

JULIO FERNÁNDEZ PORTELA\*, SAMUEL ESTEBAN RODRÍGUEZ\*\*

\*Departamento de Geografía. Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia. Grupo de Investigación VitisUNED

\*\*Departamento de Geografía y Ordenación del Territorio. Universidad de Zaragoza

## *Classification of the traditional wine-growing landscape of Castilla y León in the pictorial work of regional artists since the mid-20th century*

### ABSTRACT

Castilla y León's fields and plateau have always been best known for their cereal crops. Yet vineyards have also sprung up along the Duero River valley at the same time as the winemaking industry began building wine presses and wineries. Wine growing has had a significant impact on the economic, social and cultural history of the Duero's towns and cities, and still does today. For instance, it has given rise to a characteristic vine-and-wine landscape that is deeply rooted both in the land and its inhabitants and has been depicted in popular culture by important landscape painters. Their artistic representations capture different elements of the geographical space found in these lands and the work carried out there, enabling us to define and categorise them, obtaining valuable information to interpret what has happened in the territory.

### RESUMEN

*Clasificación del paisaje vitivinícola tradicional de Castilla y León en la obra pictórica de los artistas regionales desde mediados del siglo XX.*- Las campiñas y los páramos de Castilla y León se han caracterizado por el cultivo del cereal. Sin embargo, a lo largo del valle del río Duero se ha expandido el cultivo del viñedo y, asociado a este hecho, ha tenido lugar la construcción de lagares y bodegas destinados a elaborar vino. La vitivinicultura ha tenido, y la sigue teniendo en la actualidad, una huella importante en la historia económica, social y cultural de los municipios del Duero. Esta actividad ha permitido crear un paisaje característico, de la vid y el vino, con importante arraigo en el territorio y en el paisanaje, el cual ha sido representado en la cultura popular por importantes pintores paisajistas. Sus representaciones artísticas capturan diferentes elementos del espacio geográfico presente en estas tierras

y las labores que en ellas se realizan, lo que va a permitir definirlos y categorizarlos, proporcionando valiosa información para interpretar lo acaecido en el territorio.

### RÉSUMÉ

*Classification du paysage viticole traditionnel de Castilla y León dans l'œuvre picturale des artistes régionaux depuis le milieu du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle.*- La campagne et les plateaux de Castilla y León ont été caractérisés par la culture de céréales. Cependant, le long de la vallée du fleuve Duero, une production de vignobles s'est développée associée à la construction de pressoirs et de caves destinés à la production de vin. La viticulture a eu et continue d'avoir aujourd'hui une marque importante dans l'histoire économique, sociale et culturelle des municipalités autor du Duero. Cette activité a permis la création d'un paysage caractéristique, de la vigne et du vin, avec des racines importantes dans le territoire et dans la paysannerie, qui a été représenté dans la culture populaire par d'importants peintres paysagistes. Leurs représentations artistiques capturent différents éléments de l'espace géographique sur ces terres et le travail qui y est réalisé, ce qui permettra de les définir et de les catégoriser, fournissant des informations précieuses pour interpréter ce qui s'est passé sur le territoire.

### PALABRAS CLAVE/MOTS CLÉ/KEYWORDS

Wine-growing landscape, Castilla y León, painting, wineries, vineyards. Paisaje vitivinícola, Castilla y León, representaciones pictóricas, bodegas, viñedos. Paysage viticole, Castilla y León, représentations picturales, caves, vignobles.

### INTRODUCTION

Vine growing and turning grapes into wine has been one of the most representative activities of Castilla y León's rural environment for centuries. Although some references suggest that the Vaccaeii might have drunk wine since the 3rd century BC, it was not until the Ro-

man occupation that vine growing and wine consumption began to become spread among the Iberian Peninsula's population (SANZ MÍNGUEZ et al., 2009). However, the key role was to come with the repopulation of the Duero plains after the Reconquest, between the end of the 9th and start of the 13th centuries, as the previously inhabited territories had to be reoccupied (BENITO MARTÍN, 2005).

During these centuries, the lost lands were recovered and the urban fabric began to take shape, with towns and villages along the Duero River and its main tributaries that took advantage of this natural frontier as a defensive element. The nobility and the clergy played a key role in this process, as they were in charge of carrying out this process by creating settlements around castles and monasteries, in the surroundings of the fertile river plains, using vineyards as a repopulation crop.

From then on, the vineyards spread to the different valleys of the Duero River basin, where they grew alongside the typical cereal fields, consolidating themselves as the most widespread woody crop in the region. Over the years it has been able to generate its own characteristics in the territory and among the population thanks to the characteristics of the plots, the type of vine, its architecture, and the production of a quality product that, in the XXI century, is contributing to the rural development of many municipalities that are in a declining socioeconomic situation. This broke with the traditional landscape of these lands characterised by extensive cereal fields and adobe constructions. The Castilian countryside's homogeneous and rather monotonous nature began to be replaced by new pieces of the great puzzle of the agrarian landscape, as vineyards expanded and wine-making production played a more important part of the population's lives. This economic, social and cultural impact and interest triggered changes in the territory, giving rise to the appearance and subsequent expansion of the wine-growing landscape, with a newly-defined geography where this type of crop managed to endow the territory its own personality and its inhabitants with their own identity.

Over time, this landscape took root and took on its own personality in the different wine-producing regions that sprang up in the Castilian-Leonese plains. Far from being maintained, the vine-and-wine landscape has undergone major changes, especially since the mid-19th century and up to the present day. Periods of expansion and regression that have affected the population and the landscape.

One of the key events in the history of agriculture and, in particular, of wine production throughout the country, took place when phylloxera reached the European continent in the 19th century. This vine parasite had positive effects at first and negative ones later. The infection and subsequent loss of the French vineyards led to a huge expansion of crop in Spain, as it had to cope with the increased demand from the French market, which had almost run out of all its stocks. However, at the end of the 19th century, phylloxera arrived in Spain and triggered a similar situation to the one that France had suf-

fered a few years earlier, causing major damage to the whole country's land (PIQUERAS HABA, 2005). Despite recovery attempts, pre-phylloxera invasion numbers were never reached again. In the mid-twentieth century, Castilla y León suffered another period of significant decline, this time due to the crisis in the rural environment, which caused the population to leave the countryside and as a consequence the abandonment of agricultural lands, among them, the reduction of the vineyard area (HUETZ DE LEMPS, 1967 *a & b*; GARCÍA FERNÁNDEZ, 1981).

It was not until the 1980s that the region's wine industry underwent significant changes thanks to the appearance of the first designations of origin, marking a historical turning-point in this agro-food activity with the production of quality wines. As a result, the area under vines increased slightly, but in particular the vineyards were redistributed throughout the land, and were abandoned wherever wine-making was less profitable in favour of places where the economic benefit was greater. These circumstances brought changes in the region, with the use of new grape-growing systems and different planting patterns, different grape varieties, quality wine making, the use of machinery to perform agricultural tasks and the building of new, more modern wineries that now dot the Castilian countryside. At present, around 80,000 hectares of vineyards are growing in Castilla y León, which has thirteen designations of origin with very different characteristics, giving rise to a rich variety of wines and landscapes.

For all these reasons, this agri-food activity has played a key role throughout Castilla y León's history, creating landscapes that have changed over time. This imprint has aroused painters' interest, especially since the mid-20th century, with the idea of reflecting in their works the archetypal vine-and-wine traditional landscapes that are so characteristic of this región in this time. An iconic perspective of the territory in which artists represent their vision of a particular landscape, in which they are going to show explicit content that they observe in reality, as well as other implicit content triggered by the emotions that the place evokes in them (OJEDA RIVERA & DELGADO BUJALANCE, 2010). Painters stop before a real scene, observe it and reproduce it as faithfully as possible. In this case, the works of these painters reflect the most bucolic stamp of this territory, leaving aside the modernization that this sector has been undergoing since the last quarter of the 20th century, such as the new trellised plantations or the mechanization of the harvest. This is what geographers do when they go into the countryside and observe a landscape, analyse it and try to explain it from their perspective as objectively as possible. In both cases the result will depend on

the skills and techniques used as well as the authors' training and prior knowledge. In painting, techniques, materials and currents of knowledge evolve over the centuries just as in geography, such that authors also look at their landscape before working it with a series of filters learned during their academic and professional experience (FERNÁNDEZ CHRISTLIEB & GARZA MERODIO, 2006).

## I. OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

This paper mainly aims to systematise and categorise how a series of painters represented the wine-growing traditional landscape of Castilla y León during the second half of the 20th century. The selected paintings reflect the traditional landscape in line with three variables that are the most repeated in their works: how they represented the vineyards, the people working in the harvest and the traditional wineries (FERNÁNDEZ PORTELA, 2016). From this moment on, the wine industry underwent a string of changes that impacted the economy, culture and society, and consequently the landscape of a group of small rural municipalities. Painters noticed this when they went out into the countryside and it aroused their interest, giving them the idea of addressing the construction of these landscapes which have such strong ties with people and the land. In their various artistic reproductions, they have managed to reflect the traditional landscape's heritage, the items which still remain in the Duero plains. Other paintings capture moments in which time seems to have stood still, and manage to take the observer back into the past.

Outside of these paintings there are other elements that, in recent decades, have become part of the vine and wine landscape, such as industrial wineries or the presence of harvesting machines and tractors in vineyards. It should also be mentioned that there are no artistic manifestations of other tasks that are carried out in the vineyard such as pruning and plowing the land.

At the same time, this paper intends to show how painting serves as a tool which can help us to observe, understand, analyse and interpret this type of landscape, both in the past and in the present, by providing information about this agricultural activity and about the rest of the geographical area where it takes place. For instance, its orography, hydrography, the type of settlement, its buildings or the plot's structure, thus providing a more comprehensive view of the landscape. In short, a valuable and essential source of information for observing the existing variety of landscapes, for learning to look at, understand and interpret what has happened in the territory over the years.

The paintings of agricultural landscapes are a recurrent theme in painting. Many an artist has taken care to reflect the characteristic Castilian countryside in their sketches, paintings, watercolours or murals. The most frequent were the wheat fields, as Castilla was known as *El granero de España* (The granary of Spain), in view of the important role that this type of farming played in its economy and population.

Alongside wheat crops, vineyards were and still are the other biggest agricultural activity present in this area and, more specifically, along almost all of the Duero River valley. A land use that extends through the respective valleys of some of this main river's tributaries, as well as through Portugal, and has managed to fashion a landscape that also appears in Castilian painters' works.

For this paper, we have chosen six painters from a list of artists, all of whom are renowned landscape painters who were born in this región and who have represented the agrarian landscapes. Some of them with international projection, and with works in important museums and institutional buildings such as the Union Nataions headquarters in New York. They are people who have lived most or all of their lives here, and have managed to capture the essence of what it represents in a natural way. Their works cover the period from 1950 to the present, as some of them are still active, and represent a graphic document that help to understand and give another vision of a transcendental part of the history of this region. At this time, farming was the cornerstone of the economy and its municipalities, but then it also suffered a major decline. The selected artists, listed in chronological order of birth, are as follows:

- José Vela Zanetti. Milagros (Burgos), 1913; Burgos, 1999.
- José María García Castilviejo. Zamora, 1925; Valladolid, 2004.
- Mercedes del Val Trouillhet. Valladolid, 1926; Valladolid, 2012.
- Félix Cuadrado Lomas. Valladolid, 1930.
- Gabino Gaona. Valoria la Buena (Valladolid), 1933; Valladolid, 2007.
- Mariano Macón. Medina de Rioseco (Valladolid), 1943.

These painters have different artistic styles, making it difficult to classify them in a particular style, as the context in which they painted their works is the periphery, and far from the great centres that have set the trend throughout the 20th century. This characteristic allows to show a

greater range in terms of representations of this passage and not to focus on a single style. Even so, Vela Zanetti's and Castilviejo's work is characterised by realism, and rather epic, with a strong sense of identity that seems to have picked up, with renewed vigour, the regionalist currents of the early 20th century. Mercedes del Val offers a more personal and intimate vision of the landscape, moving away from the usual parlour-style landscape painting and that is not without a certain naïve touch. Mariano Macón is known for painting more conventional landscapes, in which he timidly makes use of certain formulas of impressionism. There are also more modern proposals such as the cases of Gabino Gaona, who is driven by an expressionist spirit, and Cuadrado Lomas, whose visions of the landscape convey a highly constructive geometrisation based on his interest in cubism.

They studied in the Castilian cities of Valladolid and León, as well as in Madrid. Spain's capital offered a broader and more enriching cultural panorama for their careers, so it was common for part of their training to take place in this city. The San Fernando School of Fine Arts was one of the preferred destinations to study, especially for José María Castilviejo and Gabino Gaona, and visits to museums and exhibitions were essential in their training. Foreign painters also had a strong influence on their works, especially for Vela Zanetti, who had to go into exile in the Dominican Republic with his family after the end of the Civil War, and lived there for more than ten years. A significant part of his work was spent on the American continent, and proof of this are the similarities with other artists, particularly with Mexicans such as Diego Rivera, José Clemente Orozco and David Alfaro Siqueiros.

The paintings have been selected by searching all the works that these artists have produced throughout their respective careers about the viticulture paintings and the most significant ones have been selected. The images used for this study have been compiled from various sources. The most significant are bibliographic sources, based on biographies about of the artists and catalogues of their exhibitions that include part of their work. Others sources include visits to some of the exhibitions, as well as conversations held over the years with some of them, especially José María Castilviejo and Mariano Macón. Nowadays, new technologies play a representative role in the research, so they have also been used to choose some of the paintings. Among the most significant are the artists' personal websites, newspaper articles online or art blogs.

When interpreting the works, at first, special emphasis will be placed on the overall picture. What components

it features and why, how they are distributed spatially, the colours and shapes used in their representation, etc., and that will allow us to have a better knowledge of the territory. For this work, the classification established by Fernández Portela (2016) on traditional wine landscapes will be used, distinguishing three types: vineyards, wineries and vintage:

- Vineyards: these are the most abundant renderings, and the ones which show the most information about the geographical landscape. They reflect the vine-planting system used (head-pruned or on trellises), the plot structure or the vine's growth cycle (usually in autumn, before the grape harvest, or in winter when they are bare).
- People and work in the vineyard: who does it (men and women, sometimes children), the instruments used (carts, wicker baskets, sickles, etc.) or clothes used for this kind of work. This type of rendering is usually done in one of two ways. Either only the main characters appear, as a sort of portrait, or they can appear inside the vineyard, and this also provides information about the landscape in which they live.
- Wineries: materials used to build them, their architecture and the most characteristic elements such as the hills, vents, *zarceras* or facades.<sup>1</sup> Painters usually depict the wineries next to the surrounding landscape, offering more information about their surroundings.

In this study by Fernández Portela (2016), the objective is to show the role that painting has as a didactic resource for primary school teachers when it comes to explaining the curricular contents that address the geographical space, in this case agrarian, and as a more concrete example, the vine and wine landscape. A methodology that could be applied to other types of landscapes, agricultural or urban. After establishing this classification, he analyzes a series of paintings and murals that reflect socio-economic and landscape elements that make up this territory and that make up a part of the contents to be treated in the matter of Social Sciences in Primary Education.

For this work, the classification established by Fernández Portela (2016) will be used but, in this case, the analysis of the research will focus on reflecting the

<sup>1</sup> *Zarcera*: a kind of window or gap used to empty the baskets of grapes into the winepress.

role that painting acquires as a complementary source in landscape studies. Along with this information, with which the vineyard's landscapes can be classified in one of the three aforementioned categories, there are other geographical aspects which contribute to enrich the information about the place they depict. The forms of the relief, the vegetation, the type of settlement, the villages' characteristic buildings, in particular the tall and slender church towers, the presence of infrastructure such as roads and paths, or the boundaries used to separate the land, are some of the rural landscape's other components which may appear in the paintings of the selected painters, and which will therefore be elements of the wine-growing landscape. Also worth mentioning along with all this are the colours used to paint the painting, beyond their possible aesthetic value. From the geographical viewpoint, the appropriate chromatic variety can provide useful information with which to understand and interpret it, while making the landscape real, more familiar. In short, the landscape in which Castilla 's inhabitants live.

## II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: THE ROLE OF ARTISTIC REPRESENTATIONS IN THE LANDSCAPE'S TERRITORIAL IDENTITY

The landscape comes into being takes place when natural, social and cultural elements are interrelated. Not only do they have physical and social dimensions, but attention must be paid to other variables such as feelings, emotions, beauty, etc., aspects which provide a wider and fuller view of a landscape (DIXON, HAWKINS & STRAUGHAN, 2012). This is where the role of its cultural dimension comes into play as a key element for understanding and studying it through the use of sources such as literature, travel books, cinema or painting to achieve geographical knowledge (ORTEGA CANTERO, 2002; LÓPEZ LARA, 2020).

Together with these sources, particular importance is being attached to what are referred to as creative geographies, with new fields of work and opportunities for studying them and, in particular, a cultural opportunity, giving rise to new knowledge (HAWKINS, 2018). In this case, the most creative and artistic disciplines become more relevant when designing new work methodologies and conducting research in landscape studies, which are more interdisciplinary and of a more qualitative nature, most notably theatre, cabaret, dance, comics and poetry (CRESSWELL & DIXON, 2002; HAWKINS, 2014; DE LEEUW AND HAWKINS, 2017).

Yet literature and painting are the two most classic (written and graphic, respectively) artistic expressions that reflect the landscape of Castilla y León throughout the 20th century and, specifically, of the Duero Valley. Writers' descriptions in their novels and essays, as well as painters' renderings in their oil paintings and watercolours, about the lands of Castilla y León, present a wealth of detail and offer an overview of the landscape, and become essential for understanding the processes that occurred over time in this territory, and even to glimpse the possible trend that it might follow in the future.

### 1. LITERATURE'S INFLUENCE ON THE WORK OF THE CASTILIAN-LEONESE PAINTERS

The end of the 19th century in Spain was to be a turbulent period of great change. The characteristic image at this time is that of a Spain in decline, poor and with an identity crisis derived, among other things, from the major territorial problems it was suffering from, and which some researchers have referred to as "Spain's problem" (FERNÁNDEZ SANZ, 1997). Faced with this situation of widespread pessimism, a series of intellectual movements emerged which have influenced cultural currents throughout the 20th century.

One of these was the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza* (Institute of Free Education, 1876-1939) formed by a group of scholars, many of them teachers, who continued their educational work outside the State system, and who were committed to the country's cultural, educational and social revolution. In this regard, geography, and specifically landscape, was a fundamental instrument for achieving this purpose, and to a significant extent in some of this movement's authors, as was the case of Giner de los Ríos, with a stance based on his desire to modernise and bring in elements of European culture, but without losing the national idiosyncrasy (ORTEGA CANTERO, 2009).

Two other cultural movements, the Generation of '98 and Regenerationism, coexisted alongside this institution. In their novels, essays and press articles they wanted to highlight the situation of Spain's agricultural landscape and, specifically, of the Castilian landscape. Decadence, poverty and misery were the adjectives repeated most often, giving rise to a Castilla in rubble and ruins, a vision that devastated the whole of Spain, and which was heightened by the Disaster of 1898. Landscapes that were real and that they lived in, but on many an occasion also impregnated with subjectivity.

The Generation of '98's best-known authors include Machado with *Campos de Castilla* (1912, ed. 1977) and Martínez Ruiz Azorín with *Castilla* (1912, ed. 1986), but the landscapes also feature in several works by Unamuno and Pío Baroja, in a more literary and artistic manner. For them, the railway played a key role in getting to know the landscape better (PONCE, 1999), and its expansion was an incentive that prompted more travel and excursions. They were moving landscapes that they observed from inside the carriage, leaning out of the window and from which they could see villages, farmhouses, mills, bridges, fields of crops, etc., a kind of frame that passed in front of their eyes as if it were a film and in which adjectives such as dry, sad, desolate, lonely, barren or monotonous were essential for understanding it

The lonely and melancholic Castilla cannot see the sea. The sea lies very far from these flat, shallow, barren, dusty plains; from these stony ravines; from these reddish terraces, where torrential floods have opened up deep gullies; from these steeply, abrupt cracks in the mountain; from these meek hills and lands, from where you can see a tiny path that zigzags to a stream (MARTÍNEZ RUÍZ AZORIN, 1912, ed. 1986, p. 77).

Regenerationism was another intellectual movement that existed at the same time as the Generation of '98 and which was also deeply concerned to see to the extent to which Spain and, in particular, the rural landscape, was in decline. The difference with other turn-of-the-century authors was that their literary production was based more on historical documentation and had a more objective vision of reality. One fine example is the work of Julio Senador, a faithful reflection of what was happening in Castilla and how this territory began to decline in favour of cities

The population of important towns such as Dueñas, Fuentecén, Matapozuelos and Cigales shrank to a third. The judicial districts of Medina del Campo, Valoria, Lerma, Peñafiel, Nava del Rey, Briviesca, and countless others, unloaded trainfuls of ruined farmers on the cities. They did not just flee; it was a stampede. The terror that spread in vast regions such as the Duero Basin and the Cerrato Valley was more devastating than the plague of Milan. Only then could the enormity of that misfortune be gauged in all its magnitude; only since then has the hegemony of emigration, which is gradually killing us, become irrepressible (SENADOR, 1920, ed. 1993, p. 131-132).

Alongside them, from the mid-20th century until the start of the 21st, the key figure was Miguel Delibes, whose prolific works revolve around present day Castilla y León, his native land. Works such as *El Camino* (1950), *Las Ratas* (1962), *Castilla en mi obra* (1972), *Castilla habla* (1986), his famous hunting books where

he reflected the changes, characteristics and peculiarities of the Castilian landscape, as well as his articles in the newspaper *El Norte de Castilla*. A great ambassador for his homeland, several generations of readers now know about the Castilian landscape thanks to him, as has a wider audience because many of his novels have been turned into films and TV series.

The works of these writers, from the end of the 19th century to the end of the 20th, have contributed in part to inspire the painters analysed in this work and their paintings. Castilla 's real situation was transferred to books and from books to paintings, and in both cases reflects the typical image of Castilla . A landscape characterised by a huge, flat, brown, arid plain, with open fields that seem to have no end. A ramshackle, rundown, aged adobe Castilla .

## 2. PAINTING FOR STUDYING GEOGRAPHICAL LANDSCAPES

The artistic representation of the landscape has prompted a significant number of paintings and murals that reflect natural, urban and rural scenes. Apart from their aesthetic value, they serve to communicate, as they are a sort of imitation of reality that contributes, together with geography, to generate knowledge about that place (HAWKINS, 2011). Art is capable of giving each landscape its own values and cultural image and a pictorial way of showing it (MINCA, 2007). In short, a symbolic representation of the territory, a social and cultural construction that goes beyond the description of what one sees in that work of art that will allow it to be interpreted and understood.

The use of painting in geography studies, and specifically in landscape studies, is a tool that has been used since the end of the 18th century when the cultural movement of Romanticism originated. The German-born Alexander von Humboldt, until the mid-19th century, was one of the most relevant figures in this field with his landscape works in which he used the sketches he made during the field work, painting and even sculptures in his landscape and geomorphology studies (BUTTIMER, 2001; DIXON, HAWKINS & STRAUGHAN, 2012).

Since then, artistic representations have been key tools in landscape works in geography and other sciences, as an instrument to help understand and explain what has happened somewhere. This is why GROVE KARL GILBERT (1877) followed the methodology previously used by Humboldt in his studies of the American Rocky

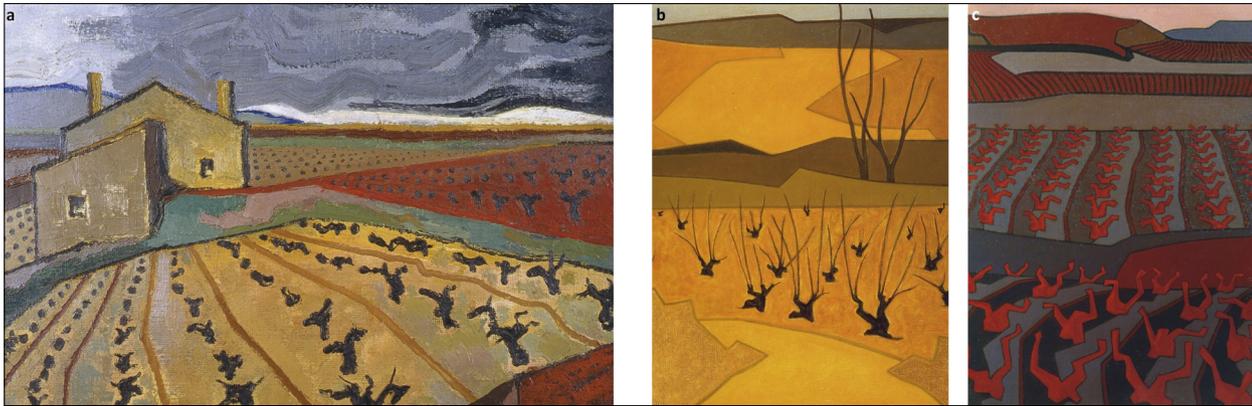


FIG. 1. a) *Viñas* (Vineyards, 1964). b) *Paisaje con viña abandonada* (Landscape with abandoned vineyard, 2001). c) *Tierras y viñas rojas* (Red vineyards and land, 2001). Source: Consejería de Educación y Cultura de la Junta de Castilla y León, 2003.

Mountains' geology by using field sketches, geological sections, photography or woodcuts in his research.

During the first third of the 20th century, the President of the British Royal Geographical Society, Sir Francis Edward Younghusband (1920), considered that cultural elements were key to the landscape and that artistic creation was needed to understand it. Ever since, artistic representations have become more and more representative in geographical landscape research as a subjective source for their study. Sources that can present irrational elements, realities of the artist, but which are necessary to understand the existing spatial reality in a given territory (SIMON, 1957).

Geographers are interested in painting, not as a work of art per se, but for what it says about the place it represents, the information it contains which serves to describe the real landscape (ZÁRATE, 1992). Yet painters are going to represent how they see that place, meaning that they will give priority to one set of features over others, and this could influence spectators (LEGUEN PERES, 2010). In their paintings, they show part of the territory, a still image, and according to Piveteau (1989), even though it does not always fit the objective landscape, it is a good analytical instrument, better than the human eye which is always moving, or a photograph which is a passive observer.

Painters can be regarded as a kind of geographer or surveyor (FERNÁNDEZ CHRISTLIEB & GARZA MERODIO, 2006), since they will be responsible for representing the territory in a painting. The canvas as a whole would be like a kind of puzzle made up of numerous pieces such as roads, rivers, relief, agricultural activities, forests, villages or cities, and which, when put together the right way, gives the final result, i.e., the geographical landscape.

The painting is going to act as a go-between between man and space, and therefore, as a geography resource. It is not objective, but nor is it totally subjective. Instead, it combines both concepts, overcoming the idea that what is depicted in the paintings is true or false (BERQUE, 1982).

Painting endeavours to recreate reality by taking different looks at technical, scientific or economic perspectives, with cultural aspects taking centre stage (MADERUELO, 2005). The aim is to go beyond the analysis and the scientific dimension, from material reality to symbolic and abstract reality, in order to achieve the cultural dimension. It is in this regard that the idea of in situ artealisation and in visu artealisation of the landscape comes into play (ROGER, 2007). The first would be the landscape prompted by the natural and social environment interacting, yet which lacks the lived and emotional experiences, as well as the literary (enumeration, description, narration and metaphor) and iconic (drawing, light, colour, reproduction, figuration, copying, abstraction) components typical of in visu artealisation. Both as a whole are essential for building the true landscape (OJEDA RIVERA & DELGADO BUJALANCE, 2010).

In both Physical and Human Geography alike, art is a key landscape study tool. One geomorphological highlight is the work of Hejl (2005), who uses cave painting to study the development of the Taphonis on the Greek island of Santorini. The paintings of the Impressionist painters were used to mirror the processes of change and modernisation of the cities of Paris and London in the 19th century (COSTA MAS, 2003). Finally, it is interesting to underscore the role that art plays in studies of agrarian landscapes as an instrument that seeks to reflect its plurality, as Ojeda Rivera & Delgado Bujalance (2010) show in their work that focuses on the Andalusian coun-

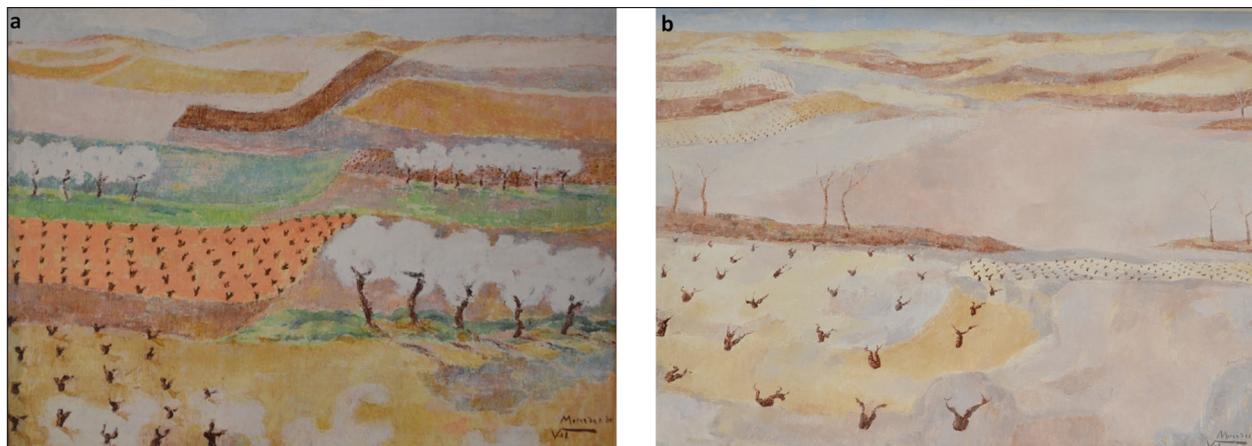


FIG. 2. a) and b) *Paisajes de viñedos* (Vineyard landscapes). Source: Catálogo Exposición Museo de la Universidad de Valladolid, 2014.

tryside or Fernández Portela (2015) in the case of the cereal fields of Castilla y León.

### III. RESULTS

The role that the wine industry has played and still plays in Castilla y León has led to an increasing number of people becoming interested in the landscape it generates and perceiving it as a space that is characteristic of the region and deeply rooted among its population.

After reviewing the paintings of the artists under study in this research, they have been classified into three archetypal wine-producing landscapes in Castilla y León: those representing the vineyards, the harvest and the grape pickers, and finally the wineries (FERNÁNDEZ PORTELA, 2016)<sup>2</sup>.

#### 1. DIVERSITY IN THE REPRESENTATION OF VINEYARDS: FROM NAKEDNESS TO THE EXPLOSION OF THE VINES

All the artists studied in this paper have paintings that represent vineyards throughout the different seasons and with their respective artistic styles, thus offering a varied panorama of the landscape. The vines will be the main element but not the only one, as it is interesting to see how the other elements of the geographical space are essential for the final composition of the painting, as well as for understanding the landscape as a whole.

The three painters chosen for this type of representation are Cuadrado Lomas and Mercedes del Val, as examples of vineyard landscapes when vines lie bare, between winter and spring, and Mariano Macón in their period of greatest splendour, with the vines laden with leaves and bunches of grapes in the summer and early autumn.

In Cuadrado Lomas' work, the landscape is depicted at the time of least splendour, in the winter and early spring, showing the naked vines and the skies in shades of grey which evoke the sensation of the cold typical within the Duero plains. The impression is that you are looking at a landscape that is asleep, resting after the bustling activity of the grape harvest, and that is waiting for time to wake them up and get all the grape-producing machinery going again.

Throughout his professional career, and especially in his vineyard landscapes, this artist's most striking features have been the use of geometric figures, colours adjusted to the interior of forms, his map-like view of the landscape, the importance of drawing, his almost infinite expressiveness, quasi-perfect alignments, the unlimited repetition of vines which are depicted like modular structures, regularity, order and repetition. With all this, the artist manages to reflect some of the typical features of the Castilian-Leonese landscape such as its serenity, solitude, harmony, balance, horizontality and immensity. He wants to convey the idea of an uninhabited, austere and simple landscape.

His first works (Fig. 1a) include architectural elements such as houses or buildings for keeping farming implements, and sometimes some trees, which ceased to appear in certain later works on the subject of vines. Clean spaces are another feature of his paintings, which are devoid of any ornamental elements likely to hinder

<sup>2</sup> The analysis presented below has as its main reference the work carried out by Fernández Portela (2016), a link already explained in the methodological part of this research.

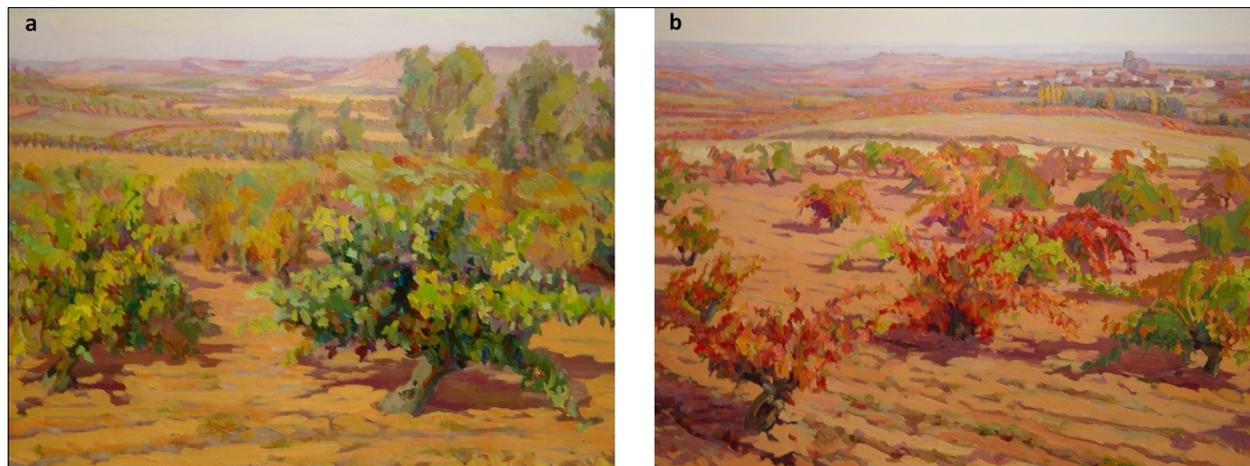


FIG. 3. a) *Paisaje de viñedos* (Vineyard Landscape) and b) *Paisaje de viñedos con pueblo al fondo* (Vineyard Landscape with a village in the background, 2007). Source: Mariano Macón.

one's vision of the work, and also of people or animals. It only shows the vineyard in its surroundings, adapted to the terrain that became patchier as it was divided up between heirs, as well as the area's characteristic orography, consisting of river terraces and small hills, and which are surrounded by the characteristic residual reliefs of these lands, the heaths.

Colour is a key element in his work, so he uses a palette with ranges of ochre, sienna, brown and yellow, typical of autumn, adding more warmth to a landscape in which he paints vineyards that are now leafless, but not pruned yet (Fig. 1b). He also portrays vineyards that are now completely naked, resting in winter, mainly with grey, blue and dark reddish tones, making the landscape seem much colder, which is typical of Castilla's winter (Figure 1c).

Warmth predominates in Mercedes del Val's work, which portray the vine landscape as spring approaches, but where one can still feel winter (Fig. 2 a & b). Once again, her works portray naked vineyards, as well as the patchwork plots, growing alongside other crops (probably cereals), and a background that reveals the nature of the Castilian countryside. To do so, she uses a wide range of ochre colours (softer than Cuadrado Lomas'), which announce that a change of season is approaching.

The landscape is beginning to wake up, and proof of this is that Val includes a fundamental piece of this puzzle, the existence of flowering almond trees. This type of fruit tree was very characteristic of the traditional vineyard landscape, as it fulfilled several functions. Two of the most significant were providing fruit to its owner and its role acting as a boundary between different properties.

However, this element, which mattered so much to society at the time, gradually disappeared from the countryside as diseases spread, vineyards were abandoned in certain unprofitable areas and there was no generational change, and the authorities implemented certain public land planning policies such as land consolidation.

The vine's growth cycle starts in spring, as it leaves behind the stoic lethargy prompted by the valley's cold weather, and the vine emerges from winter crying, as its growth cycle begins. During these months, the vines wake up, leading to budburst as the buds start developing into stems and leaves. Then later, water and heat bring out the bunches of grapes. A period that extends throughout the spring, the whole summer and the beginning of autumn. This is the landscape that Mariano Macón portrays in his paintings - vines in full outfit. On the one hand with its dark green leaves and with the almost ripe bunches (Fig. 3a) and, on the other, tinged with autumn's more capricious hues, with ochre and reddish ranges. This last stage, which will last a few weeks, features a spectacle worthy of admiration, forming multicoloured carpets that break up the monochromatic monotony of the agricultural cereal-crop landscapes so typical of Castilla y León (Fig. 3b).

Depth is one of the specific traits of Macón's work. So even though it focuses on vineyards, these paintings also feature the aforementioned traditional elements (orography and plots of land), and other new ones such as villages with their church towers standing out from the rest of the hamlet; the typical rows of slim-canopied poplars, which probably mean that there are small streams or rivers flowing through the region and helping to combat the aridity typical of these lands.



FIG. 4. a) *Las vendimiadoras* (The Grape Harvesters) and b) *Sacaterro* (Grape-Basket Carrier). Source: Catálogo exposición Castilviejo, 2001.

Once the harvest is over, autumn is coming to an end and the vine will lose its leaves and begin to rest again. In the cold winter, loneliness once more takes hold of these lands, of Castilla 's fields and villages, where not a soul is to be seen until the good weather comes back again. Walking now through its desolate moors and empty, dark streets, one feels the abandonment and neglect of these places that eagerly await the return of good weather and its inhabitants who one day decided to abandon them.

These three artists' works portray the same landscape, namely vineyards, but in different styles and at different times of the year, evoking different sensations in anyone who looks at them. On the one hand, Cuadrado Lomas portrays the naked vine, in its saddest phase, conveying the sensation of loneliness and coldness typical of this land in the winter months. Mariano Macón, on the other hand, wants anyone who looks at his paintings to feel much closer to this crop that is so deeply rooted in the landscape, through vineyards bursting with colour and with bunches of grapes, providing a snapshot that is more colourful and appealing to the human eye. In between the two is the work of Mercedes del Val, who paints a kind of landscape in transition from the sombre winter to the profuse autumn.

## 2. THE GRAPE HARVEST AND ITS MAIN CHARACTERS

It is Vela Zanetti and José María Castilviejo who are in charge of capturing the work involved in grape harvests and that of their characters, who are essential for harvesting the grapes, in their paintings. These people add great value to these paintings, thanks to the impres-

sive expressiveness that these artists have managed to capture in their faces.

The grape harvest was one of the moments most eagerly awaited by winegrowers at the start of autumn. Family, friends and neighbours used to take part, so it was a time for rejoicing and, for a few weeks, traditional vineyards were filled with people, songs and joy after almost a year's worth of hard work, all of which was rewarded with the good grapes they picked to make their prized wines.

Men and women alike did this work, although each had a well-defined task. The women were normally tasked with cutting the bunches of grapes from the vines with knives, scissors or a sickle-like tool (*hocillo* in Spanish) and then putting them in a kind of wicker basket. The men, as well as cutting the bunches, were responsible for carrying these grape-laden baskets and emptying them into the cart that would take them to the winery. In wine-making jargon, each pair of grape harvesters was called a *cruz* (cross), the grape-basket carriers were called *sacaterros*, and together they formed *cuadrillas* (crews).

In Castilviejo's *Las vendimiadoras* (The Grape Harvesters – Fig. 4a), you can see two women uncomfortably bending over, showing the hard work involved in cutting the bunches of grapes off the vine and putting them in the wickerwork baskets. They are wearing their own clothes for the job, i.e. a head scarf to protect them from the sunshine, an apron for keeping their work tools and a skirt. As far as one can tell from their hands and, to a certain extent, their faces, they are probably fairly old, a faithful reflection of current Castilian-Leonese society, which was already visible in the latter part of the 20th century. In the rest of the landscape, one can see the

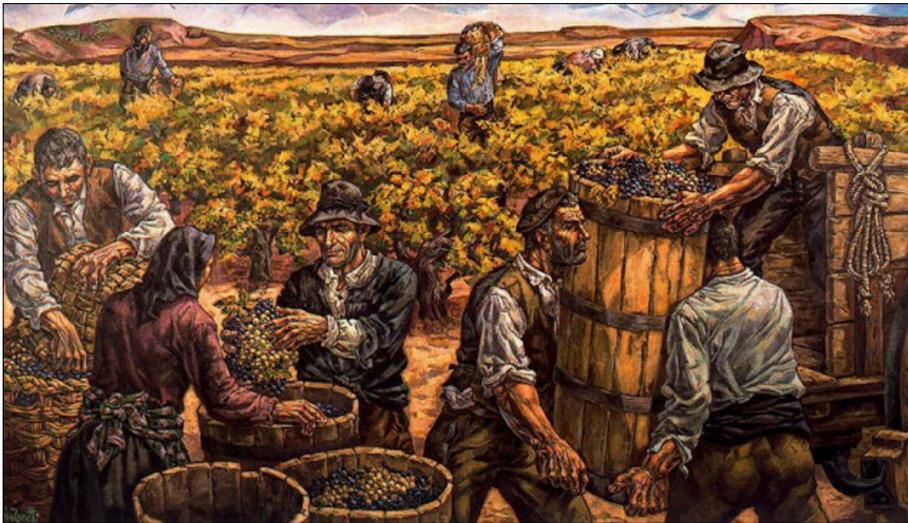


FIG. 5. *Vendimia en la Ribera del Duero* (Grape harvest in the Ribera del Duero, 1979). Source: Colección Museo de Torrelaguna, Madrid.

ground is full of pebbles, as was very typical of vineyards located on river terraces, like the ones around the Cigales wine region on the Pisuerga River or those of the Ribera del Duero on the banks of the Duero River. Behind them lies the sky, quite bright on account of the still powerful sun, and which one can see on the withering vines, changing the colours of their leaves until they lose them altogether, from the dark green shades of summer to the reds and yellows more typical of autumn.

The painting entitled *Sacaterros* (Grape-Basket Carrier, Fig. 4b) shows the figure of the man at the harvest, wearing his usual clothes: a white shirt, a brown waistcoat, a beret or cap on his head, a girdle rolled up at the waist to prevent back injuries; and a shoulder pad to prevent the heavy grape baskets he has to carry from hurting his shoulder. In this painting, Castilviejo wants to highlight the main character, who is alone in the picture, against a background predominated by the typical mauve and violet colours of the red grapes he is carrying. What strikes one most are the features of his face: a lost and apparently tired look, sporting a several day's beard and a wrinkled face that once again underscores the harshness of working in the fields. His neck and arms are just as wrinkled, showing that he is an elderly man, one of those who have stayed on in the villages after the rural exodus and who still tend to their small hawthorns.

Once one understands the vineyard landscape's characteristics and is acquainted with its protagonists, the two are brought together to harvest the grapes. Vela Zanetti has painted a large number of works on this subject, most notably his murals, which feature an extensive and comprehensive range of perspectives of grape harvests.

In the 1979 painting, *Vendimia en la Ribera del Duero* (Harvest in the Ribera del Duero – Fig. 5), the crews of workers, harvesters and grape-basket carriers take centre stage in the composition, working in a vineyard with a head-pruned plantation system. This scene was common in wine-producing villages during this period, as plenty of labour was needed to harvest the grapes from the vines. Throughout the grape-harvesting season, the hawthorns and the village streets were filled with people, chants, murmurs and commotion. A significant feature that Vela Zanetti uses for people is how he portrays men's arms, very muscular and with very marked blood veins, reflecting the strength needed to do this work and how the passing of the years has hardened the farmers more and more.

The depth of this mural allows us, once again, to glimpse the figure of the Castilian relief, with the typical yellow-coloured slopes of the moors, as the fields lie barren after the cereal crops have been harvested in the summer, leaving them naked. They will be left even more naked once the grapes have been harvested and the vineyards are no longer protected by their mantle of leaves. Left defenceless against the long, cold Castilian winter.

This painting includes a new feature, namely a cart, a key element in the rural landscape until the end of the 20th century and which, among other things, people found essential to help them do their hard work. One can see the men lifting up the large and heavy baskets of grapes that they are going to take to the winery to make the wine. A form of transport that is no longer in use, as the old mule-drawn carts have been replaced by tractors with trailers also driven by "horses" but of a different type: not horses of flesh and blood, but horse power.

Both Zanetti and Castilviejo paint scenes from the traditional grape harvest and the people involved in it. Their works are an important point of reference through which one can see who did this task and how in the vineyards until the end of the 20th century, when a major change began emerging in Castilla y León's vineyards with the appearance of mechanised harvesting. Harvesting crews began being replaced by large automated harvesting machines, and the murmur of people by the thunderous roar of their engines. Even though traditional harvesting is still done and continues to be a major source of work for day labourers, mechanised harvesting is becoming ever more important.

### 3. WINERIES, A LANDSCAPE FULL OF ODD BUILDINGS

Finally, the third category refers to the representation of traditional wineries. These constructions have played an important role in society, as they were where wine was made and meetings and social events were held, as well as being a meeting point for neighbours and strangers alike. Nowadays, there is almost no activity any longer in most of them, so they have been abandoned, are rundown and sometimes have even collapsed. However, in some regions they are being put to new uses, thanks to the expansion of wine tourism, and are turned into restaurants and museums.

Wine cellars are characterised by a series of architectural elements that afford them personality and originality. They form a peculiar landscape in the Duero plains that has surprised and admired many of the people who saw them, such as the 19th century European travellers who passed through these regions (Plasencia, 1995).

The existing buildings such as dovecotes, shepherds' huts, tool sheds, animal pens and, especially, wineries, are unique elements of rural history, of popular architecture, but which, little by little, have lost the shine they had, many of them having being abandoned and fallen into ruin. However, today, some of them have become heritage resources for developing the region's tourism.

Wineries are the most relevant buildings in the wine-producing landscape. Castilviejo has taken upon himself to depict the traditional Castilian wineries and their most important architectural elements, in an isolated way yet also integrated within the urban and agricultural landscape. That is why one can see the stone facades, the chimneys, the *zarceras* and the vents. In the 2001 painting entitled *Bodegas*, Wineries, (Fig. 6), he depicts an area with plenty of light, giving rise to a warm space.

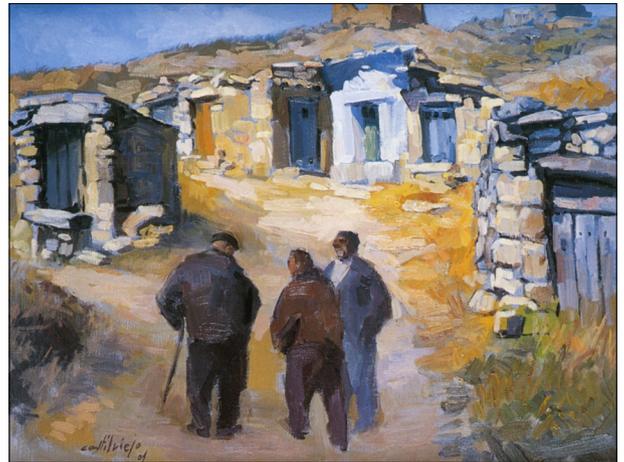


FIG. 6. *Bodegas* (Wineries, 2001). Source: Catálogo Exposición Castilviejo, 2001.

To do so, he uses ochre, yellow and some green for the grass, the cottages and the paths, and grey for the wineries' façades. He has painted the stone building blocks, lintels and supports, as well as the *zarceras* typical of these buildings, all of them with their respective functions. Two other features one can see are the group of men who are talking to one another, all of whom seem to be elderly, and probably used to be wine growers; while in the background is the landscape typical of these buildings, such as the hills and a few rundown dovecotes. The rest of the composition is completed with a series of loose brushstrokes that shape the work, such as the paths and the weeds on the edges of the wineries.

Some of his other works reflect some of the aforementioned elements, such as the vents, as just another feature of the composition, not as the only or most important one. The next figure (7a) entitled *Pueblo* (Village), depicts a group of more quadrangular-shaped stone vents in the foreground, at different levels due to the winery hills. In the background is a village, and what one sees first of all is a group of houses, probably made of adobe because of the colour in which they are painted, and which have collapsed, and just behind another group of houses that seem to be inhabited, on account of their state of conservation. *Bodegas Quintanilla de Trigueros* (Quintanilla de Trigueros Wineries – Fig. 7b) again shows the facades of the wineries, but this time in decline, mirroring the abandonment they face due to the crisis in the countryside. The scene of yesteryear has changed and if you walk through some of the lonely streets of these winery districts, you can only see closed doors, blocked up *zarceras* and collapsed wineries.



FIG. 7. a) *Pueblo* (Town, year unknown) and b) *Bodegas Quintanilla de Trigueros* (Quintanilla de Trigueros Wineries, year unknown). Source: Consejería de Cultura y Turismo, 2007.

The combination of wineries, terraces and relief forms give rise to a very comprehensive representation of this type of agricultural landscape as shown in the works of Cuadrado Lomas *Zarceras de las bodegas de Valoria* (*Zarceras* of the Valoria wineries – Fig. 8a) and Gabino Gaona with *Paisaje* (Landscape- Fig. 8b). In 1964, both painted a very similar panorama of the same wineries, namely the Valoria la Buena wineries, capturing their architecture and surrounding environment, yet each showing their own style.

That is why Lomas makes far more use of geometry, with better defined spaces, and mainly chooses mainly, ochre colours such as orange, yellow and brown, while Gaona prefers looser brushstrokes, less-defined shapes and a predominance of grey and blue colours, though he also uses some ochre ones, especially the reds.

The paintings are divided into three levels: a foreground with the group of wineries with its cottages, facades, *zarceras* and vents; the middle ground, showing the crop fields; and finally, the background, where one sees which the typical moorland so characteristic of the Cerrato region, with its slopes that define part of the Castilian-Leonese relief.

Wine wineries are a very typical feature of traditional architecture in the Duero River basin. In this case we can see the Pisuerga river wineries, in Valoria la Buena, a town in Valladolid historically renowned for its wine production. Cuadrado Lomas's painting is more precise, this is reflected in the structure of the brambles, vents and cabins, unlike Gaona, who prefers blurred brushstrokes, especially in cabins with their very blurred contours, avoiding one to see where it ends one winery and the next begins.

In the middle of the painting is the farmland, lying on top of the small slopes typical of this relief. These paintings share the same features as before. These are quite usual features for these and other painters who strive to portray the plots of land at its harshest moment, yet at the same time they take on great beauty thanks to the sunlight that bathes them in the autumn sunsets and on clear winter days.

This land, most of which is given over to cereal crops, spreads out across the vast Castilian plains until it meets up with the sloping moors, which slowly but steadily merge into flat surfaces, defining the basic features of most of the relief at the heart of the Duero basin, from Tierra de Campos to the southern Duero countryside.

#### IV. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Can painting be regarded as a source that contributes to the study of geographical space, and in this case agricultural landscape? Is painting an objective or subjective source? Do geography studies usually use painting to analyse, describe and interpret the territory? These are some of the questions that we can ask ourselves when we start researching geographical landscapes and, in particular, if they are cultural representations. Different researchers will have different answers to these questions, depending on which methodology they use in their studies, so their answers would have to be qualified and argued. Thus, an academic debate on this subject is guaranteed. A debate that is sure to help enrich geography as a scientific discipline.



FIG. 8. a) *Zarceras de las bodegas de Valoria* (*Zarceras of the Valoria wineries*, 1964) and b) *Paisaje* (*Landscape*, 1964). Sources: Consejería de Educación y Cultura de la Junta de Castilla y León, 2003 y Corral Castanedo et al., 1988.

The artists' paintings go beyond their aesthetic value and have a place in the region's socio-economic structure, as they offer valuable information about the place they portray in their paintings. An idea that also shared by Merleau-Ponty (2003) when considering the idea that painting and geography converge to show the relations between society and space. Since the 18th century, art has been used in landscape studies, and languages and forms had to be found to help capture its true essence by forging stronger ties between art and science (ORTEGA, 2006). A symbiosis arose between scientists and artists, as painters and literati felt the need not only to capture a territory, but also to understand how it works and the laws that govern it, just as scientists needed to include feelings and emotions in their work by using prose narrative and the production of drawings and illustrations (HERNÁNDEZ CORDERO, 2012).

I share these researchers' idea that there is a relationship between science and art, and in this case between geography and painting. I consider, as they have said already, that in this case paintings are a tool that helps to analyse the geographical landscape as has been seen in this paper. A valuable source that provides information on the territory, and can therefore be used for scientific

study. Does painting contribute to obtain geographical knowledge? According to López Ontiveros (2006) the answer is yes, since cultural images, and especially those from paintings, play a relevant role in the quest for this true knowledge. An idea that I share with other authors like Delgado Bujalance & Ojeda Rivera (2009) and Fernández Portela (2015) for the case of agricultural landscapes, where painting is the main source, as well as other works that use art as a complementary source in research. As for a work of a more global nature, one could mention the book coordinated by Molinero & Tort and entitled *Paisajes Patrimoniales de España Tomo I y Tomo II* (*Heritage Landscapes of Spain Volume I and Volume II*, 2018). This two-volume book features contributions by Sanz Herráiz & Cid Sanz about the Sierra del Guadarrama landscapes, Giménez Font about the Valencia's marine landscape, Alario Trigueros about the Castilla Canal or Villa Díaz & Andreu-Lara about the river Guadalquivir's the rice marshes, among a long list of works, so it is clear how much painting matters to landscape studies in geography.

In all of them, painting plays a prominent role. However, I would recommend a comparison with other sources such as field work, photography, maps, etc., because

we should not forget that painting is how a painter portrays a particular landscape. Soja (1996) considers that space must be configured through an integrating vision where social components are added to the physical and objective dimension, including art, where painters are the main players capable of capturing the environment which surrounds them, a simile which could also be applied to geographers, as we are professionals capable of integrating various disciplines in order to obtain a more global vision of the territory.

Art, and literature too, have been responsible for leaving a fairly faithful legacy in their works of Castilla y León's agricultural geography over time. Painting and literature breathe life into the landscapes they represent. Painting creates a world, while words allow us to describe that landscape (ROVIRA SOLER, 2017). Painting plays an essential role, because paintings and murals let us see how the landscape changes over time. Artists such as Castilviejo, Vela Zanetti, Mercedes del Val, Cuadrado Lomas, Gabino Gaona or Mariano Macón, have taken it upon themselves, as if they were a group of geographers, to immortalise in their paintings the region's agricultural landscape with its characteristic cereal fields, pigeon lofts, villages, the peasants and, in this case, the vineyards, the wineries and their workers. Their paintings provide valuable information about the realities that exist in one part of this region, in a more dynamic and attractive way that lets a wider public know about and interpret it, bringing such a characteristic landscape closer to its own inhabitants and arousing within them a sense of belonging to it.

Together, brush and mind of these artists have created a set of canvases that resemble photographs, snapshots of Castilla y León's landscapes from the mid-20th century to the start of the 21st century, which have allowed us to see how time has transformed them, losing the splendour that they enjoyed in past times, giving rise to substantial changes in their structure, architectural elements and main characters.

Despite the different artistic styles that each painter uses, they have managed to reflect the vine-and-wine landscape's essence. Their activity in this field has allowed us to systematise their work in three well-defined categories, namely vineyards, grape harvests and wineries, and this paper shows just a few of the extensive range of paintings. The paper has shown that, within this classification, and in addition to these three elements, the paintings provide more geographical information about their surroundings. Not to mention the palette of colours used, which is closely linked to climate-related aspects,

as the chromatic range with its different scales shows the moment in time when the artist went to the countryside to immortalise the landscape.

The wine-growing landscape seen in the different paintings differs, in part, from the one which exists today. There has been many a change, and if the painters who painted the works referred to above were to paint them again taking into account what one can see today, there would be many a nuance in them. The years that have gone past, and the different economic and social processes that have taken place in Castilla y León's rural environment, have marked wine-growing and its industry heavily, resulting in changes in the surface area under vines; in how the vineyards are worked, in the labour employed, in the land plot structure and in the wineries, among other aspects. All this has prompted a new vineyard landscape that blends traditional aspects with the more modern ones. Yet its artistic interest does not lie in wine-growing's modern nature, but rather in its traditional nature, which is why artists still paint the older head-pruned hawthorns, the underground stone cellars and the manual grape harvest. In short, elements that afford the territory a more valuable heritage, and that are being used in an appeal to develop the region and organise other kinds of activities, mainly wine tourism. Elements capable of breathing life back into these lands and avoid the much-feared depopulation that has been devastating the region's rural environment for over fifty years.

## REFERENCES

- BENITO MARTÍN, F. (2005): "El sistema medieval de asentamiento en Castilla y León", *Arqueología y Territorio Medieval*, 122 (2), pp. 57-74, <[http://www.ujaen.es/revista/arqym/PDF/R12\\_2/R122\\_3\\_Benito.pdf](http://www.ujaen.es/revista/arqym/PDF/R12_2/R122_3_Benito.pdf)>.
- BERQUE, A. (1982): *Vivre l'espace au Japon*, PUF, Paris, 224 pp.
- BUTTIMER, A. (2001): "Beyond Humboldtian science and Goethe's way of science: Challenges of Alexander Von Humboldt's geography", *Erdkunde*, 55 (2), pp. 105-120, <<http://dx.doi.org/10.3112/erdkunde.2001.02.01>>.
- CATÁLOGO DE EXPOSICIÓN CASTILVIEJO (2001): Galería de Arte Rafael.
- CATÁLOGO EXPOSICIÓN MERCEDES DEL VAL TROUILLET (2014): Museo de la Universidad de Valladolid.
- CONSEJERÍA DE CULTURA Y TURISMO (2007): *Castilviejo del dibujo al grabado*, Consejería de Cultura y Turismo de la Junta de Castilla y León, Burgos, 136 pp.

- CONSEJERÍA DE EDUCACIÓN Y CULTURA (2003): *Cuadrado Lomas*, Consejería de Educación y Cultura de la Junta de Castilla y León, Valladolid, 346 pp.
- CORRAL CASTANEDO, A., et al. (1988): *Gaona*, Caja de Ahorros Provincial de Valladolid, Valladolid, 169 pp.
- COSTA MAS, J. (2003): “Los frentes fluviales de París y Londres en la pintura del siglo XIX”, *Cuadernos de Geografía*, 73/74, pp. 259-276, <<http://roderic.uv.es/handle/10550/31273>>.
- CRESSWELL, T., & D. DIXON (2002): *Engaging Film: Geographies of Mobility and Identity*, Rowman and Littlefield, London, 368 pp.
- DE LEEUW, S., & H. HAWKINS (2017): “Critical geographies and creative re/turns: Poetics and practices for new disciplinary spaces”, *Gender, Place & Culture*, 24 (3), pp. 303-324, <<https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2017.1314947>>.
- DELGADO BUJALANCE, B., & J.F. OJEDA RIVERA (2009): “La comprensión de los paisajes agrarios españoles: aproximación a través de sus representaciones”, *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles*, 51, pp. 93-126, <<https://bage.age-geografia.es/ojs/index.php/bage/article/view/1134/1057>>.
- DELIBES, M. (1950): *El Camino*, Destino, Barcelona, 272 pp.
- (1962): *Las Ratas*, Destino, Barcelona, 192 pp.
- (1972): *Castilla en mi obra*, Magisterio Español, Madrid, 110 pp.
- (1986): *Castilla habla*, Destino, Barcelona, 192 pp.
- DIXON, D., H. HAWKINS & E.R. STRAUGHAN (2012): “Wonder-full geomorphology: sublime aesthetics and the place of art”, *Progress in Physical Geography*, 37 (2), pp. 227-247, <<https://doi.org/10.1177/0309133312457108>>.
- FERNÁNDEZ CHRISTLIEB, F., & G. GARZA MERODIO (2006): “La pintura geográfica en el siglo XVI y su relación con una propuesta actual en la definición de paisaje”, *Scripta Nova. Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales*, X, 218 (69), <<http://www.ub.edu/geocrit/sn/sn-218-69.htm>>.
- FERNÁNDEZ PORTELA, J. (2015): “El paisaje agrario de Castilla y León: los secanos cerealistas según los pintores de la segunda mitad del siglo XX”, *Cuadernos Geográficos*, 54 (1), pp. 113-134, <<https://revista-seug.ugr.es/index.php/cuadgeo/article/view/2800>>.
- (2016): “La pintura como recurso didáctico para el maestro de primaria en el estudio del espacio geográfico: el ejemplo del paisaje del viñedo”, *Didáctica geográfica*, 17, pp. 39-62, <<https://didacticageografica.age-geografia.es/index.php/didacticageografica/article/view/358>>.
- FERNÁNDEZ SANZ, A. (1997): “El problema de España entre dos siglos (XIX y XX)”, *Anales del seminario de historia de la filosofía*, 14, pp. 203-222, <<https://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/ASHF/article/view/ASHF9797110203A/4927>>.
- GARCÍA FERNÁNDEZ, J. (1981): *Desarrollo y atonía en Castilla*, Ariel, Barcelona, 262 pp.
- GILBERT, G.K. (1877): *Geology of the Henry Mountains*, DC: Government Printing Office, Washington, 160 pp., <<https://doi.org/10.3133/70038096>>.
- HAWKINS, H. (2011): “Dialogues and doings: Geography and art – landscape, critical spatialities and participation”, *Geography Compass*, 5 (7), pp. 464-478, <<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-8198.2011.00429.x>>.
- (2014): *For Creative Geographies: Geography, Visual Arts and the Making of Worlds*, Routledge, New York, 310 pp.
- (2018): “Geography’s creative (re)turn: Toward a critical framework”, *Progress in Human Geography* (October 15), pp. 1-22, <<https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132518804341>>.
- HEIL, E. (2005): “Pictorial study of tafoni development from the 2nd millennium BC”, *Geomorphology*, 64 (3), pp. 87-95, <<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geomorph.2004.05.004>>.
- HERNÁNDEZ CORDERO, A. (2012): “Pintura y paisaje: un recorrido por la Alameda Mexicana”, *Cuadernos geográficos de la Universidad de Granada*, 51 (2), pp. 144-156, <<https://revistaseug.ugr.es/index.php/cuadgeo/article/view/236/341>>.
- HUETZ DE LEMPS, A. (1967a): *Vignobles et vins du nord-ouest de l’Espagne. Tome premier*, Institut de Géographie, Bordeaux, 521 pp.
- (1967b): *Vignobles et vins du nord-ouest de l’Espagne. Tome II*, Institut de Géographie, Bordeaux, 483 pp.
- LEGUEN PERES, B. (2010): “El paisaje en la literatura francesa a partir del siglo XIX y sus relaciones con la pintura”, *Estudios Geográficos*, vol. LXXI (269), pp. 545-573, <<https://doi.org/10.3989/estgeogr.201018>>.
- LÓPEZ LARA, E.J. (2020): “Percepción del espacio urbano de Tángier en las novelas españolas del siglo XXI”, *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles*, 85, 2836, pp. 1-26, <<https://doi.org/10.21138/bage.2836>>.
- LÓPEZ ONTIVEROS, A. (2006): “Literatura, Geografía y Representaciones del paisaje”, in N. Ortega Cantero, A. López Ontiveros & J. Nogué I Font (coords.): *Representaciones culturales del paisaje. Y una excursión por Doñana*, Ediciones de la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Madrid, pp. 13-40.

- MACHADO, A. (1912, ed. 1977): *Campos de Castilla*, Cátedra, Madrid, 304 pp.
- MADERUELO, J. (2005): *El paisaje. Génesis de un concepto*, Abada, Madrid, 344 pp.
- MARTÍNEZ RUIZ “AZORÍN”, J. (1912, ed. 1986): *Castilla*, Plaza & Janes, Barcelona, 155 pp.
- MERLEAU-PONTY, M. (2003): *El mundo de la percepción. Siete conferencias*, Fondo de Cultura Económico, Buenos Aires, 82 pp.
- MINCA, C. (2007): “The tourist landscape paradox”, *Social & Cultural Geography*, 8 (3), pp. 433-453, <<https://doi.org/10.1080/14649360701488906>>.
- MOLINERO, F., & J. TORT (coords.) (2018): *Paisajes patrimoniales de España. Tomo I*, Ministerio de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación, Ministerio para la Transición Ecológica-UAM-Ediciones, Madrid, 874 pp.
- (coords.) (2018): *Paisajes patrimoniales de España. Tomo II*, Ministerio de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación, Ministerio para la Transición Ecológica-UAM-Ediciones, Madrid, 556 pp.
- OJEDA RIVERA, J.F., & B. DELGADO BUJALANCE (2010): “Representaciones de paisajes agrarios andaluces”, *Scripta Nova, Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales*, XIV, 326, <<https://revistes.ub.edu/index.php/ScriptaNova/article/view/1632>>.
- ORTEGA CANTERO, N. (2002): “Los viajeros románticos extranjeros y el descubrimiento del paisaje de España”, *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares*, 57 (2), pp. 225-244, <<http://dx.doi.org/10.3989/rdtp.2002.v57.i2.181>>.
- (2006): “Ver, pensar y sentir el paisaje. Expresiones literarias del paisaje moderno”, in N. Ortega Cantero (ed.): *Imágenes del paisaje*, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid-Fundación Duque de Soria, Madrid, pp. 9-48.
- (2009): “Paisaje e identidad. La visión de Castilla como paisaje nacional (1876-1963)”, *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles*, 51, pp. 25-49, <<https://bage.age-geografia.es/ojs/index.php/bage/article/view/1131/1054>>.
- PIQUERAS HABA, J. (2005): “La filoxera en España y su difusión espacial: 1878-1926”, *Cuadernos de Geografía*, 77, pp. 101-136, <[https://www.uv.es/cuadernosgeo/CG77\\_101\\_136.pdf](https://www.uv.es/cuadernosgeo/CG77_101_136.pdf)>.
- PIVETEAU, J.-L. (1989): “Les tableaux des peintres pour notre compréhension de l’espace”, en Y. André et al. (coords.): *Représenter l’espace. L’imaginaire spatial à l’école*, Anthropos, Paris, pp. 109-122.
- PLASENCIA, P. (1995): *Los vinos de España vistos por los viajeros europeos*, Ministerio de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación, Madrid, 240 pp.
- PONCE, J.C. (1999): “El ferrocarril de la Generación del 98: paisajes desde el tren”, en J. Vidal Olivares, M. Muñoz Rubio & J. Sanz Fernández (coords.): *Economía, industria y sociedad*, Diputación Provincial de Alicante, Instituto Alicantino de Cultura Juan Gilbert-Albert, Alicante, pp. 1.121-1.134.
- ROGER, A. (2007): *Breve tratado del paisaje*, Biblioteca Nueva, Madrid, 236 pp.
- ROVIRA SOLER, J.C. (2017): “Rubén Darío: Geografía, pintura y paisajes”, *Centroamericana*, 26 (2), pp. 131-157, <<http://www.centroamericana.it/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/CA-26.2-Jos%C3%A9-Carlos-Rovira-Rub%C3%A9n-Dar%C3%ADo-geograf%C3%ADa-pintura-y-paisajes.pdf>>.
- SANZ MÍNGUEZ, C., et al. (2009): *El vino y el banquete en la Ribera del Duero durante la protohistoria*, Centro de estudios Vaceos Federico Wattenberg de la Universidad de Valladolid, Valladolid, 107 pp.
- SENADOR GÓMEZ, J. (1920, ed. 1993): *Castilla en escombros. Las leyes, las tierras, el trigo y el hambre*, Ámbito, Valladolid, 265 pp.
- SIMON, H.A. (1957): *Models of man: social and rational*, Wiley, New York, 287 pp.
- SOJA, E. (1996): *Thirspace. Journey to Los Angeles and other real-and-imagined places*, Blackwell publishers, Cambridge (Massachuset), 348 pp.
- YOUNGHUSBAND, F. (1920): “Natural beauty and geographical science”, *Geographical Journal*, 56, pp. 1-13, <<https://doi.org/10.1177/030913257800200211>>.
- ZÁRATE MARTÍN, A. (1992): “Pintura de paisaje e imagen de España: un instrumento de análisis geográfico”, *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. Serie VI, Geografía*, V, pp. 41-66, <<https://doi.org/10.5944/etfvi.5.1992.2500>>.

