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Mammoth Woolly Migrations:
Transhumance, Extinction, and the Cervantine Shepherd

Margaret Marek
Illinois College

It is probably impossible to exaggerate the magnitude of the Merino sheep—Spain’s most important scientific development—and its powerful legacy as a cultural icon, for ovines pervade the artistic and the domestic Iberian landscape, both natural and imaginary, ranging from medieval paintings and altarpieces, to the ever-popular *libro de pastores*.¹ This paper places the *libro de pastores* within the context of the boom of the Merino Wool trade. Similarly, critics such as Daniel Eisenberg have connected the popularity of the *libro de caballerías* to the Reconquest, the creation of the military orders and the subsequent extension of Empire (37). R. O. Jones argues that for a literary tradition: “to have had such a hold on the imagination of the reading public we must believe that they mirrored some important truth or aspiration of the time” (54). Juan Bautista Avallé-Arce concurs:

Todo momento histórico se ve apuntalado por una serie de aspiraciones, represiones, mitos expresados o implícitos que, estudiados colectivamente, en el plano intelectual nos dan la radiografía ideológica del período. (*Novela* 14)

With the publication of Montemayor’s *Diana* in 1559, the *libro de pastores* became, in the words of Amadeu Solé-Leris “a new favorite form of fiction to which the reading public turned with eagerness” (25). Avallé-Arce points to the “insatiable” market for which “Spanish writers could not turn out pastoral narratives fast enough” (“Four Hundred”14) and describes the “hegemony” of the *libro de pastores* (*Novela* 14). By the end of the seventeenth century [Montemayor’s *Diana*] had gone through forty editions in Spanish and thirty-one in translation, in French, English, German, and Dutch (Solé-Leris 145). Pedro Malón de Chaide’s famed rebuke also recognizes the popularity of this genre: “¿Qué ha de hacer la doncellita que apenas sabe andar, y ya trae una Diana en la faldriquera?” (25). Moreover, Edwin S. Morby notes that twenty editions of *La Arcadia* had appeared by

1675; that among pastoral books it was second in circulation only to Montemayor's *Diana*; and that during Lope's lifetime, *La Arcadia* was his most successful book (14).²

Both the Merino and the *libro de pastores* are fashioned from the same mold.³ Carla Rahn Philips and William Philips attest to the myth surrounding the intrinsic Spanish-ness of the Merino sheep: "[T]he belief took hold, both inside and outside Spain, that the Merino could not flourish anywhere but in the environment that had produced it. The climate, pasturage, and transhumance patterns in Spain supposedly created uniquely ideal conditions for the Merino's survival and for the fineness of its wool" (84). In the same vein, Hugo Rennert contends that "the climate and the warm, impressionable nature of the people, were not unimportant factors in its success, since pastoral poetry never flourished to such an extent in northern countries, for lack of conditions congenial to its growth" (17). Examined collectively, these distinct perspectives, however flawed, overgeneralized, and antiquated, answer the conundrum of the popularity of the pastoral.⁴

The Merino, then, populates both the natural and the artistic Spanish landscape. The agricultural climate that produces the Merino is the cultural climate that yields the *libro de pastores*. Transhumance—the seasonal movement of livestock from summer to winter pastures (often from the mountain down to the plains)—has occurred in Iberia for centuries. Manuel Rodríguez Pascual elucidates its profound impact on León in particular:⁵

La permanencia durante los últimos siete siglos de [la trashumancia] ha dejado una profunda huella en nuestra cultura—conocimientos empíricos, vocabulario, topónimos, prácticas ganaderas, construcciones, artesanía, gastronomía, folclore, etc., —enriquecida en muchos casos por los continuos intercambios con otros pueblos allende nuestras fronteras. (19)

Merino herds migrated twice yearly, summering in their pastures of origin, in the northern mountain passes, but spending nine months of the year on the southern plains.⁶ Some flocks migrated up to 600 miles or nearly 1,000 km in about two months (Phillips 21).⁷ Spanish stock were improved by the introduction of African rams, and from the thirteenth century onward by the investigation and application of Berber pastoral

practices (Klein 7). These practices produced the super-fine Merino wool of high market demand, which constituted Early Modern Spain's driving economic force, which for Julio Baena rivals that of oil to present-day Iraq (89).

Klein traces transhumance in Spain to the time of the Goths, if not the aboriginal Iberians (7). The powerful herders' union, the *Honrado Concejo de la Mesta de Pastores*, had been chartered by Alfonso X by 1273. Here I refer to the Mesta, though prior to this time there existed local meetings or *mestas*, primarily for handling the return or redistribution of stray animals.⁸ Merino flocks were owned and maintained by the Church, the Military Orders, and the Crown. Up until the 18th century, the exportation of this breed was punishable by death. To understand in general terms the layout of the *cañadas* (or sheep walks) one might visualize a map of the Iberian Peninsula as overlain with about nine arteries running more or less north to south.⁹ The width—as decreed by Alfonso X—of each *cañada* measured 90 *varas*, or about 79 yards. Their lengths range from about 300 to 500 miles.

A rigid, military-like hierarchy existed amongst herders, from the mayoral (hand chosen by the flock owner) down to the lowliest *zagal*. These rankings are conserved in *La Galatea* when Teolinda speaks of *mayoral* Eleuco: “Y porque en ninguna cosa que Eleuco mandaba, dejaba de ser obedecido...” (239). Other positions included *vaquero*, *pastor de ovejas*, and *gañán*. Each enjoyed the legal protection of the Mesta and was permitted a certain number of sheep according to his rank, but the flock owner owned the wool. Those who engaged in the difficult and dangerous work of herding did not benefit from the profits of the wool, an inequity carried over into the twentieth century (though the Mesta was disbanded in 1836).¹⁰

The Merino wool trade peaks during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, at which point it is estimated that *three million sheep* (my emphasis) travelled the *cañadas* of the Mesta; three hundred years later, that number dropped to only about 500,000 (Antonio Viñayo González 13). Mesta's initial period of decline—and that of transhumant Merino herding—comes in the 16th century, followed by a second decline in the 19th, and its final (virtual) extinction in the late 20th.

By means of a brief detour through the Cathedral of León,¹¹ I will make a very direct connection between the Merino and the literary shepherds of Cervantes and *libro de pastores* writers.¹² The 15th-century

Mammoth Woolly Migrations:
Transhumance, Extinction, and the Cervantine Shepherd

altarpiece of the *Capilla del Nacimiento*¹³ features Spanish shepherds, carrying the same crooks or *ganchos* still used today.



Images 1 & 2. *Catedral de León, Capilla del Nacimiento* (author's photos)

The pattern of the fleece and the position of the ears clearly identify these sheep as Merinos.¹⁴ Spanish mastiffs, wearing the *carlancas* or spiked collar to protect them from wolves, accompany the shepherds. Berganza describes these collars in the *Coloquio de los perros*: “...El pastor me puso luego al cuello unas carlancas llenas de puntas de acero...” (289). Similar representations appear additionally in the illustrations from the *Libro en que se quientan los amores de Viraldo y Florindo, aunque en diverso estilo* and from Antonio de Lofrasso’s *Los diez libros de fortuna de amor* corroborate Berganza’s account.¹⁵



Image 3. Maestro de Ávila—*Tríptico de la Navidad* (permission requested from the Museo Lázaro Galdiano)¹⁶

A second example of Merino sheep at the Nativity is Maestro de Ávila’s 15th century *Tríptico de la Navidad*, an altarpiece depicting the shepherds on the left, the holy family in the centerpiece, and the three kings on the right. The left side features biblical shepherds using authentic

herding accoutrements, such as the *gancho*, a rebec, a flute, bagpipes, a wineskin, and a canine (though not a mastiff) wearing *carlancas*. Slightly off in the distance a wolf devours a lamb, thus evidencing the need for this protection. As Aparicio Tovar and Pizarro Gómez note:

La tabla izquierda del tríptico, que representa la Anunciación a los Pastores, ofrece una escena de gran realismo en la que se nos muestra en primer plano un perro y tres pastores, vestidos con tres tipos distintos de ‘trajes de encima’ de la época, capotín, gabán y capa con capilla. (54)

Nor is the depiction of Spanish sheep and shepherds in religious-themed paintings limited to the Nativity.



Image 4. Francisco de Zurbarán *Cordero con las patas atadas* (permission requested from the Museo del Prado)¹⁷

Several paintings of Francisco Zurbarán (1598-1664) contain detailed specimens of the Merino. As Aparicio Tovar and Pizarro Gómez

clarify, four still lifes have as their subject a single Merino, tied and ready for sacrifice: *Carnero con las patas atadas* (1631), *Carnero con las patas atadas* (1632), *Cordero con las patas atadas* (1631-1640) and *Cordero con las patas atadas* (1635-1640), though they justly appraise the latter, also known as *Agnus Dei*, as a “formidable ejemplar merino” (162). Similarly, in Zurbarán’s *Santa Margarita* (ca. 1631-40)¹⁸ the saint wears the traditional long red dress of the *serrana*, yet seen in the 20th century in la *montaña de León*. She additionally carries the *gancho*, along with a woolen saddlebag, also of the type seen in this region.¹⁹

If we are now to excavate the Early Modern transhumant shepherds, both literary and non-literary, we might begin with their precursors, who inhabit *Églogas* of Juan del Encina. This type’s most defining characteristic is his use of *sayagués* (John Brotherton ix), an old dialect of Leonese that is still spoken in Asturias and in the provinces of León and Zamora, regions—as it happens—historically and recently heavily involved in transhumant Merino herding.²⁰

In 1519, Encina is named Prior of León, and from 1523 until his death ca.1529, he resides in León (Sullivan 15). Like transhumant Merino herding, Encina comes into his own under the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. As with the altarpieces we have seen, Encina’s earliest representations of the shepherd originate in the nativity. His first two eclogues—though references to herding accoutrements are a staple throughout the ten eclogues generally—were performed for the Duke and Duchess of Alba, on Christmas Eve ca. 1492. The second eclogue, in which the shepherds receive the announcement of the Christ child, follows immediately on the heels of the first, whose principal concern is the praise of Encina’s patrons.

Égloga II contains a very specific reference to a foremost threat to the herd:

Es tan justo y tan chapado,
tan castigador de robos,
que los más hambrientos lobos
huyen más de su ganado. (vv. 37-40)

The four shepherds, named after the Gospel writers, carry the *zurrón* (shepherd’s bag) and wear the *pellón* (sheepskin), as did their non-literary equivalents. John proffers a gift of acorns, a prized crop of the

sierra, up through the twentieth century. The Duke of Alba is compared to a worthy flock owner who inspires the loyalty of his shepherds.

The Early Modern Spanish reading public voraciously devoured the *libro de pastores*. In these best-sellers, and also interspersed throughout the *Quijote*, technical herding terms such as *almagre*, *apero*, *borrego*, *cabaña*, *mesta*, and *rediles* abound.²¹ The first prose pastoral text in Spanish seems to be the *Libro en que se quientan los amores de Viraldo y Florindo, aunque en diverso estilo* (1541), an elaborate, illuminated manuscript that lay ensconced for centuries in a family library.²² In addition to three letters—two to a doña Beatriz de la Cuerda, to whom the author refers as “aficionada a la literatura pastoril” (Gómez Canseco 18), and one to her brother, and a prologue, the *Libro* is comprised of two tales of unrequited love. The first, which contains the book’s four illustrations, takes the form of the ten *Coloquios pastoriles de Viraldo y Pinardo* and witnesses Viraldo’s love for Leandra in *el valle de las Musas*. The second tale, *Los amores de Florindo con Laurina*, is set in the city of Morena.

In the illustration accompanying *Coloquio I* appear shepherds Viraldo and Pinardo in dialogue, dogs at their feet and staves in hand, populating the *locus amoenus*, along with its obligatory trees, flowers, fountain, and sheep. This *Coloquio* explicitly references transhumance: “... después que Pinardo avía pasado a los montes a tener invernada con sus ovejas en tierra más caliente” (152). Later on, in *Coloquio VI* the bereaved Viraldo summons his fellow shepherds to a *mesta* (lowercase) to commemorate Leandra:

Verdad es que estotro día, en una junta que hicimos los mayores del ganado desta comarca, conçertamos que la mesta, que se suele hazer en la Fuente del Pino, que tú sabes, se haga cada año aquí, en ésta destos fresnos, para que aya mayor ocasión de solenizar las obsequias de Leandra en aquel tiempo. (161)

For all practical purposes, Viraldo seems to be invoking a (capitalized) Mesta. He arranges for a priest to say a special mass, which itself was an important component of the Mesta meetings. Klein notes that the silver service originally used by the Mesta is still used annually by the subsequent *Asociación General de Ganaderos del Reino*, which was formed in 1836 (50). Like some of the powerful flock owners belonging to the Mesta, Viraldo wields

influence and evidently is a man of means. To be sure, the similitude is faint—Viraldo is arranging a memorial service, not presiding over a Mesta meeting—and the Libro does not attempt a realistic portrayal. While it is clear that the *Honrado Concejo de la Mesta* has shaped the Spanish Pastoral Book, in this instance the Libro invokes the Mesta by changing the location of the annual (lowercase) *mesta* from *la fuente del Pino* to *la Fuente de los Fresnos* in order to commemorate Viraldo's love for Leandra. The illustration from *Coloquio VI* depicts Leandra's tomb—designed by Viraldo—and reminiscent of Massilia's tomb in Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, which itself was composed around 1480 and published in 1504. In the foreground are Viraldo and Pinardo with a sheepdog; in the distance are wolves, underscoring the portent of violence in the *locus amoenus*. The faithful mastiff wears the aforementioned *carlancas*. The shepherds use the *gancho*, *zurrón*, and the flute.

The illustration from Lofrasso's *Libro III* depicts a mixed herd of goats and Merino ewes and rams, tended by shepherds donned in traditional garb and carrying bagpipes, a flute, and a staff, which differs from the *gancho*. While both instruments are carved from wood, with crooks at the end, the *gancho* has a metal hook and is taller than shoulder height, while the staff is shorter, having the shape of a cane. Both tools have been—and still are—used by Spanish shepherds.

Cervantes interweaves this mundane herding imagery throughout his work, including both volumes of the *Quijote*. For example, in I.2 at the end of the first day of his first sally, before mistaking the inn for a castle, don Quijote envisions that he may spend the night in a sheepfold with shepherds, which does come to pass in I.10 and 11, when the oft-discussed goatherds invite don Quijote and Sancho to partake of their pastoral repast. At this point in the narrative, don Quijote is near the Sierra Morena, which runs roughly east to west, along the southernmost ends of the principal *cañada* routes. These goat herders appear to be local, based in the *dehesa*, rather than transhumant herders who have migrated, with their livestock, from points northward. They are expressly stated to be *cabreros*, or herders of goats. For literary herders, *the species herded* [my emphasis] is a significant marker of status and even of erudition, as in the case of Elicio and Erastro in *La Galatea*. However, non-literary herds, transhumant and stationary, comprised more than just sheep. The term *cabaña* refers to all of the animals under a shepherd's care, and might well include dogs, mules, donkeys, and

goats. Large flocks were divided up into *batos* or *rebaños*, which contained about 800 rams or up to 1500 ewes and about five dogs; each one was further divided into five or six *rediles* (Phillips and Phillips 103).

LIBRO
y de los mas principales, lleuaua cōsigo muy lindos
perros de caça: y preguntándole Frexano su veni-



da ala fuente, respondió. Sabras que pensé que algu-
no de mis hermanos fuesse, porq̃ yo con otros tres
hermanos estamos caçado todo el dia en el bosque,
donde ya tenemos dos jaulines muertos cō otros
animales, que harto plazer nos han dado de ver la
pelea de los perros nuestros conellos: y siguiédo la
caça, senti vna suau voz, que por no oyr mas de los
acentos quel eco me daua, pensé que fuesse alguno
de mis hermanos, q̃ le hguiesse sucedido algo, porq̃
viuimos en nras cabañas, con recato de Bulsion cō
trario nro, el qual de contino con sus ociosos ami-
gos, van reboluédo todo el prado, q̃ mil vezes nos
han acometido, y siépre hā quedado liñados: y estā
do cō tal cuydado, me subí al mōte, y senti q̃ la voz
venia desta parte, y así me vine por aquí, cierto di-
xo Frexano q̃ me huelgo mucho de tu vista, y pues
vienes fatigado, merédaremos los dos jutos. Duria
no le dio gracias por la buena voluntad, y replico
tanto

© Biblioteca Nacional de España

Image 6. Illustration from Lofrasso
(digital collection of the Biblioteca Nacional de España)²³

The goat herders' meal is comprised of goat jerky, roasted acorns, cheese, and wine, the latter drunk from cups made of horn, which is standard fare (though not with respect to its sumptuous quantity) for herders both literal and literary:

[Sancho] se fue tras el olor que despedían de sí ciertos tasajos de cabra que hirviendo al fuego en un caldero estaban....Los cabreros los quitaron del fuego y, tendiendo por el suelo unas pieles de ovejas, aderezaron con mucha priesa su rústica mesa y convidaron a los dos, con muestras de muy buena voluntad, con lo que tenían. Sentáronse a la redonda de las pieles seis de ellos, que eran los que en la majada había.... (95-6)

They also eat cheese and the famous *encina* acorns, growing in the *debesa* landscape. A typical summertime chore for *zagales* in the *debesa* was to make cheese.

After their meal, fellow herder Antonio will entertain the party by singing verses and accompanying himself on the rebec—that quintessential pastoral instrument prevalent in the *libro de pastores*, but also figuring among the gear of twentieth-century transhumant herders. Finally, one the goatherds treats don Quijote's wounded ear with a mixture of crushed rosemary leaves and salt, “asegurándole que no había menester otra medicina, y así fue la verdad” (102).²⁴

Shortly thereafter, in I.18, don Quijote mistakes the approaching flock of rams and flock of ewes in I.18 for the opposing armies of Pentapolín and Alifanfarón. When attacked by the knight the shepherds resort to the first weapon at hand: the slingshots herders used both literally and literarily to hunt birds and small mammals for food. The second volume contains the pastoral episodes of Basilio and Quiteria's wedding; Eugenio and Leandra's story; as well as don Quijote and Sancho's own pastoral agenda. However, even in episodes *seemingly divorced* from the pastoral world, [my emphasis] Cervantes employs numerous references to herding vocabulary, implements, as well as professionals associated with the wool trade, ranging from flock owners, to shepherds, to pasture owners, spinners, weavers, and collectors of taxes on wool.²⁵



Image 7. Argimiro Rodríguez holding *gancho* (author's photo)

An astonishing degree of similarity exists amongst shepherds over the centuries, whether painted, literary, or literal. For example, present-day flock owner Argimiro Rodríguez uses a *gancho* that he carved himself from a tree limb. His stance mirrors that of the illustrations from the anonymous *Libro* and Lofrasso's *Los diez libros de la fortuna de amor*. While this posture would likely be attributed to lovesickness in the case of the shepherds from *libro de pastores*, real-life herders have more practical concerns, such as checking livestock for parasites and injury, and accounting for the presence of each individual animal.²⁶

The use of the *cencerro*, worn by the *manso* or bellwether, a tamed and castrated ram trained to follow the commands of the herder, make it possible for the herder to keep track of individual animals or smaller groupings.²⁷ The *cencerro* is no ordinary bell. Made of brass, *cencerros*, which you can still buy today (my own came from a shop in León), are available in a range of sizes, and therefore pitches. Lorenzo López distinguishes from among twenty-four models of straight *cencerros* and eight models of curved ones, measuring from two to 50 centimeters long (57). The shepherd uses them to locate individual animals or smaller groupings of animals:

En las dehesas donde había mucho monte el ganado llevaba muchos cencerros, porque cuando había niebla se localizaba por el sonido; o si había espantada durante la noche (por el lobo), se oía el rebaño por toda la montaña. (Lorenzo López 60)

Clappers were made of iron by the *cencerrero*, or else carved by the shepherd from *encina* oak, horn, or bone. It is clear that, at least in certain ways, methods have remained largely unchanged. Argimiro Rodríguez, for example, continues to use *cencerros*, making the leather collars (and even their metal buckles) by hand. Since the clapper is less sturdy than the bell, he periodically carves new ones to attach to his *cencerros*. Instead of using *encina*, however, he uses a plastic compound that causes less wear and tear on the bell itself.

In II.46, while staying with the duke and the duchess, don Quijote experiences “el temeroso espanto cenceril y gatuno”:

[D]escolgaron un cordel donde venían más de cien cencerros asidos, y luego tras ellos derramaron un gran saco de gatos, que asimismo traían cencerros menores atados a las colas. (897-98)

That the duke and the duchess are able to attain the sheer number and varied sizes of these bells simply to pull a prank on don Quijote suddenly becomes considerably more credible.

In II.67, as don Quijote and Sancho plan their own pastoral pursuits, don Quijote agrees buy the sheep and the pastoral implements. Sancho's concerns, as always, range toward the gastronomical: ¡Oh, qué polidas cucharas tengo de hacer cuando pastor me vea! ¡Qué de migas, qué

de natas...! (1063). Shepherds were adept carvers of wood, and also horn, both out of necessity and as a way to pass the time.



Image 8. Wood carving (author's photo)

They carved staves;²⁸ handles for *ganchos*, rakes, and other implements; clappers for *cencerros*; cups, spoons, and trinkets; as well as

musical instruments. In *La Galatea*, Elicio and Damón play the rebec (the strings would have been made from sheep gut) and Tirsi and Erastro the *zampoña*. The musical proficiency of these and most literary shepherds and shepherdesses is a detail that is, perhaps surprisingly, realistic, for up through the twentieth century herders have composed poetry and songs and fashioned flutes, rebecs, and other musical instruments to accompany them.

As we have noted, a tremendous parallel exists between fictional and nonfictional shepherds. Nevertheless, despite the commonalities in tasks and equipment—and within the *libro de pastores*, an overwhelming uniformity of characterization—shepherds do not constitute a homogeneous group. Considerable tension existed between *riberiegos* (herders from the plains, or *tierras llanas*), and those of the *sierra*, which is most explicitly referenced in Bernardo de Balbuena's *Siglo de Oro en las selvas de Erífle* (1608). Balbuena distinguishes between *rústicos* and *serranos*. For example, Florenio is *serrano*, “uno de nosotros,” and Beraldo is *extremeño*: “nacido entre robles y encinas y entre bellotas y castañas criado apenas como los otros pastores sabia hablar...” (5). This same distinction occurs in *La Galatea*. Teolinda, a shepherdess from the banks of the Henares, praises the two *famosos pastores*, Tirsi and Damón, whom Francisco López Estrada and López García-Berdoy, and others have convincingly identified as Francisco de Figueroa, and Pedro Laínez, the latter originally from León:

[T]an aventajados los dos en todo género de discreción, ciencia y loables ejercicios que no sólo en el circuito de nuestra comarca son conocidos, pero por todo el de la tierra conocidos y estimados. (251)

Tirsi and Damón do not look like flock owners, but neither do they quite resemble typical shepherds:

Dos pastores de gallarda disposición y extremado brío, de poca más edad el uno que el otro, tan bien vestidos, aunque pastorilmente, que más parecían en su talle y apostura bizarros cortesanos que serranos ganaderos. (252)

Like all herders, they indeed wear the *pellico*, a garment made from sheepskin, but theirs are “bien tallado[s], de blanca y finísima lana (252). The origins of these two famous friends is explicitly stated. Tírsi is from Alcalá de Henares, and Damón is from “las montañas de León.”²⁹

As it happens, those hailing from the *montaña de León* have been known for their erudition from the eighteenth century. This area was among the earliest parts of Spain to achieve full literacy, despite the fact that 300 years ago this region was unnavigable for much of the year. The *Escuela para Estudiantes Pobres* was established in 1709, and the *Cátedra de Lois* in 1744; Furthermore, three citizens of Lois were members of the *Real Academia de la Lengua* in the early 1700s (Aurelio Rodríguez Puerta 13-14).

As we have seen, the ever-popular *libro de pastores* is closely linked to herding culture, and vice versa. I argue that the ever-decreasing hospitability of the conditions of traditional transhumance and its imminent decline have provoked a flurry of pastoral publishings, both in the 16th century and now. Reminiscent of the relentless popularity of the *libro de pastores* in the sixteenth century, in the last twenty years the virtual disappearance of traditional transhumance has provoked a corresponding outpouring of websites, blogs, Facebook groups, books, travel narratives, memoirs, novels, children’s literature, musical albums, and ecological and agricultural studies dedicated to things pastoral.³⁰ The traditional herding song “Ya se van los pastores” was recorded in 1999 by Llares Folk, but a simple YouTube search yields about 40 renditions. Today backpackers, cyclists, and horseback riders follow the routes of the traditional *cañadas* (Arranz Mata 14); Like the bellwether, pastoral publications prognosticate the wane of traditional merino herding, both that of the Early Modern period and, most direly, that of the present day.

¹ Barbara Mujica bears witness to the quotidian proliferation of the pastoral: “Ornamentation on candelabra, clocks, mirror frames, toilet articles, porcelain dinner services, and furniture of the period often depicted bucolic scenes, sometimes based on mythological themes. In daily life the elite of Renaissance society was reminded constantly of the bucolic ideal” (259).

² In the *Coloquio de los perros* Cervante’s canine protagonist, Berganz, attests to the popularity of these books, while at the same time condemning their lack of verisimilitude: “[A]quellos libros son cosas soñadas y bien escritas para entretenimiento de los ociosos, y no verdad alguna; que a serlo, entre mis pastores hubiera alguna reliquia de aquella felicísima vida, y de aquellos amenos prados, espaciosas selvas, sagrados montes, hermosos jardines, arroyos claros y cristalinas fuentes...” (*Novelas ejemplares* 290). Though this account comes straight from the mouth of the mastiff, it is probably best to take Berganza’s disgruntled assessment with a bit of salt lick (itself an ever-important nutritional requirement sheep and other animals), as, in certain respects, these literary shepherds do represent a realistic portrayal of their real-life herding counterparts.

³ My first musings on the connection between the Merino wool trade and the *libro de pastores* originated in a paleography institute with Carla Rahn Phillips at the Ransom Library in the summer of 2007, where we transcribed a manuscript containing insurance policies for shipped bags of wool. I first presented on this topic in 2009, after which time I came upon Krauss’s study quite by accident. This study, “Localización y desplazamientos en la novela pastoril española,” which forms part of the *Actas del Segundo Congreso Internacional de Hispanistas*, presented in Nijmegen in 1967, is groundbreaking, or at least *it should have been*. In part I attribute the lack of critical reaction to its scant dispersal. Despite attention paid fairly recently to material goods, by scholars such as Lisa Jardine and Phillips and Phillips, Krauss’s study is largely left uncited by critics, or else cited only in a cursory fashion. While Avalué-Arce makes brief reference to it in 1974 in *La novela pastoril española*, he does so without elucidating Krauss’s argument. Fortunately, in 1984 Bruno Damiani does recognize the importance of Krauss’s study and devotes considerable analysis to it in his monograph on Jorge de Montemayor. While Krauss does write about *La Diana*, his paper also focuses on the *libro de pastores* more widely. Krauss’s study should have

reshaped scholarship on the Spanish pastoral book. I am happy to have the opportunity to bring it again to light here.

⁴ Krauss concurs that, despite the inundation of bucolic themes throughout the literature of Early Modern Europe, the pastoral motif inspires only two novels outside of Spain: Sannazaro's *Arcadia* and *L'Astrée*, neither of which sees imitations or continuations within its respective country of origin. Moreover, while Montemayor's *Diana* is quite well received abroad, it never takes root in foreign literary traditions (363). In addition, he sees a specific commonality within the genre: "el afán de localización y el dinamismo literario" (364). Despite the importance that Krauss attributes to this connection, he concludes that: "Bien es verdad que la novela pastoril, a pesar de su arraigue geográfico, pinta figuras y tipos más bien imaginados que reales" (368).

⁵ I am deeply in the debt of this scholar and friend, who has spent many hours with me touring the *montaña de León* and for sharing with me bibliographical resources, and also for showing me his personal collection of antique pastoral implements, as well as those of local ethnographic museums.

⁶ In the summer of 2014 I was fortunate to spend time with Argimiro Rodríguez Villarroel and his family, both in the *montaña de León* and in the *dehesa extremeña*. This family's herding roots go back to the 1800s, if not before. And much of my understanding of transhumant herding results from their extraordinary hospitality—especially that of María Fernández Villarroel. Any remaining errors are my own.

⁷ Transhumance took varying forms; some flocks migrated relatively short distances. Nor was the movement solely north to south (summer to winter). See Máximo Diago Hernando, Julius Klein, Phillips, and Antonio Viñayo González for their comprehensive and nuanced analyses.

⁸ Nevertheless, stationary flocks both outnumbered and coexisted with transhumant ones. Furthermore, the Mesta itself owned no sheep. For the most part, membership included any Castilian transhumant Merino herder, regardless of number of animals owned. Stationary herders from the *sierra* were obligated to become members, yet their counterparts from the so-called *tierras llanas* were excluded, even if they had transhumant flocks.

⁹ The main routes include the *Cañada Real Zamorana* (also called *De la Plata*, or *Vizana*); the *Cañada Real Leonesa Occidental*; the *Cañada Real Leonesa*

Oriental; the *Cañada Real Segoviana*; the *Cañada Real Galiana* or *Riojana*; the *Cañada Real Soriana Oriental*; the *Cañada Real Soriana Occidental*; the *Cañada Real de los Chorros*, or *Conquense*; and the *Cañada Real de Valencia*.

¹⁰ It is important to differentiate the powerful and wealthy flock owners from the shepherds, hired to care for the sheep, working under difficult conditions for little pay. Consider, for example, the treatment of servant Andrés by Juan Haldudo “el rico, el vecino del Quintanar.” In contrast, Berganza paints the herders as criminals, ready to fleece the unwitting flock owner:

Agachéme detrás de una mata, pasaron los perros, mis compañeros, adelante, y desde allí oteé, y vi que dos pastores asieron de un carnero de los mejores del aprisco, y le mataron, de manera que verdaderamente pareció a la mañana que había sido su verdugo el lobo....Al punto hacían saber a su amo la presa del lobo, dábanle el pellejo y parte de la carne, y comíanse ellos lo más y lo mejor. (96)

¹¹ <http://www.catedraldeleon.org/>

¹² In the Spanish imaginary, the Merino has long stood in for sheep in biblical depictions, from both the Old and the New Testaments. See Javier Irigoyen-García’s insightful analysis in *The Spanish Arcadia*.

¹³ <http://www.catedraldeleon.org/index.php/catedral-informacion/galeria-fotografica-main-menu/category/44-capillas>

¹⁴ For information on the depiction of the Merino in Spanish painting, see the detailed analysis of Miguel Ángel Aparicio Tovar and Francisco Javier Pizarro Gómez, the former professor of veterinary medicine and the latter a professor of art history, both at the University of Extremadura. Their study documents the extensive pictorial representation of the Merino ram, ewe, and lamb in Spanish painting from the 14th to the 18th centuries. The study begins with a detailed scientific description of the various identifying features of the Merino breed, such as the shape of the head, the form of the horns, position of ears on head, body shape, legs, and the fleece. The head, for example, is “Ancha y corta. Línea fronto-nasal, con ligera depresión. Órbitas poco salientes. Ojos vivos y grandes. Frente ancha. Nariz gruesa, con uno o varios pliegues cutáneos característicos encima de los ollares, en los machos” (21). The study also delineates the four types of Merinos (Escorial, Infantado, Negreti, Paular, and Guadalupe) and their flocks of origin. Similarly, the first illustration from *Libro III* (92 Verso) of Antonio

de Lofrasso's *Diez libros de la Fortuna de Amor* (1573) clearly depicts the ram's horns, which are distinctly Merino in the way that they curl close to the head of the animal. This text is found in the holdings of the Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/1010-R/1011.

¹⁵ These two are the only illustrated Spanish pastoral books. The anonymous *Libro*, eds. Luis Gómez Canseco and Bernardo Perea, was composed in 1541, almost twenty years before Montemayor's *La Diana*, remained unpublished until 2003.

¹⁶ https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maestro_de_%C3%81vila

¹⁷ <https://www.museodelprado.es/coleccion/obra-de-arte/agnus-dei/795b841a-ec81-4d10-bd8b-0c7a870e327b>

¹⁸ St. Margaret the Virgin, born in Antioch, was disowned by her father, a pagan priest, and she was raised as a shepherdess by her Christian nurse. After being swallowed by the devil in the form of a dragon, Margaret miraculously escapes when the cross that she carries causes him to vomit her back up alive.

¹⁹ See Rodríguez Pascual for photographs of herding gear from local museums.

²⁰ Brotherton recognizes Fray Íñigo de Mendeza's *Coplas de Vita Christi* (1482) as the earliest extant work to contain the *Pastor-Bobo* (2). Indeed, as Henry Sullivan notes, Encina likely one of the earliest Spanish writers to see his works in print (17). In a future project I will examine the dialect of Sayagués, and its exaggerated literary counterpart, alongside the language used by present-day herders and their predecessors. See, for example, Ramón Gutiérrez Álvarez; *El habla de Prioro*.

²¹ Many of these terms originate in Arabic (Viñayo González 13).

²² The *Libro* resurfaced and was transcribed in 1979 by Bernardo Perea. The critical edition of Luis Gómez Canseco, using Perea's transcription, was published in 2003. Gómez Canseco substantively links the anonymous *Libro* to its precursors, including Boccaccio, Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, the *novela sentimental*, *La Celestina*, the poetry of Garcilaso and the dramatic works of Juan del Encina. The MS is dated 1541. The author's name is unknown. He likely served Carlos V, either at court or on the battlefield (Gómez Canseco 30).

²³ <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000115695&page=1>

²⁴ This herb was known to have healing properties. As we recall, don Quijote uses it in the “salutífero” *bálsamo* de Fierabrás, which does seem to mitigate don Quijote’s condition—though not Sancho’s—after being beaten by the mule drivers and the enchanted Moor, respectively in I.15 and 17. Even in the present day rosemary is a boon thought to boost the memory, protect the brain, prevent hair loss, provide pain relief, and aid digestion.

²⁵ For example, in I.17 Sancho’s blanketers include four wool carders from Segovia and three needlemakers from El Potro de Córdoba (122).

²⁶ Herders are so familiar with their own animals that they are easily able to distinguish one specific animal from another, even in a herd numbering in the thousands. Moreover, they used a system of hash marks—often carved onto the staff itself—to keep count of the number of animals. This practice was more necessary, of course, in the days of transhumance.

²⁷ Other animals wore them too: “También se ponía cencerro a alguna oveja ‘abandoná’ (que no quería la cría), porque el cordero al mamar conocía el cencerro y de este modo, por el sonido, iba a la madre. A alguna chivina, por capricho. Al carnero, se le ponía la zumba. Al ‘careo’ (perro) se le colocaba un cascabel con collar de cuero” (Rosa María Lorenzo López 59).

²⁸ This staff, elaborately carved in the shape of a dragon’s head, comes from the collection of poet Eleuterio Prado, originally from Prioro, León. Eleuterio Prado Diez, whose has written several volumes of poetry, including *Canción del rebaño* (1995), which is inspired by his own days tending to the flock, as well as by generations of his shepherding ancestors. Prado was the nephew of the late shepherd Teodosio Martínez Prado, who wrote *Memorias de un pastor trashumante y costumbres de Prioro*. Eleuterio Prado—or Teyo, as he is known—generously spent several delightful hours with me, regaling me with stories about his childhood experiences herding sheep with his father. Teyo also showed me his extensive collection of staves and *cencerros* and did a poetry reading for me from *Canción del rebaño*.

²⁹ The Captive, from the I.39 of the *Quijote*, comes from the *montaña de León*.

³⁰ See published accounts such as Juan Fernández-Castaño’s photographic essay *Pastores*; Fernando Biarge and Manuel Estaún’s *De sol a sol*; Borja Cardelús’ *El último trashumante*; Eduardo Saiz Alonso’s *Diario de un viaje trashumante*; and Cecilio García de Blas Martín-Maestro’s *Caminos polvorientos de la Mesta*. See also the blog of ecologist María Fernández-Giménez, La

Pastora de Jaca: “The Romance of Transhumance—Not!” 20 November, 2010. <http://lapastoradejaca.blogspot.com/search?updated-min=2010-01-01T00:00:00-08:00&updated-max=2011-01-01T00:00:00-08:00&max-results=9>. Llares Folk’s “ya se van los pastores para Extremadura” record and preserve traditional shepherds’ songs (*Por los caminos de la trashumancia*. Several Records, 1999).

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Mammoth Woolly Migrations:
Transhumance, Extinction, and the Cervantine Shepherd