Migratory Shepherds and Ballad Diffusion¹

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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 Alcudia, 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 Mismated Wife). Here is our version of La loba parda (Rr: I.111):

1. Las cabrillas ya van altas
   la Luna va revelada;
   2. las ovejas de un cornudo
      no paran en la majada.
      Se pone el pastor en vela
      vio venir la lobs parda.
      — Llega, llega, loba parda,
         no tendrás mala llegada,
         con mis siete cachorrillos
         y mi perra Truquillana,
         y mi perro el de los hierros
         que para ti solo basta.
      — Ni tus siete cachorrillos,
        ni tu perra Truquillana,
        ni tu perro el de los hierros
        para mí no valen nada.
        Le ha llevado una borrega
        que era hija de una blanca,
        pariente de una picalba,
        que la tenían los amos
        para la mañana ‘e Pascua.
      — Aquí, siete cachorrillos,
        aquí, perra Truquillana,
        aquí, perro de los hierros,
a correr la loba parda!— give chase to the brindled wolf!!
14 La corrieron siete leguas They chased her for seven leagues
por unas fuertes montañas, over the rugged mountains;
la arrastraron otras tantas they urged her on as many more
por una tierras aradas,
16 y al subir un cotarrito and going up a gully
y al bajar una cotarra, and coming down a ravine,
sale el pastor al encuentro out comes the shepherd to meet her
con el cuchillo a matarla. with the knife to kill her there:
18 —No me mates, pastorcito, “Don’t kill me, little shepherd,
por la Virgen soberana, in the sovereign Virgin’s name.
yo te dare tu borrega I’ll give you your lamb
sin faltarla una tajada. without even a morsel less.”
20 —Yo no quiero mi borrega “I don’t want my lamb,
de tu boca embaboseada, all frothy from your mouth,
que yo quiero tu pelleja what I want is your hide
para hacer una zamarra; to make a shepherd’s coat;
22 siete pellejitas tengo seven little hides have I
para hacer una zamarra, to make a shepherd’s coat;
con la tuya serán ocho with yours there will be eight
para acabar de aforrarla; to finish lining it;
24 las orejas pa pendientes, the ears for earrings
las patas para polainas, and the legs for leggings,
el rabo para agujetas the tail for laces
para atacarme las bragas, to tie my breeches with,
26 para poder correr bien so I can run well
la mañanita de Pascua. 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 rebel (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 *Vokabulario 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.³ |
| Ay qué alta va la luna     | y el aire que la meneaba, |
| las ovejas de un cornudo   | se salen de la majada.⁴ |

*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
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. 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 soga”, (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 Montemolin.* Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel Minuesa, 1856 (Description of the Leonese cañada, from Valdeburón to Montemolín).


*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 pard, indicated on the map by the numbers 1-182

A. Cordel of Bahía de ADMOS, Canada of La Vizcaya and its ramales to the west.

1. San Martín de Suso
2. Abadía
3. Villaviciosa
4. Quincena de Bai
5. Zurela
6. Villamartín
7. Víbela
8. Uña
9. Villavío de Manzanares
10. Nuez
11. Sáenz de Alba
12. Ferreruela de Tiéba
13. Zamora
14. Fornillo de Fermaoz
15. Cantalelo
16. Cantalelo
17. Garza de Béjar
18. Garza de Béjar
19. El Cabero
20. [Garza de la Olla]
21. Garza de la Olla
22. Villanueva de la Vera
23. Malpartida de Plasencia
24. Malpartida de Plasencia
25. Malpartida de Plasencia
26. Serradilla
27. Cañareral
28. Portale
29. El Peino
30. Villa del Campo
31. Santiago de Carbajal
32. Arroyo de la Luz
33. Alzaba

B. Royal Leonese canañas.

34. Tuñanesa
35. Belmonte
36. Lucena
37. Dávila
38. Coopera
39. Cervera
40. Ribota
41. Cerezo de Salcedo
42. Gáave de Salcedo
43. Cerezo de Salcedo
44. Broto
45. Cebolla
46. Villalobos
47. Montaña de León
48. Horcajo de las Torres
49. Manzanares
50. Guadix
51. Pepeñicos
52. Buñololo
53. Horacero
54. Horacero
55. San Martín del Pinoal
56. Hoyos del Espino
57. Hoyos del Espino
58. Hoyos del Espino
59. Hoyos del Espino
60. Hoyos del Espino
61. Avencicín de Toro
62. Alzaba de Toro
63. Boboya
64. Boboya
65. Navarroblesa
66. Provincia de Oviedo
67. Almocover
68. Almocover
69. Almocover
70. Almocover
71. El Real de San Vicente
72. Navalcán
73. Navalcán
74. Torralba de Oropesa
75. Torralba de Oropesa
76. Valdedíezla
77. Valdedíezla
78. Valdedíezla
79. Trujillo
80. Trujillo
81. Huerta de la Magdalena
82. Montánchez
83. Alcalázar
84. Alcalázar
85. Alcalázar
86. Castilblanco
87. Cerralba de la Siera
88. Campero

C. Royal canañas of Soria (western route).

89. Bellada de Castelo
90. Cerezo de Riórón
91. Cerezo de Riórón
92. Pinedia de la Siera
93. Baco de Herrería
94. Huerta de Arriba
95. Baco de la Siera
96. Alcázar de Aveloandura
97. Quintana de la Siera
98. Víñegre de Arriba
99. Víñegre de Arriba
100. Víñegre de Arriba
101. Víñegre de Arriba
102. Víñegre de Arriba
103. Villanueva de Fría
104. Torre de Cameros
105. Almazá de Cameros
106. El Rey
107. Calesafoz
108. Calesafoz
109. Calesafoz
110. Torrebélicos

D. Royal Segovian canañas.

111. Berceo
112. Fresa de la Fuente
113. Riaza
114. Riaza
115. Sepúlveda
116. Aguilar de la Sierra
117. Sigüenza
118. Somosierra
119. Arconas
120. Avilés, Arconas, Vega de Santa María (Verión Lañada)
121. Rebolar
122. Señorío de la Fuente
123. Señorío de la Fuente
124. Rebeca
125. Rascátor
126. Rascátor
127. S. Apóstol de Guadix
128. S. Apóstol de Guadix
129. Rivas de Esteras
130. Avila de los Montes
131. Corral de Calatrava
132. Varévas
133. Hinojas de Calatrava
134. Hinojas de Calatrava
135. Fuencarral
136. Fuente el Canto
137. Córdoba

E. Royal canañas of Soria (eastern route).

138. San Pedro Manrique
139. Castilblanco de la Sierra
140. San Andrés de la Sierra
141. San Andrés de la Sierra
142. Rozellás
143. Villanueva de los Infantes
144. Las Freguesas
145. Valdeavero del Jarama
146. Valdeavero
147. Los Santos de la Humosa
148. Extremadura

149. Villanueva de los Infantes
150. Cervera
151. Los Yébenes
152. Los Yébenes
153. Alcudia de San Juan
154. Maleddón
155. Maleddón
156. Ciudad Real
157. Manzanares
158. Manzanares
159. Almagro
160. Almagro
161. Valdeavero
162. Valdeavero
163. Valdeavero

F. Canañas of Cuenca and the canañas in the extreme east of this province.

164. Cañamisas
165. Vega del Cadornal
166. Trepazetas
167. Plata de la Ojeda
168. Acebide
169. Torrella del Campo
170. Hontanera
171. Honoría
172. Villanueva de la Fuent
173. Villanueva de la Fuent
174. Torre de la Fuent
175. Jódar
176. Villarejo de la Fuent
177. Villarejo de la Fuent
178. Villarejo de la Fuent
179. Villarejo de la Fuent
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). 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
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
Villárvida (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
Valdecasa 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**


**CIUDAD REAL**


**E. ROYAL CAÑADA OF SORIA (EASTERN ROUTE)**

[Description *Rr*:162]

**SORIA**


**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

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Notes
1Translated from the Spanish by Samuel G. Armistead and Karen L. Olson.
2Version 1.133 in Rr, collected in Valle de Alcudia 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 vozes 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 Sigueruelo (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).
This compilation of 1511 supplemented earlier ones, especially that of 1492, carried out by Malpartida, legal counsel to Fernando and Isabel.

See 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).

In 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.

The 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.

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).

When 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 Rio, 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.

Fribourg (1910:235). The number of migratory sheep in 1910 was,
then, less than half the number in 1482.

16 These 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).

17 Besides 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.

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

19 The 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).

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

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