the nineteenth century are, as of now, the most important source of information available for mapping the network of migratory livestock trails across the Iberian Peninsula.

On the map that accompanies these pages, our layout of the *cañadas* was made by following the descriptions in the pamphlets of the *Asociación General de Ganaderos del Reino*. First of all, I marked the municipal districts through which the various routes passed, according to the descriptions, on an official highway map (*Mapa oficial de carreteras*, Ministerio de Obras Públicas, scale 1/400,000; 8th ed., 1969). Then, as faithfully as possible, I transferred this drawing to another blank map, on a smaller scale. On our present map, the reader can follow the routes of the six main *cañadas*, with the branches corresponding to the Leonese *cañada* and the *cañada* of Cuenca. They are as follows: 1) the track of Babia de Abajo, the *cañada* of La Vizana, and branches to



MAP OF THE ROYAL CAÑADAS OF SPAIN

Place of origin of the versions of La loba parda, indicated on the map by the numbers 1-182

- A. Cordel of Babia de Abajo, cañada of La Vizana and its ramales to the west.
1. San Martín de Suarna
 2. Abodes
 3. Villablino
 4. Quintanilla de Babia
 5. Zureda
 6. Villamanin
 7. Vinhals
 8. Uva
 9. Villarino de Manzanas
 10. Nuex
 11. Selas de Alliste
 12. Ferruñela (de Tábara)
 13. Zamora
 14. Fornillos de Fermoselle
 15. Candelero
 16. Candelero
 17. Garganta de Béjar
 18. Garganta de Béjar
 19. El Cabero
 20. [Garganta la Olla]
 21. Garganta la Olla
 22. Villanueva de la Vera
 23. Misparrilla de Plasencia
 24. Misparrilla de Plasencia
 25. Serradilla
 26. Serradilla
 27. Chaverral
 28. Portaje
 29. El Puyo
 30. Villa del Campo
 31. Santiago de Cerbejo
 32. Arroyo de la Luz
 33. Aliseda
- B. Royal Leonese cañada.
34. Tudanca
 35. Belmonte
- C. Royal cañada of Soria (western route).
36. Lurizeo
 37. Dobres
 38. Cosgeya
 39. Ocerio
 40. Ribola
 41. Osela de Selambre
 42. Osela de Selambre
 43. Osela de Selambre
 44. Besande
 45. Crémensas
 46. Villalquite
 47. Monte de León
 48. Horcajo de las Torres
 49. Maello
 50. Guisasalbas
 51. Peguerinos
 52. Burebondo
 53. Hoyocassero
 54. Hoyocassero
 55. San Martín del Pimoller
 56. Hoyos del Espino
 57. Hoyos del Espino
 58. Hoyos del Espino
 59. Hoyos del Espino
 60. Hoyos del Espino
 61. Nevacapeca de Tormes
 62. Aliseda de Tormes
 63. Boboyo
 64. Boboyo
 65. Nevamediana
 66. Provincia de Avila
 67. Almorox
 68. Almorox
 69. Almorox
 70. Almorox
 71. El Real de San Vicente
 72. Navalcán
 73. Navalcán
 74. Torralba de Oropesa
 75. Torralba de Oropesa
 76. Valdeverdeja
 77. Valdeverdeja
 78. Valdeverdeja
- D. Royal Segovian cañada.
79. Trujillo
 80. Trujillo
 81. Huertas de la Magdalena
 82. Montánchez
 83. Alcuéscar
 84. Alcuéscar
 85. Helechosa
 86. Castiblanco
 87. Orellana de la Sierra
 88. Campanario
- E. Royal cañada of Soria (eastern route).
89. Belandía de Cerrato
 90. Cerazo de Riotirón
 91. Cerazo de Riotirón
 92. Pineda de la Sierra
 93. Barbadillo de Herreros
 94. Huertas de Arriba
 95. Barbadillo del Mercado
 96. Alcabilla de Avellaneda
 97. Quintanar de la Sierra
 98. Viniegra de Arriba
 99. Viniegra de Arriba
 100. Viniegra de Arriba
 101. Venrosos
 102. Angulano
 103. Villaverde de Riolo
 104. Torre en Cameros
 105. Almaraz de Cameros
 106. El Royo
 107. Calatayud
 108. Calatayud
 109. Calatayud
 110. Torreblanca
- F. Cañadas of Cuenca and Ramales in the extreme east of this province.
111. Berclimuel
 112. Fresno de la Fuente
- G. Royal cañada of Salamanca.
113. Riza
 114. Riza
 115. Sepulveda
 116. Apulsiuente
 117. Siqueruelo
 118. Somosierra
 119. Arcones
 120. Ayllón, Arcones, Vega de Santa María (versión ficticia)
 121. Robregordo
 122. Serrada de la Fuente
 123. Serrada de la Fuente
 124. Rescañis
 125. Rescañis
 126. Rescañis
 127. S. Agustín de Guedalix
 128. S. Agustín de Guedalix
 129. Nevás de Estena
 130. Arroba de los Montes
 131. Corral de Calatrava
 132. Veredas
 133. Hinojosa de Calatrava
 134. Hinojosa de Calatrava
 135. Fuencaliente
 136. Fuente el Canto
 137. Córdoba
- H. Royal cañada of Toledo.
138. San Pedro Manrique
 139. Castilro de la Sierra
 140. San Andrés de Soria
 141. San Andrés de Soria
 142. Reñoblas
 143. Villaciervos
 144. Las Freguas
 145. Valdeverde de Jarama
 146. Valdeverde
 147. Los Santos de la Humosa
 148. Estremera
- I. Royal cañada of Zamora.
149. Villarejo de Salvanda
 150. Los Yébenes
 151. Los Yébenes
 152. Los Yébenes
 153. Alcázar de San Juan
 154. Melgón
 155. Melgón
 156. Ciudad Real
 157. Manzanares
 158. Manzanares
 159. Almagro
 160. Almagro
 161. Valdepeñas
 162. Valdepeñas
 163. Valdepeñas
- J. Royal cañada of Ciudad Real.
164. Cañameros
 165. Vega del Codorno
 166. Tragedete
 167. Pineda de Gigóla
 168. Acebrón
 169. Torrubia del Campo
 170. Hontanaya
 171. Honrubia
 172. Villanueva de los Infantes
 173. Villanueva de la Fuente
 174. Torre de Juan Abad
 175. Jódar
 176. Villarrobledo
 177. Villarrobledo
 178. Villarrobledo
 179. Villarrobledo
 180. El Bonillo
 181. El Bonillo
 182. Alcaraz

the west of it; 2) the royal Leonese *cañada*; 3) the royal *cañada* of Soria (western sector); 4) the royal *cañada* of Segovia; 5) the royal *cañada* of Soria (eastern sector); 6) the *cañadas* of Cuenca and branches at the extreme east of this province, which are, from west to east, as follows: a) *cañada* of Beteta; b) *cañada* of Rodrigo Ardaz; c) *cañada* of Cuenca (or Tragacete); d) *cañada* of Jábaga; and e) *cañada* of Hoyo and Sisante.¹⁷ Neither the *Mesta* nor the *Asociación General de Ganaderos* ever managed to draw a map of the *cañadas*, although in the nineteenth century the *Asociación* planned to do so. Mapped trails are included in the works of Julius Klein, Robert Aitken, André Fribourg, and Juan Dantiín Cereceda. In an article about the *romancero rústico* in Albacete, Francisco Mendoza Díaz-Maroto (1980) includes a map showing the approximate itineraries of pastoral roads and trails and the locations of versions of *La loba parda*, *El reguñir*, *yo regañar*, and *La dama y el pastor*, collected in Albacete.¹⁸ Finally, the volume published in 1984 (see n. 16) also includes a schematic map of the *cañadas*.

Location and Geographic Diffusion of the Ballad

When I studied the 192 known versions of *La loba parda* in preparing the *Romancero rústico* and classified them according to their geographic origin, I was able to demonstrate that the ballad's area of diffusion coincided with the regions traversed by the various migratory shepherds' routes. On the map elaborated in that volume, the ballads' versions correlate, very precisely, to the various migratory *cañadas*, or to areas very near to them, as the reader of the present article can verify by consulting the reproduction of that map and the "List of geographic origins of the versions" indicated on that map by the numbers 1 to 182.¹⁹ This fact was indicative of the relationship between migratory shepherds and the ballad's diffusion and could, possibly, help to explain some of its characteristics: 1) the existence of some few distinctive features in each group of versions as defined in relationship to a given *cañada*; 2) and, in spite of this, a greater homogeneity in the case of this ballad—in comparison with others—which could, in turn, be explained by communication between shepherds from different areas, thanks to the existence of secondary transverse paths connecting the various *cañadas* with one another and, even more, to interchanges during the months of common winter

pasturage at the *cañadas*' various southern terminals (Valley of Alcudia, Campo de Calatrava, Campo de Montiel, La Serena).²⁰

The copious material collected since the publication of *Rr*—thanks principally to a series of field expeditions carried out by the Seminario Menéndez Pidal between 1978 and 1984 and a few other versions made available in various publications—have served to corroborate our observations in *Rr*. The 171 new versions of *La lobo parda* which are catalogued below can also be geographically categorized in relation to some of the *cañadas*, *ramales*, and *veredas* which make up the network of migratory livestock trails. These versions also confirm the observation offered in *Rr* regarding the ballad's relative homogeneity in the various areas where it is current, together, even so, with some distinctive features characteristic of each geographic subgroup. A good example of this latter fact is a motif—already taken into account in *Rr*—which is exclusively characteristic of versions collected along the Segovian *cañada*. In these versions, the wolf, after being chased by the dogs, comes face to face with the shepherd, who has come out to meet her “with a knife to kill her” or “a knife without a scabbard” (“con un cuchillo a matarla”; “con un cuchillo sin vaina”) (*Rr* I.110a, 110b, 111, 112, 117, 120a, 127, 128, 130); in other versions from the Segovian *cañada* the *cuchillo* does not appear, but the shepherd's role as the one to whom the wolf begs for mercy is maintained (*Rr* I.113, 114, 116, 119, 124, 129, 137), instead of the dogs being begged as in versions from the other *cañadas*. Some apparent exceptions to this rule (Segovian versions without the shepherd motif or versions from other *cañadas* that include it) can be satisfactorily explained in terms of the proximity of, or communication between, the *cañadas* in question (*Rr*:21-22). The very abundant new material (70 versions) corresponding to the Segovian *cañada* conclusively confirms our observations in *Rr*.

The New Versions: Their Geographic Distributions Relative to the Six Major Migratory *Cañadas*

From 1977 to 1982, the Seminario Menéndez Pidal (SMP) carried out a series of field expeditions in various areas of Spain. The following eight field trips are of interest to us here, inasmuch as they involve versions of *La lobo parda*: “Sur 78” (Jaén); “Norte 80” (NW and W of León and W of Asturias, with side trips to the SW of León, NE of Orense, and NW of Zamora);

“Salamanca-Zamora 81” (NW of Salamanca and SE of Zamora); “Norte 81” (W of Zamora, SW of León, and SE of Orense); “Ciudad Real 82” (W of Ciudad Real, side trips to N of Córdoba and E of Badajoz); “Segovia 82” (Segovia); “Noroeste 82” (N of Orense, S of Lugo, side trips to SW of León and W of Pontevedra); “Castilla 84” (Burgos, E of Palencia, W of Soria, and W of Logroño).²¹ To these collections must be added the *Voces nuevas del romancero castellano-leonés* edited by Suzanne H. Petersen (1982) (abbreviated here VN), which also includes versions of *La loba parda* documented in the present article. Finally, a series of publications and still unedited collections of diverse origin have provided various additional versions of the ballad, which will be indicated (together with their sources) at the appropriate juncture.

On the following pages, I offer a catalogue of the new versions of *La loba parda*, classified, according to their proximity to the various *cañadas*, in six different groups, following the procedures used in *Rr*. The corresponding versions are designated by their place of origin (the name of the town) and arranged by provinces. These editorial criteria are followed in this catalogue: 1. Together with the name of the town, the pertinent administrative area (p.j. = *partido judicial*) is indicated in italics and parentheses. But when a series of towns belongs to the same administrative area, the latter is indicated only at the end of the series. The transition from one administrative area to another is indicated by a semicolon (;). When more than one version originates in the same town, the number of versions is indicated in parentheses following the name of the town. For example: Belmonte, Salceda (2), Caloca, Enterrías (p.j. *San Vicente de la Barquera*); 2. The source (*SMP* field trip, publication, etc.) is indicated following a version or at the end of a series of versions when all originate in the same source. The designation of the source will be enclosed in brackets. For example: Santa Cruz de los Cuerragos, Carbajalines (p.j. *Alcañices*); El Cubo de Tierra del Vino (p.j. *Fuentesauco*) [*SMP* “Salamanca-Zamora 81”].

A condensed description of the various *cañadas* can be found in *Rr*: pp. 28, 56-60, 108, 128, 162, 182-184.

A. THE CORDEL OF BABIA DE ABAJO, CAÑADA OF LA VIZANA AND ITS RAMALES TO THE WEST

[Description in *Rr.281J*]

ASTURIAS

Riera de Somiedo, Arbeyales, Coto de Buena Madre (p.j. *Belmonte*); Taladrid, Brañas de Arriba (p.j. *Cangas de Narcea*) [*SMP* “Norte 80”].

LEÓN

Genestosa (2), Torrebarrio (2), Villargusán, La Majua, San Emiliano (2), Aralla-Cubillas de Arbas, Casares (3), Abelgas (2), Bonella, Torrecillo, Salientes (2), Matalavilla (2), Valseco (4), Murias de Paredes, Senra (2), Posada de Omana, Fasgar, Rioscuro (p.j. *Murias de Paredes*); Peranzanes (p.j. *Villafranca del Bierzo*); Fresnedelo (2), San Martín de Moreda (p.j. *Ponferrada*); Truchillas (p.j. *Astorga*); Marzá San Martín de la Tercia (p.j. *León*) [*SMP* “Norte 80”].

ORENSE

Rubiana (p.j. *El Barco de Valdeorras*) [*SMP* “Noroeste 82”]; Berrande (2) (p.j. *Verín*) [*SMP* “Norte 81”].

ZAMORA

Villárdiga (p.j. *Villalpando*); Moraleja del Vino (p.j. *Zamora*) [*SMP* “Norte 81”]; Toro (p.j. *Toro*) [Díaz 1982:13-15]; Santa Cruz de los Cuérragos, Carbajalinos (p.j. *Alcañices*); El Cubo de Tierra del Vino (p.j. *Fuentesauco*) [*SMP* “Salamanca-Zamora 81”].

TRÁS-OS-MONTES (PORTUGAL)

Freixiosa de Vila Chã (c. *Miranda do Douro*) [Armistead 1982:80]; Duos Igrejas, Aldeia Nova (c. *Miranda do Douro*) [Fontes 1979:164-65].

SALAMANCA

Torresmenudas, Valverdón (p.j. *Salamanca*); Mieza (p.j. *Vitigudino*) [*SMP* “Salamanca-Zamora 81”].

CÁCERES

La Fragosa (p.j. *Hervás*) [Encuesta Valenciano-Cicourel].

B. ROYAL LEONESE CAÑADA

[Description in Rr:58-60]

SANTANDER

Belmonte, Salceda (2), Caloca, Enterrias (p.j. *San Vicente de la Barquera*) [VN].

PALENCIA

Herreruela de Castillería (3), Celada de Robleceda, San Juan de Redondo, Santa María de Redondo (p.j. *Cervera de Pisuerga*) [VN].

LEÓN

Siero de la Reina, Casasuertes (2), Prioro (4), Soto de Valderrueda (p.j. *Cistierna*) [VN].

BURGOS

Revilla-Vallegera (p.j. *Castrojeriz*) [SMP "Castilla 84"].

VALLADOLID

Villabrágima (p.j. *Medina de Rioseco*); Mojados (p.j. *Olmedo*) [Díaz et al. 1978:152]; Bocigas (p.j. *Medina del Campo*) [SMP "Norte 80"].

SEGOVIA

Chaña (p.j. *Cuéllar*); Miguel Ibáñez, Pinilla Ambroz, Tabladillo, Marugán, Muñopedro, Monterrubio (2) (p.j. *Santa María la Real de Nieva*) [SMP "Segovia 82"].

CACERES

Valdecaza del Tajo (p.j. *Navalmoral de la Mata*) [Coll. A. Sánchez Romeralo and Soledad Martínez de Pinillos].

C. ROYAL CAÑADA OF SORIA (WESTERN ROUTE)

[Description Rr:108]

LOGROÑO

Trevijano de Cameros, Torrecilla de Cameros (p.j. *Logroño*) [Gomarín Guirado 1981].

BURGOS

Huerta de Arriba (p.j. *Salas de los Infantes*) [F.

Gomarin Guirado 1981].

D. ROYAL SEGOVIAN CAÑADA
[Description in *Rr*:128]

SEGOVIA

Rebollo (p.j. *Sepúlveda*); Cuellar (p.j. *Segovia*) [*SMP* returning from “Norte 80” field trip]; Santibáñez de Ayllón, Maderuelo, Aldealuenga de Santa María, Alconada de Maderuelo, Ribota, Cedillo de la Torre, Fresno de Cantespino, Pajares de Fresno (p.j. *Riaza*) [*SMP* “Segovia 82”]; Montejo de la Vega (p.j. *Riaza*) [Castro Rey et al. 1981:203-7]; Laguna de Contreras, Pecharromán, Tejares, San Miguel de Bernuy (2), Olombrada, Sanchonuño (2) (p.j. *Cuéllar*); Bercimuel (2), Navares de Enmedio, Urueñas, Santa Marta del Cerro, Valle de Tabladillo, Castrillo de Sepúlveda (3), Consuegra de Murera, Duratón (4), Aldealcorvo, Navalilla, Sabulcor, Cantalejo, San Pedro de Gaillos, Ventosilla y Tejadilla (3), Sigueruelo, Cosla (3), La Velilla (4), Cañicosa (4), Gallegos (2), Aldealuenga de Pedraza (2) (p.j. *Sepúlveda*); Abades, Hontoria, Hotero de Herrero, Sauquillo de Cabezas, Vegas de Matute, Zarzuela del Monte, Casas Altas (p.j. *Segovia*) [*SMP* “Segovia 82”].

CIUDAD REAL

Horcajo de los Montes, Anchuras (p.j. *Piedrabuena*); Viso del Marqués (p.j. *Valdepeñas*); El Hoyo, Solana del Pino (p.j. *Almodóvar del Campo*); Fuencaliente (p.j. *Almadén*) [*SMP* “Ciudad Real 82”].

E. ROYAL CAÑADA OF SORIA (EASTERN ROUTE)
[Description *Rr*:162]

SORIA

Arguijo, Sotillo del Rincón (p.j. *Soria*) [Díaz Viana 1982]; Villaciervitos (p.j. *Soria*) [Díaz Viana 1983:45-46].

F. CAÑADAS OF CUENCA AND RAMALES
TO THE EXTREME EAST OF THIS PROVINCE
[Description in *Rr*:182-84]

ALBACETE

Chinchilla de Monte Aragón (p.j. *Albacete*); Casas de Lázaro, Salobre (p.j. *Alcaraz*) [Mendoza Díaz-Maroto 1980].

JAÉN

Beas de Segura (p.j. *Villacarrillo*) [*SMP* “Sur 781; Jamilena (p.j. *Martos*) [Checa Beltrán 1981].

University of California, Davis

Notes

¹Translated from the Spanish by Samuel G. Armistead and Karen L. Olson.

²Version 1.133 in *Rr*, collected in Valle de Alcuía in 1975, was sung by a woman during a shearing at the Grazurango farm, but she herself explained that she had learned the *romance* from her father, a shepherd, who used to sing it, accompanying himself on the rebec, to her and her brother when they were children in order to put them to sleep. She also recalled that the music was so sad that it made them cry.

³Corominas and Pascual (1980-83:4:743) document the name as early as 1135, giving the etymology as Arabic *rabēb* ‘a kind of violin’. The same origin is adduced by Sebastián de Covarrubias, in his *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* (1611), where he defines it as an “Instrumento músico de cuerdas y arquillo; es pequeño y todo de una pieza, de tres cuerdas y de voces muy subidas. Usan dél los pastores, con que se entretienen, como David hazía con su instrumento” (A musical instrument with strings and a small bow; it is small and all of one piece, with three strings and very high-pitched. It is played by shepherds, who entertain themselves with it as David did with his instrument).

⁴Similar meanings occur in English: “*rustic*: 1. Of or pertaining to the country, rural . . . ; 2. Awkward, rough, unpolished . . . ; 4. Simple; artless; unadorned; unaffected . . .” (Webster 1949: s.v.).

⁵Version from Baltanás de Cerrato (Palencia); collected by Manuel Manrique de Lara in 1918.

⁶Version from Siguero (Segovia); collected by Diego Catalán in 1947. See also *Rr*.I.47, 102, 104, 110b, 113a, 116, 119, 120, 120a, 128, 130, 147. However, most of the modern versions have lost this rather strange introductory couplet, and begin with the story itself.

⁷Other works referred to in summarizing the past and present states of migration are: Julius Klein’s fundamental study (1920), and the article by Robert Aitken (1945). For the *cañada* of Vizana, Juan Dantín Cereceda’s article is crucial (1942).

⁸Lib. 8, tít. 3, ley 9; tit. 4, leyes 26—27; and tít. 5, ley 5 (*Fuero Juzgo* 1815:139, 146, 149).

⁹This compilation of 1511 supplemented earlier ones, especially that of 1492, carried out by Malpartida, legal counsel to Fernando and Isabel.

¹⁰See *Libro de los Privilegios y Leyes del Ilustre y muy Honrado Concejo general de la Mesta y Cabaña real destos reynos de Castilla, León y Granada* (Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1586); and the more complete *Libro de las Leyes, Privilegios, y Provisiones reales del Honrado Concejo general de la Mesta* (Madrid, 1595), compilation later revised, in 1609, 1639, and 1681. The most complete code of the *Mesta's* laws and ordinances is the one published by Andrés Díez Navarro, *Quaderno de Leyes y Privilegios del Honrado Concejo de la Mesta* (Madrid, 1731). There is a description of this latter work in Pérez Pastor (1891—1907:vol. 1).

¹¹In theory, the width of the *cañadas*, *cordeles*, and *veredas* was fixed at 90, 45, and 25 *varas*, respectively (i.e. 75, 37.50 and 20.80 meters). The width of the *descansaderos* was indeterminate. In fact, however, the limits were not respected.

¹²The hostility of municipalities toward the abusive privileges of the *Mesta* was expressed in a proverbial phrase in the seventeenth century: “Entre tres *Santos* y un *Honrado* está el reino agobiado” (Between three Saints and one Honorable [association], the kingdom is oppressed). The saints were the Holy Brotherhood (*Santa Hermandad* or rural police), the Holy Crusade, and the Holy Office of the Inquisition, and the *Honrado* was the Honorable Council of the *Mesta*.

¹³*Memorial ajustado del Expediente de Concordia que trata el Honrado Concejo de la Mesta con la Diputación General de Extremadura ante el Conde de Campomanes*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1783).

¹⁴When the *Asociación General de Ganaderos del Reino* (General Association of Stock Owners of the Kingdom) was founded in 1836 as a confederation of guilds to protect the economic interests of stock owners, but now without the former privileges and power of the *Mesta*, one of its first concerns was that of reestablishing the exact boundaries of the early *cañadas*, *cordeles*, and *descansaderos*, abandoned and blurred, due to the grave disruptions of the war against Napoleon's armies. To this purpose a royal commission was created which, at the same time, named a series of royal superintendents (*comisarios*) charged with establishing the exact limits of royal *cañadas* in all disputed areas. For years, these patient superintendents (Celestino del Río, Juan Manuel Escanciano, Aquilino Tellez, Eladio de Matesau, and several others) traversed the entire area of Spain occupied by the traditional *cañadas*. Always requiring that they be accompanied by two local shepherds, they overcame innumerable difficulties, as well as the hostility of the peasantry and village mayors—sometimes having recourse to provincial governors so they could be protected by soldiers. Without resources and with little help, they forwarded, during a number of years, their exact, meticulous reports to the *Asociación General de Ganaderos*. The dossiers of these worthy functionaries—preserved today in the Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid)—were the basis of a series of pamphlets describing the *cañadas*, *cordeles*, and *veredas*, printed in Madrid, between 1852 and 1860, concerning which we will have more to say later.

¹⁵Fribourg (1910:235). The number of migratory sheep in 1910 was,

then, less than half the number in 1482.

¹⁶These pamphlets, except the first one, were published in one volume with the title: *Descripción de las cañadas reales de León, Segovia, Soria y ramales de la de Cuenca y del valle de Alcudia* (Madrid: Ediciones El Museo Universal, 1984).

¹⁷Besides the great *cañadas* of the central system, André Fribourg mentions three groups of less important paths: one that goes from Gibraltar, through the south of Andalusia, to Valencia; another to the north of the Jucar River, of short branch roads (*ramales*) that descend from the plains to the coast; and, finally, the *ramales* and *veredas* of Aragón, which were used by flocks coming down from the Pyrenees.

¹⁸Francisco Mendoza Díaz—Maroto's map (indicating the *cañadas* in the province of Albacete) is based on the one included in Panadero Moya (1976:108).

¹⁹The ten versions not included on the map were assigned the following numbers: 4a, 8a [in an appendix], 30a, 38a, 42a, 110a, 110b, 113a, 120a and 126a (according to their position on the map).

²⁰See my observations in this regard, referring to the valley of Alcudia (Sánchez Romeralo 1979).

²¹For more information on these *SMP* expeditions, see Diego Catalán's article in the present volume (n. 2).