

# Nationalism, Regionalism, and Faith in the Works of Emilia Pardo Bazán: St. James and the Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, 1880-1920

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## Nacionalismo, regionalismo y fe en la obra de Emilia Pardo Bazán: Santiago y la peregrinación a Compostela, 1880-1920

**Resumen:** Emilia Pardo Bazán (1851-1921), prolífica escritora gallega de finales del siglo XIX —ensayista, novelista, y narradora— escribió cuatro obras literarias en particular (*Pascual López*, “El Peregrino”, “El Caballo blanco”, y “La Danza del peregrino”) y ocho artículos vinculados directamente a Santiago de Compostela, al Apóstol y/o a la peregrinación. Estas obras, examinadas en conjunto, ofrecen perspectivas tanto literarias como periodísticas del estado de la peregrinación al sepulcro del Apóstol en Santiago de Compostela, hacen una crítica de la situación económica y política del país y su relación con Santiago como Patrón de España, además de arrojar luz sobre la actitud espiritual de la propia autora hacia la fe, la religión y la Iglesia Católica.

**Palabras clave:** Emilia Pardo Bazán, Pico Sacro, Santiago Matamoros, Patrón, Roma, peregrinación en el siglo XIX, Ofrenda Nacional.

## *Nationalism, Regionalism, and Faith in the Works of Emilia Pardo Bazán: St. James and the Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, 1880-1920*

**Abstract:** Emilia Pardo Bazán (1851-1921), a prolific Galician turn-of-the-century writer—essayist, novelist, and storyteller—wrote four specific literary works (Pascual López, “El Peregrino”, “El Caballo blanco”, and “La Danza del peregrino”) and eight articles connected directly with Santiago de Compostela, St. James, and/or pilgrimage. These works, when examined as a group, offer both literary and journalistic insights into the state of the pilgrimage to the tomb of St. James in Santiago de Compostela, provide commentary about Spain’s economic and political status as it relates to St. James as Patron Saint of Spain, and shed light on the author’s own spiritual attitude toward faith, religion, and the Catholic Church.

**Key words:** Emilia Pardo Bazán, Pico Sacro, St. James Moor-slayer, Patron saint, Rome, 19th-century pilgrimage, National Offering.

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## Nacionalismo, rexionalismo e fe na obra de Emilia Pardo Bazán: Santiago e a peregrinación a Compostela, 1880-1920

**Resumo:** Emilia Pardo Bazán (1851-1921), prolífica escritora galega de finais do século XIX –ensaísta, novelista e narradora– escribiu catro obras literarias en particular (*Pascual López*, *El Peregrino*, *El Caballo blanco* e *La Danza del peregrino*) e oito artigos vinculados directamente con Santiago de Compostela, o Apóstolo e/ou a peregrinación. Estas obras, examinadas en conxunto, ofrecen perspectivas tanto literarias coma periódicas do estado da peregrinación ao sepulcro do Apóstolo en Santiago de Compostela, fan unha crítica da situación económica e política do país e a súa relación con Santiago como Patrón de España, amais de botar luz sobre a actitude espiritual da propia autora cara á fe, a relixión e a Igrexa Católica.

**Palabras clave:** Emilia Pardo Bazán. Pico Sacro. Santiago Matamouros. Patrón. Roma. Peregrinación no século XIX. Ofrenda Nacional.

While pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela have never completely ended, during the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century they were certainly moribund. Fewer than 40 pilgrims were present at the Cathedral on July 25, 1867. Between the years 1825 – 1884 (a period which included 8 Holy Years<sup>1</sup>) only 5775 pilgrims registered. The yearly numbers of registered pilgrims between 1870 and 1884 never reached above double

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<sup>1</sup> 1830, 1841, 1847, 1852, 1858, 1869, 1875, and 1880.

digits<sup>2</sup>. The decline in the importance of the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, and thus the figure of St. James the Pilgrim (*Santiago Peregrino*), was also mirrored in the lessening of the political influence and authority of St. James the Moor-slayer (*Santiago Matamoros*) as Patron Saint of Spain. During the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, however, several events led to a mini-revival of interest and tourists, if not actual pilgrims. The British enthusiasm for, and receipt of approval to make castings of the *Pórtico de la Gloria* in 1865, and their subsequent mounting in the Casting Hall of the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1866 generated international attention to, and local pride in, the physical cathedral in Compostela<sup>3</sup>. Clearly, however, the great event in the 19<sup>th</sup> century story of St. James and Santiago de Compostela was the 1879 rediscovery of the bones of St. James during archaeological excavations accomplished under the direction of Antonio López Ferreiro. The announcement of their discovery, followed quickly by the pronouncement of their veracity in 1884 by Pope Leo XIII in the papal Bull *Deus omnipotens*<sup>4</sup> and his approval of a special Jubilee Year in 1885 created renewed spiritual interest in St. James as well as the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, if not to the traditional *Camino Francés* and the making of a devotional pilgrimage. Emilia Pardo Bazán (1851-1921), a prolific Galician turn-of-the-century writer—essayist, novelist, and storyteller—wrote various pieces which, taken together, offer both literary and journalistic insights into the state of the pilgrimage to the tomb of St. James in Santiago de Compostela between 1880 and 1920, as well as her own spiritual attitude toward religion and the Catholic Church. In contrast to today's pilgrims' journals and memoirs about their individual, personal pilgrimage journey, Pardo Bazán's writings demonstrate a concern about the purpose of pilgrimage, and the accomplishment of the spiritual journey; she says little about the "*Camino*" or Way itself, and for her, as well as for her characters, the focus of interest is on the *locus sanctum* and St. James's role as Patron Saint of Spain.

The Countess of Pardo Bazán (a title she inherited from her father in 1904 and which was confirmed by King Alfonso XIII in 1908) presents a complicated figure in the world of Spanish letters. Much ink has been spilled over whether her literary realism conflicted with her Catholic faith. She traveled internationally, championed Galicia, but wrote only in Spanish; she was a feminist and an intellectual in a time when a woman should be neither. When she died in 1921 she left behind 19 novels, hundreds of

2 Carmen Pugliese, *El Camino de Santiago en el Siglo XIX*. (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 1998): 27.

3 For information about the British castings of the *Pórtico*, see: H.W. Lonsdale, "West Doorway, Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela." *Architect*, (5 June 1869, vol. 23): 294-6); Spanish trans. Inocencio Vilardebó, "Pórtico del Occidente de la Catedral de Santiago de Compostela," *Galicia Diplomática*, (11 Mar. 1883, vol. 1 No. 36): 257-61); Matilde Mateo Sevilla, Matilde, *El Pórtico de la Gloria en la Inglaterra victoriana: La invención de una obra maestra*. (Santiago de Compostela: Museo Nacional de las Peregrinaciones, 1991); and Victoria and Albert Museum, "The History of the Cast Courts." [online] Retrieved January 3, 2013. Accessible from <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/t/the-cast-courts/>.

4 Domingo Bartolini. *Cenni biografici di San Giacomo Apostolo il Maggiore*. Trans. Silvestre Rongier y Fullerad. *Apuntes biográficos de Santiago el Mayor y exposición histórico-crítica y jurídica de su apostolado traslación del cuerpo del mismo a España y su reciente descubrimiento*. (Rome: Tipografía Vaticana, 1885): 237 – 64.

short stories, a collection of poems, and innumerable essays and journalistic pieces. Her canon of works is so immense, and so varied that no one symbol or topic overwhelms the whole, but the theme of pilgrimage recurs at key points in her life and literary career. While many of the Countess' works are set in Galicia, relatively few are directly related to St. James and Santiago de Compostela, but those that are related to the saint and his city are some her first and last literary creations, serving as bookends to her literary corpus.

The contradictory nature of the works, interests, and life of Pardo Bazán appropriately parallel the dualities of St. James, as he exists as Pilgrim and Moor-slayer. Within her writings, Pardo Bazán's use of the figure of St. James the Apostle ("Santiago el Mayor") in her stories and magazine essays show her to be conflicted in her personal religious beliefs, swinging from an admiration and longing to experience simple Christian faith and charity, to her strict adherence to rites and rituals of the historic, structured Catholic Church as it intersected with the modern State and befit her social and economic status. Eva Acosta's biography of the countess, *Emilia Pardo Bazán, La luz en la batalla*, refers to the countess' motto(s), *De bellum luce* 'From the battle comes light' and, later in her life, *De bello lucem* 'The light in the battle'. Acosta writes, "La luz y la batalla conforman, pues, un eje existencial con dos polos en apariencia antitéticos, pero inseparables. El mejor símbolo de la condesa de Pardo Bazán."<sup>5</sup> ('Light and battle, then, make up an existential axis with two apparently antithetical but inseparable poles. The best symbol of the Countess of Pardo Bazán.')<sup>6</sup> These two images also embody the duality of St. James as Pilgrim (light) and Moor-slayer (battle). He is both a warrior and a pilgrim, at times carrying a sword, at other times, a staff. For the Christian world he is one of Christ's most trusted disciples, for Spain he is the national Patron, and for Galicia he is a local champion. Appropriately, Pardo Bazán makes use of both representations of St. James, at times emphasizing one aspect over another, but ultimately both facets are always present, like yin and yang, inseparable.

Within Pardo Bazán's works, St. James, as Pilgrim or Moor-slayer, is a central image in three of her short stories: "El Peregrino" (1891), "El Caballo blanco" (1899), and "La Danza del peregrino" (1916). Her first novel, *Pascual López, autobiografía de un estudiante de medicina* (1879), is set in Santiago de Compostela with references and ties to the St. James legend, while St. James in his role of Moor-slayer plays an important role in one of her last short novels, *La Última fada* (1916), a chivalresque recounting of the son of Tristan and Iseult the Fair.<sup>7</sup> She includes personal information about her travels to Compostela in two of her regular correspondent columns in a regional newspaper and wrote two magazine articles about the 1891 Holy Year. Within all these works, Pardo Bazán adds details from personal observation, as well as general tourist information, but

<sup>5</sup> Barcelona: Lumen, 2007, p. 581.

<sup>6</sup> All English translations are mine.

<sup>7</sup> St. James appears in this novel in his traditional role as Moor-slayer. His treatment and description are marginal, and follow a relatively traditional literary development, and therefore will not be discussed within this article.

also shows her intellectual curiosity by citing (or referring to) literary and/or scholarly books and articles that deal with Santiago de Compostela and the St. James' legends. Pardo Bazán's stories are often fanciful retellings of events that happened to her in real life; correspondingly, her newspaper and journal reports read like invented stories.<sup>8</sup>

In the autobiographical prologue to her first novel, Pardo Bazán explains her attraction to Santiago de Compostela, and gives a clear indication about what it will represent in her subsequent works:

...En España, *nación cuyo pasado hace palidecer más y más al presente*, son bellos para el pensador los lugares que hablan con sus monumentos elocuentísimos, con sus soberbias carcomidas piedras, con la silenciosa majestad de su abandono. Toledo, Burgos, Salamanca, and Santiago guardan, *cual urnas cinceladas y roídas por el tiempo, las cenizas del espíritu nacional, el polvo de los colosos de nuestro espléndido ayer*. De todos estos sarcófagos imponentes, el que más huella imprimió en mi fantasía fue Santiago;... porque hubo de ser la primera que en la aurora de la vida despertó mi mente a la contemplación de edades muertas, bajo los pilares de su catedral y en las revueltas de sus tortuosas calles. Consagréle las primicias de mi imaginación adolescente, y a despecho de cuantas maravillas arqueológicas pude más tarde admirar en mi patria y en extrañas tierras, no se borró jamás aquella impresión viva y temprana.<sup>9</sup>

...In Spain, *a nation whose present pales more and more in comparison with its past*, the thinker may find beautiful places, which speak out through their eloquent monuments, with their haughty decaying stones, and the silent majesty of their neglect. Toledo, Burgos, Salamanca, and Santiago, *like funerary urns, etched and eroded by time, guard the ashes of national spirit, the dust of the colossus that was our splendid past*. Of all these imposing sarcophagi, the one which left the profoundest mark on my fantasy was Santiago... because it was the first which, in the dawn of my life, awoke in me the contemplation of dead ages, under the pillars of its cathedral and in the tangle of its winding streets. I devoted to it the first fruits of my adolescent imagination, and in spite of the many other archaeological marvels I later admired in my own country and abroad, that early, graphic vision was never erased.

Already in 1879, prior to Spain's political and military reverses of the turn of the century, Pardo Bazán is concerned that Spain is living on past glories. The old used-to-be-important cities (Toledo as center of the Visigoth kingdom and custodian of the Mo-

8 For a complete, chronological listing of all of Pardo Bazán's works cited in this article, see the Appendix.

9 Emilia Pardo Bazán, *Obras completas: (novelas y cuentos)*. Ed. F. Sainz de Robles, (Madrid: Aguilar, 1956): II, 12. (Emphasis added.)

zarabic rite of the Catholic Church; Burgos as the historic capital of Castile and home to El Cid, and Salamanca as seat of Spain's oldest university) are now the "sarcófagos" 'sarcophagi' of former glory days. The irony of Santiago de Compostela's inclusion in this list is that its fame and importance resides entirely in being the reputed burial site of the Apostle St. James, and that the archaeological investigations had just rediscovered his bones earlier in the year (January 28, 1879) that *Pascual López* was published.<sup>10</sup> Pardo Bazán does not specifically mention the rediscovery of St. James' relics (his bones had been removed from below the altar and hidden in 1588, fearing Drake and English pirates), but it was a topic of considerable speculation and conversation: "El reciente descubrimiento de los restos glorioso del Apóstol Santiago en la cripta de la catedral, es objeto de todas las conversaciones, y motivo de los más extraños y curiosos comentarios."<sup>11</sup> ('The recent discovery of the remains of the great Apostle St. James in the crypt of the cathedral is the subject of everyone's conversations, and motive for the strangest and most curious comments.') As an avid reader, socially connected, and politically opinionated young woman, Pardo Bazán must have been aware of this event and have followed its political and religious repercussions.

*Pascual López, autobiografía de un estudiante de medicina* is set almost entirely in the city of Santiago de Compostela. Although the storyline does not deal directly with pilgrims, the pilgrimage to Compostela, or with St. James himself, multiple references in the story are associated with them. In *Pascual López*, the eponymous young medical student with few scientific skills, little interest in studies and even less money is attending the University of Santiago. In an attempt to make enough money quickly in order to impress and marry his beloved Pastora, he makes a pact with the mysterious Professor Onarro, who needs an assistant to help in his search for the philosopher's stone.

In its opening pages, the narrator (Pascual López) draws a grave and melancholy picture of Santiago de Compostela centered on the area near the cathedral:

...De día, a la luz del sol, la Jerusalén de Occidente (que así suele ser nombrada en elegante estilo) parece venerable y pacífica, sin austeridad ni ceño; pero en las largas noches invernales, cuando en las angostas calles se espesa la oscuridad y la enorme sombra de la catedral se proyecta en el piso de la Quintana de muertos, y el reloj cuenta las horas con lengua de bronce y la luna vierte vaporosas olas de luz sobre las caladas torres, la impresión que produce Santiago es solemne...Aquí venía como de molde recordar los antiguos peregrinos, que en otros siglos se postraban ante el bizantino Apóstol, rígido y severo bajo su pesada esclavina de purísima plata; las leyendas, las consejas más o menos tradicionales que cada callejuela de Santiago puede narrar.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Bartolini, 111 – 160.

<sup>11</sup> No Title. *Gaceta de Galicia: Diario de Santiago*, (1 Feb. 1879, vol. 25): 2.

<sup>12</sup> Pardo Bazán, *Obras completas*, II: 14.

...In the light of day, the Jerusalem of the West (or so it is elegantly called) seems venerable and calm, neither austere nor glowering; but in the long wintry nights, when darkness gathers in the narrow streets and the enormous shadow of the cathedral covers the plaza of the *Quintana de Muertos*, and the tower clock tolls the hours with a bronze tongue, and diaphanous moonlight falls on the openwork spires, the impression that Santiago produces is solemn....Here one could recall perfectly the ancient pilgrims who in other centuries would prostrate themselves before the byzantine Apostle, who sits, unbending and stern, under his heavy capelet of the purest silver; the legends, the (more or less) traditional stories that each alley of Santiago can tell.

We hear in this brief description epithets which reappear in Pardo Bazán's other writings: Compostela is the "Jerusalén del occidente," 'Jerusalem of the West' (for its importance in the granting of indulgences when Jerusalem was unreachable); the "bizantino Apóstol," 'byzantine Apostle' (a specific reference to the ornate Baroque figure of St. James enthroned on the altar in the Compostela Cathedral, but perhaps also to his complicated nature), and finally, the theme of ancient pilgrims, prostrating themselves before the altar presents itself. The physical cathedral of the city of Santiago de Compostela overshadows all other aspects of the city in Pardo Bazán's writings; and within the cathedral it is the main altar which garners her attention.

Through the character of Professor Onarro, Pardo Bazán weaves the mystery of St. James' history and the medieval pilgrimage to Compostela into her novel in two subtle ways. First, the enigmatic professor is reputed to have accomplished implausible geological investigations, including, "había penetrado más adentro que nadie en la sima y galería pavorosa del Pico Sacro."<sup>13</sup> ('He had penetrated further than anyone into the terrifying chasm and corridor of the Pico Sacro.'). Second, he is said to have agreed to come to Santiago de Compostela: "Para completar el mito, se aseguraba que su venida a Santiago obedecía al propósito de entregarse con completa libertad y aislamiento a unas investigaciones acerca de la piedra filosofal."<sup>14</sup> ('To complete the myth, it was maintained that his arrival in Santiago complied with his proposal that he be allowed complete liberty and isolation for his investigations into the philosopher's stone'.)

The Pico Sacro, also known as *Mons Ilicino* or *Mons Sacer*, rises up from the fields near Lestedo in the municipality of Bouqueixón, 12 kilometers southeast of Santiago de Compostela. It is closely tied to the legends of St. James, and lies just off of the Camino Mozárabe, between the small towns of Ponte Ulla and Susana. From its peak, pilgrims coming from the south can first see the city of Santiago de Compostela, as well as the spires of the Cathedral. It is also associated with multiple aspects of the Santiago burial legend, as the place to which the evil queen Lupa directed St. James' disciples—who were

<sup>13</sup> Pardo Bazán, *Obras completas*, II: 36.

<sup>14</sup> Pardo Bazán, *Obras completas*, II: 36.

carrying his body inland to be buried—and where these disciples slew the dragon and tamed the wild bulls, miracles which ultimately converted the queen to Christianity.<sup>15</sup> The “galería povorosa” ‘frightful gallery’ refers to a cavern at the top of the mountain. (This cave is also mentioned in Bazán’s “La Danza del peregrino.”) The Pico Sacro has been closely associated with the Compostela Cathedral, and during the 11th century a monastery outpost was built there by Diego Gelmírez, the first archbishop of Santiago de Compostela and St. James’ greatest promoter.<sup>16</sup>

Professor Onarro’s search for the philosopher’s stone and its connection to the legend of the pilgrimage and Compostela indirectly references another link to the Camino via the history and legend of Nicholas Flamel (1330-1418)<sup>17</sup> a Parisian bookseller and alchemist from the area of St.-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie. According to popular history, after Flamel purchased a book full of hieroglyphs, he set forth in 1378 on pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, in order to find a Jew or *converso* (a Jew converted to Christianity) who could explain the symbols to him.<sup>18</sup> The 17<sup>th</sup> century saw the first printed publication of the *Livre des figures hiéroglyphiques*,<sup>19</sup> but it maintained its popularity through the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The English version, *Exposition of the Hieroglyphical Figures*, was reprinted in 1889 and 1890, and Flamel’s French treatise on the philosopher’s stone was reprinted in 1782. Victor Hugo, a favorite author of Pardo Bazán mentions Flamel several times in *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* (1831).<sup>20</sup>

Through this first novel Pardo Bazán provides a backdrop for all her future references to Santiago de Compostela and the pilgrims who travel to visit the tomb of St. James. It informs the reader that she has not written casually about the city or the history of the pilgrimage, but that she is intimately acquainted with St. James’ lore, the area surrounding Santiago de Compostela, and the Cathedral itself.

It was not until December 1891 that Pardo Bazán produced a work based primarily on the idea of pilgrimage to Compostela. Her short story, “El Peregrino”, was first pub-

15 *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, “Codex Calixtinus.” Trans. Abelardo Moralejo Lasso, et al., (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, Consellería de Cultura, Comunicación Social e Turismo, 1998): 390-391.

16 Anselm G. Biggs, Anselm. G. *Diego Gelmírez, First Archbishop of Compostela*. (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1949): 31 note 176.

17 Interest in Nicholas Flamel and his search for the philosopher’s (or sorcerer’s) stone has been enhanced lately by the publication of J.K. Rowling’s *Harry Potter and the Philosopher’s Stone* (London: Bloomsbury, 1997). Rowling does not mention any connection between Flamel and Santiago within the Harry Potter series.

18 “In the end having lost all hope of ever understanding those *figures*, for my last refuge, I made a vow to God, and *St. James of Galicia*, (sic) to demand the interpretation of them, at some *Jewish Priest*, in some *Synagogue of Spain*: whereupon . . . carrying with me the *Extract of the Pictures*, having taken the *Pilgrims’ habit and staff*. . . I put myself upon my way; and so much I did, that I arrive at *Montjoy*, and afterwards at *St. James*, where with great devotion I accomplished my vow.” Nicolas Flamel, Eirenaeus Orandus, and W. W. Westcott, *Nicholas Flammel, His Exposition of the Hieroglyphical Figures Which He Caused to Be Painted Upon an Arch in St. Innocents Church-Yard, in Paris: Together with the Secret Booke of Artephius, and the Epistle of John Pontanus: Concerning Both the Theoricke and the Practicke of the Philosophers Stone*, (Bath: n.p., 1889; Rpt. Kessinger Publishing, 2005): 7-8.

19 Nicolas Flamel, (Paris: n.p., 1613), ed. F. Bardeau, (Carcassonne: Editions d’Art, Jean-Marc Savary, 1993).

20 Pardo Bazán describes her 1874 Paris meeting with Victor Hugo in her preface (“Apuntes autobiográficos”) to arguably her most famous novel, *Los Pazos de Ulloa* (1886).

lished in Volume I, number 12 of her ambitious literary journal, *Nuevo Teatro Crítico*, although many collections and references to this story date it to 1899, the year it appeared in her more accessible collection of short stories, *Cuentos Sacroprofanos*. This story and “La Danza del peregrino”, published in 1916 in the weekly illustrated magazine *Blanco y Negro* (and never reprinted in her lifetime) are linked closely through their protagonist, who, although not expressly designated as such, seems to be the same character in both stories, ageing as much as the time passed between the publications of the tales.

The inspiration for “El Peregrino” seems to have been Pardo Bazán’s December 1888 pilgrimage via train to Rome as a member of a Spanish delegation visiting the papal city in honor of the sacerdotal Jubilee celebration of Pope Leo XIII. She served as the “color commentary” correspondent for the *Los Lunes de El Imparcial* newspaper, providing four reports about the trip (December 18 & 26, 1887, and January 2 & 9, 1888). Her first column, “A Roma” describes her experience while waiting in the sacristy in order to obtain her ticket to join the Spanish pilgrimage delegation. The article describes a conversation she carried on with an old woman, whom she describes as having a “cara curtida, de humildes facciones, los ojos respirando fe, uno de esos rostros que se ven en los cuadros místicos en la Adoración de los pastores”<sup>21</sup> (‘weatherbeaten face, of humble appearance, her eyes glowing with faith—one of those faces that you see in mystical paintings of the Adoration of the shepherds’). The woman confides that she has been a poor working woman saving her pennies all her life, and finally now is able to go to see the Pope and win her indulgence—to gain heaven. She points out a travel agency ad which is organizing tours, but she does not have the *pesetas* to spend, saying she will see Rome, “la veré durmiendo bajo un pórtico llevando en un zurrón comida fría para todo el viaje, con tal de ver al Papa” (‘I will see it sleeping under an arcade and carrying in my satchel enough food for the whole trip, just in order to see the Pope’). Pardo Bazán is moved by this primitive soul (“Esta alma primitiva me conmovió”) and observes that many on pilgrimage worry more about their accommodations, as if they were making a summer trip to the beach, than about their spiritual preparedness. She admits that this is an ongoing struggle in her own journey:

En mi también luchan los hábitos de lujo del siglo con el hondo cristiano, pero ayuda a este mi imaginación de artista...La romería despierta mis aficiones de observadora al par que refresca mi cariño hacia la iglesia santa: y casi me irrita que en este viaje se divida el tren como siempre, en coches de primera, segunda y tercera, pues desearía que fuésemos iguales todos, como hermanos.<sup>22</sup>

I also struggle between the habits of contemporary luxury and deep Christian faith, but my artistic imagination helps me in this...Pilgrimage awak-

21 Emilia Pardo Bazán, “Crónica de la romería: A Roma,” *El Imparcial*, (19 Dec. 1887): 4.

22 Pardo Bazán, “A Roma”, 4.

ens my condition as an observer, as much as it refreshes my affection towards the holy church. I'm almost angry that in this journey the train is divided into first, second, and third class cars, for I would like us all to be equals, like brothers and sisters.

Pardo Bazán's personal struggle between what she sees as humble and sincere faith, so common among the poor, versus the worldly distractions and complicated choices of the modern world appear repeatedly in her fictional works. Pilgrimage should be the great equalizer among Christians for Pardo Bazán, and yet she does not diminish her social status by joining those in third class. In her writings, her poor, but spiritually robust pilgrims remain set apart from the less fervent believers; the better off socially and economically they are the less spiritually passionate or engaged are her characters. [See Figure 1.]

Pardo Bazán begins "El Peregrino" with personal observations harkening back to this pilgrimage to Rome, before launching into the fictional story. She states that although the times of simple faith ("tiempos de fe sencilla") are long gone, she commonly comes across—in the *romerías*, 'fairs', and *caminos hondos* 'deep roads' of Galicia—pilgrim beggars wearing short capes and oilcloth hats adorned with pink conch shells ("mendigos de esclavina y sombrero de hule que adornan conchas rosadas") whose appearance take her back to the times when, "se oía resonar el himno ¡Ultreja!, cántico de las muchedumbres venidas de tierras apartadísimas a visitar el sepulcro de Santiago, el de la barca de piedra y la estrella milagrosa, el capitán de los ejércitos cristianos y jinete del blanco bridón, espanto de la morisma"<sup>23</sup> ('one could hear resounding the "Ultreja!" hymn, the song of the crowds coming from far away to visit the sepulcher of St. James, he of the stone boat and the miraculous star, captain of the Christian armies and horseman of the white stallion, horrifying apparition to the Moors'). Via these images, Pardo Bazán immediately links the double aspects of St. James' importance—the arrival of his body in the stone boat, and the miraculous discovery of his tomb through the shining of the star point to St. James as Pilgrim, while his appearance on his white charger before the Christian warriors in the legendary Battle of Clavijo (844 CE) call to mind his importance as the warrior saint, St. James the Moor-slayer.

She muses that the faith of the simple beggar-pilgrims must be closer to the faith of the medieval pilgrims than that of modern pilgrims, and she includes herself in this group, by referring to her 1887-88 Roman pilgrimage: "Hoy hemos perfeccionado mucho el sistema de las peregrinaciones, y nos vamos a Santiago en diligencia y a Roma en tren, durmiendo en cama blanda"<sup>24</sup> ('Today we have perfected the system of making a pilgrimage, and we go to Santiago in coach and to Rome in train, sleeping on soft beds').

23 Emilia Pardo Bazán, "El Peregrino." *Nuevo Teatro Crítico*, (1891, vol. 1, No. 12): 5. Rpt. *Cuentos Sacroprofanos*, 1899.

24 Pardo Bazán, "El Peregrino", 6.



Figure 1: Postcard #85 “Columna milagrosa.” Photo by Luis Roisín

This personal statement offers a sharp contrast to the rustic setting of the “El Peregrino” story which begins in the next paragraph: “En la choza del aldeano acogen cordialmente al peregrino”<sup>25</sup> (‘In the villager’s hut they kindly take in pilgrims’). The story is set in the village of “Rivadas” on August 16, the night of the feast day of its patron saint, *San Roque* ‘St. Roch’. This invented town is based loosely on the village of Sada (whose patron saint is also St. Roch), in the municipality of Meirás, location of the familial home of Pardo Bazán. When the Pilgrim, who is never named, appears, the family of Romualdo Morgás and the other villagers are just ending their celebratory saint’s day banquet. The farm workers are not thrilled that the Pilgrim has arrived, as he is clearly not one of the entertaining beggars who will pay for his meal with jokes, songs and stories, but they recognize him from the morning church service. Pardo Bazán depicts the Pilgrim like those of the Middle Ages:

...sus guedejas largas, negras, empolvadas y en desorden, colgaban sobre la esclavina agrietada y vieja, donde ya faltaban algunas conchas. La calabaza del bordón estaba hecha pedazos; el sayo, de paño burdo, mostraba infinidad de jirones y remiendos. Desciñóse el zurrón... se quitó el sombrero adornado de conchas pequeñas. Era un hombre como de treinta a treinta y cinco años...<sup>26</sup>.

His long locks of black hair, dusty and messy, hung down over his old and cracked short cloak which was already lacking some shells. The gourd attached to his staff was in pieces; his ill-fitting shirt was of rough cloth and showed numerous repairs and patches. He uncinched his pack . . . and took off his hat adorned with small shells. He was a man of some 30 to 35 years old...

(Twenty-seven years later, Pardo Bazán describes the pilgrim of “La Danza del peregrino” with virtually the same phrases, but he will appear to be 55.)

The Pilgrim dampens the celebration by his refusal to drink wine, his somberness, and the fatigue that radiates from him. Through their questions, the village women extract from him the reason for his extreme pilgrimage: a crime of passion, or rather

25 Pardo Bazán, “El Peregrino”, 7.

26 Pardo Bazán, “El Pelegrino”, 9-10.

defense against the passion of his younger brother led to his degraded state. This sad tale brings out the compassion of Juana, the wife of Romualdo, who tries to offer a bit more comfort than usual in the form of a sack of flour as a pillow, but the pilgrim carries his own stone on which he lays his head.<sup>27</sup> After he leaves the group to lie down in this shelter, the villagers try to carry on their celebration, but their dancing and singing is more somber, less animated. In the morning the charitable old woman (“caritativa vieja señora Juana”) brings a bowl of fresh milk to the Pilgrim, but all she finds is the depression in the straw in which he had slept.

These themes of Christian charity among farm workers, the “true” faith seen in the action and beliefs of lower socio-economic classes (both present and past) recur whenever Pardo Bazán writes of beggars or pilgrims, such as in her two pilgrim tales (“El Peregrino” and “La Danza del peregrino”), as well as in short stories such as “Siglo XIII” (1901) and “La Cruz negra” (1902) which treat the hospitality shown to “mendigos de profesión” ‘beggars by profession’. In this last story, whenever the blind beggar-woman hears alms dropped near where she sits, she offers a string of blessings and prayers to “Nuestra Señora, los angelitos del cielo, el bienaventurado Santiago Apóstol, el Santísimo Sacramento del altar, las nobles almas que se compadecen de los desdichados, los caballeros generosos . . .”<sup>28</sup> (‘Our Lady, the angels of heaven, blessed St. James the Apostle, the most Holy Sacrament, the noble souls who pity the unfortunate, the generous gentlemen. . .’) Pardo Bazán comments that the sincerity of these words and the beggar-woman’s indifference to the coins themselves give a sense that she truly is “una pobre de Cristo” ‘one of Christ’s poor.’

As her own experiences in Compostela and on pilgrimage have influenced *Pascual López* and “El Peregrino”, so politics will color Pardo Bazán’s next writings about St. James. In 1897, the first Holy Year in 11 years, she published two informational articles: “El Año Santo en Compostela” in the July 24 issue of the national illustrated periodical *Blanco y Negro*, (whose cover illustration was, appropriately, an illustration of the Spanish cavalry regiment of the *Dragones de Santiago*, the cavalry unit dedicated to St. James), and “La Vida contemporánea: Jubileo” in *La Ilustración Artística* published on July 26. The Spanish-American War (known in Spain as the *Desastre del 98*) had yet to break out, but troubles had been brewing among Spain’s colonies since before the final Cuban war of independence began in 1895.

Pardo Bazán begins her article in *Blanco y Negro* by questioning whether, even in this Holy Year, St. James will muster a crowd like the joyous ones that used to come, singing and dancing, during the Middle Ages. Her answer is not positive:

27 Although there is a great deal of pilgrimage lore in the carrying of rocks as penance, and the leaving of rocks in small or large cairns (“milladoiros”) such as the *Cruz de Ferro* outside of Foncebadón, this use of a rock as a pillow, especially in light of the fight between two brothers seems much more akin to Jacob’s stone, (Genesis 28: 10-22): “Jacob left Beersheba [fleeing from his brother Esau] and set out for Harran. ” When he reached a certain place, he stopped for the night because the sun had set. Taking one of the stones there, he put it under his head and lay down to sleep.”

28 Emilia Pardo Bazán, “La Cruz negra.” *Blanco y Negro*, (22 Nov. 1902, No. 603): 7-8; Rpt. *Cuentos de terruño*, 1907.

Me temo que ya no acudan como entonces al sepulcro del gran defensor de España, el que la cerraba contra el moro: santo militar, predilecto de los Templarios, patrono de los caballeros de la roja cruz gladiada; el que siempre nos acorría y se nos aparecía rigiendo su corcel blanco cual el ampo de la nieve; el que recogió las oraciones de aquellos invencibles de antaño, Hernán Cortés, el Gran Capitán,<sup>29</sup> don Juan de Austria el de Lepanto, que envió en Ofrenda a la catedral compostelana gallardete de la rendida galera turca.<sup>30</sup> ¡Quien nos restituyese los tiempos en que se cantaban a boca llena y sin rubor himnos al Señor Sanct Yago!<sup>31</sup>

I'm afraid that they (pilgrims) will not come to the sepulcher of the great defender of Spain, he that closed Spain off from the Moors: military saint, chosen one of the Templars, patron of the knights of the red sword cross; he that always came quickly to save us and appeared to us riding on his battle horse which was whiter than snow; he that answered the prayers of those invincible heroes of yesteryear—Hernán Cortés, the Great Captain, don Juan de Austria of the battle of Lepanto, who sent in Offering to the Compostela Cathedral the battle flag won from the surrendered Turkish ship. Who will bring back those times in which hymns were sung in full voice and without shame to our Lord St. James!

Pardo Bazán is not referring to a lack of crowds in Santiago de Compostela, for the number of visitors arriving in Compostela and visiting the Cathedral had been slowly rising through the second half of the century, but to the crowds of faithful, believing pilgrims,<sup>32</sup> rather than the casual tourist-pilgrims. The St. James recalled by Pardo Bazán in this Holy Year article is not the smiling pilgrim-image of the great altar, but Lord St. James, the warrior saint, who appeared in battle and to whom so many great Spanish leaders owed their successes.

Much of the rest of the article is divided between a concise (especially for Pardo Bazán) explanation of the importance of the Holy Year and the customs and religious benefits associated with it, and a “travel brochure” description of Santiago de Compostela’s monuments and architecture, especially the purity of the Cathedral’s Romanesque architecture.<sup>33</sup> However within this sketch of what the modern tourist to Compostela will

29 Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba (1453 – 1515) known as The Great Captain, was a Spanish general fighting under the Catholic Kings during the campaign against Granada.

30 Until recently this long banner (17 meters) was hung above the main aisle in the Santiago Cathedral on special occasions. It is currently restored and on display in the Cathedral museum. For more information about the banner, see: “El gallardete de Lepanto recupera sus colores,” *Correo Gallego*, (18 Sept. 2009) Retrieved January 3, 2013. Accessible from <http://www.elcorreogallego.es/santiago/ecg/el-gallardete-de-lepanto-recupera-sus-colores-y-un-trono-en-la-catedral/idEdicion-2009-09-18/idNoticia-468509/>.

31 Emilia Pardo Bazán, “El Año Santo en Compostela,” *Blanco y negro*, (24 July 1897): 5 – 7.

32 According to Pugliese, op. cit., 254 pilgrims registered in 1896, 965 in 1897, and 428 in 1898.

33 Much of the more scholarly and historic description of the Compostela cathedral included in this article comes from José M. Fernández Sánchez and Francisco Freire Barriero (incorrectly cited by Pardo Bazán as “Ferreiro”), *Guía de Santiago y sus alrededores*, (Santiago de Compostela: Imprenta del Seminario Conciliar, 1885). Originally

find during the Holy Year celebrations, she adds her opinion to the patron saint debate of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, during which followers and devotees of the newly canonized St. Teresa de Avila<sup>34</sup> had proposed that Teresa become the new patroness (or co-patron) of Spain. During the era of the debate one of St. James' most vocal supporters was Francisco de Quevedo, himself a member of the Order of Santiago, and Pardo Bazán cites his arguments in her article:

Santiago el Mayor...fue para España el emblema de la reconquista y de la victoria; y en esta condición del Apóstol se fundaba D. Francisco de Quevedo al abogar para que no le fuese asociada Santa Teresa en el patronato de las Españas; porque al fin, decía, la milagrosa virgen es mujer, y no puede salir a la pelea, y las Españas son bienes castrenses, ganados en la guerra por Santiago.<sup>35</sup> *Solo comprendiendo el carácter esencialmente belicoso de la devoción a Santiago, se explica la inmensa y profunda corriente de las peregrinaciones que en la Edad Media se dirigían a venerar su sepulcro, y el que la decadencia de las peregrinaciones a Compostela coincide con la disminución de nuestra gloria, la desmembración de nuestro imperio, el eclipse de nuestro sol de doble faz.*<sup>36</sup>

St. James the Greater...was for Spain the emblem of the Reconquest and of victory; and as such Francisco de Quevedo championed him so that he was not associated with Saint Teresa as patron of the Spanish empire; because, in the end, as he said, the miraculous virgin is a woman, and cannot go out into battle, and Spaniards are military souls, won in war by St. James. *Only by understanding the essentially warlike character of the devotion to St. James can one explain the immense and strong current of the medieval pilgrimages made in order to venerate his sepulcher, and that the decline of the pilgrimage to Compostela coincides with the diminishment of our glory, the dismemberment of our empire, and the eclipse of our double faced sun.*

In this article, Pardo Bazán mixes the two faces of Santiago—pilgrim and warrior—giving primacy to the latter. Her faith (and the faith of the Spanish people) is

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34 Saint Teresa de Avila (1515–1582, canonized in 1622) was a Spanish mystic, a reformer of the Carmelite Order, and founder of the Discalced Carmelites. Under St. Teresa's guidance, the Discalced Order placed special importance on the theological importance of prayer, and a contemplative life.

35 Pardo Bazán quotes directly from Quevedo:

Según esto cierta cosa es que el Reino ni sus procuradores no dieron el patronazgo a Santiago antes Santiago dio a vos el reino, quitándole con la espada a los moro, a quien le dieron los pecados de aquel rey que mereció tal castigo. ¿Pues como, Señor, quitara o limitara o disminuirá el Reino a Santiago lo que no le dio, y le debe lo que es suyo por expresa voluntad de Cristo? ¿Cómo puede el reino, que es patrimonio de Santiago, dividirse con otra persona? *Son las Españas bienes castrenses, ganados en la guerra por Santiago* . . .

(Francisco de Quevedo y Villegas, *Memorial por el patronato de Santiago, y por todos los santos naturales de España, en fauor de la elección de Christo N.S.* (Zaragoza: Pedro Verges, 1629). In *Obras completas*, ed. Felicidad Buendía. (Madrid: Aguilar, 1966): II, 772).

36 Pardo Bazán, "El Año Santo en Compostela," 6. (Emphasis added.)

entwined in these two aspects of St. James; few writers in recent times have so boldly asserted the primacy of St. James the Moor-slayer over St. James the Pilgrim. Early pilgrims wanted to back a winner; although it is generally said that the “Apostle” St. James is the patron of Spain, Pardo Bazán asserts that historically it is St. James in his military capacity who created Spain’s national identity and who was worshiped in Spain and respected abroad, and not the more compassionate and benign St. James the Pilgrim.

The Countess’s other Holy Year 1897 newspaper article, “Jubileo,”<sup>37</sup> is less political and more descriptive of the glories of Compostela, most especially the Pórtico de la Gloria. Almost half the article is spent in extolling its magnificence. The Pórtico’s splendor is depicted as the Christian equal to the Parthenon’s pagan architectural beauty. According to Pardo Bazán, the concurrence of its symbolic, majestic, and yet natural perfection draws one to compare it with Dante’s *Divina Comedia*. Immediately, however, the author refocuses our attention on the simple faith of the local villagers, telling of how the superstitious among them bring their babies to knock their heads against the statue of its sculptor, Master Mateo, hoping this will impart some of his brilliance to their children, and naming him a saint, *Santo dos croques* ‘Saint of the Knocks’. In addition to describing the physical sights, at the end of the article Pardo Bazán offers a bit of commentary about the non-religious festivities, as well as the persons who will attend them: “Hay también mucha concurrencia de snobs venidos de distintos puntos de la península, con el fin siniestro de robar corazones en el teatro, en el paseo...en el baile del casino. ...Hay que verles..., por más que no ofrecen novedad alguna; en su género son tan invariables como las esculturas de la Gloria.”<sup>38</sup> (‘There will also be a large attendance of ‘snobs’ from various points on the peninsula, with the wicked intent of stealing hearts at the theater, while out strolling, on the dance floor of the casino. ... You can’t miss them, because they are all alike; their type is as invariable as the sculptures of the Portico.’) Clearly, Pardo Bazán believes that many visitors who come to Santiago de Compostela during the Holy Year festivities are not there to participate in a meaningful religious experience.

In August 1899, the year after Spain’s loss of her colonies, Pardo Bazán published her most distinctive story related to St. James: “El Caballo blanco.”<sup>39</sup> The story opens with St. James, in his pre-disciple Biblical role of fisherman, lounging about in a heavenly meadow—he is not wearing his wide-brimmed pilgrim hat, nor his military armor. In fact, he is looking about to see who will come to save the people he loved so much, just as Jesus had provided him the miraculous catch of fish.<sup>40</sup> St. James, who in times past had been the (military) savior of the Spanish people, cannot see who will be the one to lead them now.

37 Emilia Pardo Bazán, “La vida contemporánea: Jubileo.” *La Ilustración Artística*, (26 July 1897. No. 813): 2.

38 Pardo Bazán, “Jubileo”, 2.

39 Emilia Pardo Bazán, “El Caballo blanco,” *Los lunes de El Imparcial*, (28 Aug. 1899): 5; Rpt. *Cuentos de la patria*, 1902.

40 Luke 5 : 1-11.

Mostrábase punto menos caviloso y ensimismado que cuando, después de bregar todo el día en su oficio de pescador en el mar de Tiberíades, vio que ni un solo pez había caído en sus redes; solo que entonces el consuelo se le apareció con la llegada del Mesías y a la pesca milagrosa. Ahora, aunque en tiempos de pesca estamos, el hijo del Zebedeo, mirando hacia todas partes, no adivinaba por donde vendría la salvación, siquiera milagrosa, de los que amaba mucho.<sup>41</sup>

He appeared a bit less brooding and lost in thought than when, after slaving away all day in his job as fisherman in the Sea of Tiberias, he saw that not a single fish had been caught in his nets; only that then he was consoled by the arrival of the Messiah and the miraculous catch. Now, although we're in the fishing season, the son of Zebedee, looking all about, couldn't predict from whence would come salvation, even miraculously, of those whom he loved so much.

The trophies from his many battles hang from the branches of an ancient, but dying tree, and at its base is tied a beautiful celestial white battle horse, who is snorting and striking the ground, anxious to be let loose. At that moment, a man, wrapped in yellow and red tatters, bleeding from multiple wounds, falls at his feet. The wounded Spaniard cries out to him:

—Boanerges, hijo del trueno, ¿por qué nos has abandonado? En nuestro infortunio, confiábamos en ti. Mira, Santiago, adonde hemos llegado ya. Te lo diré con palabras de la Epístola que se lee el día de tu fiesta: hemos sido hecho espectáculo para las naciones, los ángeles y los hombres. Hemos venido a ser lo último del mundo.<sup>42</sup> Y todo por faltarnos tú, Apóstol de los combates.<sup>43</sup>

“Boanerges, son of Thunder, why have you abandoned us? In our misfortune we placed all our confidence in you. St. James, look to where we have come. I will tell you with the words from the Epistle that are read on your saint's day: we have been made a spectacle for the nations, the angels, and men. We have come to be the last of the world. And all because you were missing from us, Apostle of battles.”

This seems to pull the Apostle from his lethargy, and he begins to put on his armor while the Spaniard begins to saddle the great horse that is prancing and pawing, eager for adventures as in times past. Just as St. James is putting his foot in the saddle he notices another Spaniard, this one dressed in a poor villager's clothing, coming from

41 Pardo Bazán, “Caballo blanco”, 5.

42 Pardo Bazán has incorrectly cited verse 9 of *First* Corinthians 4: 7-15 (“For I think that God hath set forth us, the apostles, last, as it were approved to death; for we are made a spectacle unto the world, and to angels, and to men.”) The correct July 25 lectionary reading should be from *Second* Corinthians 4: 7-15.

43 Pardo Bazán, “Caballo blanco”, 5.

the woods. By his rustic appearance, St. James recognizes *San Isidro*<sup>44</sup> (St. Isidore) who calls for James to stop what he is doing, because he is coming with new orders from the Lord (“¡Orden del Señor!”). San Isidro demands that the great steed must be hitched to the plow and “ese español” ‘that Spaniard’ should carry the yoke. St. Isidore reminds James of Jesus’ words when James’ mother asked that her sons, James and John, be with Him in Paradise: “Los que quieren ser mayores, beban primero su cáliz.’ Paisano mío, a arar con paciencia y sin perder minuto.”<sup>45</sup> (“Those who wish to be great must drink first from the cup.” My countryman, to the plowing with patience and without losing a minute.)

Pardo Bazán’s allegory of Spain’s rise and fall, and its economic woes expresses her loss of faith in a military solution for Spain’s problems. The generals, even with the military support of St. James as Moor-slayer, cannot turn the economy through war; the loss of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines has brought about the end of the market economy. Spain no longer has sufficient raw materials to export in order to maintain the mercantile economy which had so long been its policy. No longer could they command the respect of other nations. St. James, who had been the head of the Spanish state, has lost out to another local saint, patron of Spain’s capital city—one who touted hard work and fervent prayer.

Once again, real world events seem to have inspired the creation of this short story, but this time the connection is less apparent: the signing of the Hague Convention on July 29, 1899. Pardo Bazán’s featured column “De Europa” in *La Ilustración Artística* on July 31, 1899 speaks specifically about the (perceived) failure of the *Congreso de la Paz* to achieve the end of war:

Es de advertir que muchos de los partidarios de la eternidad y necesidad de la guerra (a la cual otorgan así los atributos divinos) no saben lo que quieren decir, y confunden *la lucha* con *la guerra por las armas*. La lucha existirá siempre, porque siempre habrá intereses opuestos. . . También confunden la supresión de la guerra con el desarme. Cosas diferentísimas. El desarme no es una medida humanitaria, sino una necesidad económica, que acabarán por reconocer, como las necesidades económicas se reconocen, a fortiori, las naciones, sin excepción, incluso las más ricas y fuertes.<sup>46</sup>

It should be noted that many of the supporters of the idea that war is both eternal and necessary (to which they confer divine attributes) don’t know what they are saying, and confuse *fighting* with *armed battle*. Fighting will always exist, because there will always be opposing interests. . . They

44 Within Spain, San Isidro is the Patron Saint of Madrid, and among Catholics worldwide he is the patron of farmers and peasants. He is noted as having angels either plowing for him, or plowing with him so that he could be in constant prayer. He died May 15, 1130; during his reign King Phillip III was cured of disease by touching his relics. San Isidro was canonized in 1622 by Pope Gregory XV.

45 Pardo Bazán, “Caballo blanco,” 5.

46 Emilia Pardo Bazán, “De Europa,” *La Ilustración Artística*, (31 July 1899, No. 918): 490.

also confuse the suppression of war with disarmament. Totally different things. Disarmament is not a humanitarian measure, but rather an economic necessity, that nations, without exception (even the richest and strongest) will finally recognize, *a fortiori*, as an economic necessity.

In “El Caballo blanco,” St. James is not disarmed because the spiritual battle is over, but because economically the world is changing. The role of the Apostle (and the Catholic Church) is still intrinsic to Spain’s development, but the manner in which it intercedes will be different—economic and social campaigns will need to prevail over physical combat.

Pardo Bazán’s next (and final) short story based on St. James and the pilgrimage to Santiago, “La Danza del peregrino”, appears 17 years later (1916) in the weekly journal *Blanco y Negro*. Twenty-seven years after her pilgrimage to Rome, another personal religious journey seems to have served as the inspiration for her literary expression. In 1915, a Santiago de Compostela Holy Year, Pardo Bazán traveled as part of a pilgrimage delegation from La Coruña to Compostela, a trip about which she writes in an article in her bi-weekly column “La vida contemporánea” in *La Ilustración Artística*. On the delegation’s way to Compostela they had passed by groups of farm workers walking to Compostela to make their pilgrimage. (Although not directly expressed, it is clear that Pardo Bazán’s delegation is *not* traveling on foot.)

He formado parte de la peregrinación de la Coruña a Santiago de Compostela. No he de escribir que me sentía transportada a la Edad Media, porque los procedimientos de locomoción han variado hasta el punto que sabemos; pero siempre hay un aroma tradicional en estas cosas, y si muchos peregrinos van en automóviles particulares o de línea, no pocos hacen la excursión a pie, como en los primitivos tiempos. . . . Santiago de Compostela se presta admirablemente a estas manifestaciones de la piedad religiosa.<sup>47</sup>

I have been a member of a pilgrimage from La Coruña to Santiago de Compostela. I needn’t write that I felt myself transported to the Middle Ages, because, although the manner of travel has varied to the point we know today, and although many pilgrims go in private cars or by train, more than a few make the excursion on foot, as in primitive times. . . . Santiago de Compostela lends itself admirably to these manifestations of religious piety.

Pardo Bazán describes passing through a small village (probably Coirós, in the Comarca Betanzos in La Coruña) where the locals have proclaimed a local priest, Pedro de Santa María y Ulloa,<sup>48</sup> as a saint, and are celebrating his feast, in spite of the Archbishop

47 Emilia Pardo Bazán, “La vida contemporánea,” *La Ilustración Artística*, (21 June 1915): 414.

48 A 17th century Dominican priest, born in Coirós, La Coruña, who devoted much of his life as a missionary to the Americas and to the promotion of the Rosary through his work and book, *Arco iris de paz cuya cuerda es la*

of Santiago telling them that he has not been canonized and therefore their chapel is not appropriate for his worship or pilgrimage. According to Pardo Bazán, this is “la devoción libre, ardiente, espontánea, del pueblo, tal cual en el siglo XIII existiría”<sup>49</sup> (‘the free, ardent, spontaneous devotion of the common people, such as would have existed in the 13<sup>th</sup> century’); Pardo Bazán, however intrigued or moved by this devoutness, participates only as an observer.

Later in the same newspaper article she describes and comments about a specific pilgrim whom she noticed during the service in the Cathedral:

Vi en la Catedral, delante de nosotros, cerca de la reja del presbiterio, a una mujeruca vieja, encorvada, que vestía una esclavina de hule, un sombrero de la misma forma que el de la románica efigie del Apóstol, y empuñaba una tosca cruz de palo. La esclavina, salpicada de conchas veneras o vieras, que también guarnecían el sombrero, daba una impresión análoga a la del templo, arcaica y familiar, en extremo pintoresca.<sup>50</sup>

I saw before us in the Cathedral, near the railing of the presbytery, an old woman, all bent over, dressed in a short oilcloth cape, a hat of the same sort as the Romanesque statue of the Apostle, and carrying a crude wooden cross. The cape, dotted with shells, and the hat, equally adorned, gave an impression analogous to the temple—archaic yet familiar, and extremely picturesque.

One year later, in 1916, Pardo Bazán published “La Danza del peregrino”, a story that can almost be read as a sequel to “El Peregrino”. Both the author and the protagonist are some 25 years older. The Pilgrim (again the protagonist has no proper name) is no longer wandering through the countryside; we are introduced to him in front of the altar of the Compostela Cathedral, on July 25th, during the ceremony of the National Offering ‘*Ofrenda nacional*’.<sup>51</sup> There can be no more solemn time, place, or moment to link together the government and religion of Spain, its glorious history and the current moment, the spirituality of the believers and formality of the Church. As author and narrator, Pardo Bazán is fully present throughout the entire story which is written in first person. She continues her depiction of the simplicity of the faith of the poor and the pilgrims in contrast to the ostentatious display of organized religion.

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*consideración y meditación para rezar el Santísimo Rosario de Nuestra Señora* (Madrid 1741, 1834, 1889). As Pardo Bazán alludes, the local pilgrimage to Santa María de Ois and the cult around this local figure was subject to controversy, condemnation, and crisis during the 1880s through the 1920s. The religious celebrations in honor of Fray Pedro continue to be held the three Sundays after Easter. See: Manuel Fiaño Sánchez. “Fray Pedro de Santa María y Ulloa: un domingo del s. XVII natural de Coirós.” *Anuario Brigantino*, (No. 33): 179-198. [online] Accessible from [http://anuariobrigantino.betanzos.net/Ab2010PDF/2010%20179\\_198%20FRAY%20PEDRO.pdf](http://anuariobrigantino.betanzos.net/Ab2010PDF/2010%20179_198%20FRAY%20PEDRO.pdf)

49 Pardo Bazán, “La vida” 414.

50 Pardo Bazán, “La vida” 414.

51 The National Offering is the tax/gift given by the Spanish government to the Cathedral of Santiago. Its donation (growing out of the “Voto de Santiago”, a gift supposedly granted by Ramiro I of Asturias in honor of St. James’ support in the Battle of Clavijo) was erratic during the political turmoil of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. See: José María García León, “La abolición del Voto de Santiago en las Cortes de Cádiz.” *Revista de Estudios Regionales*, (2002): 291-308.

“La Danza del peregrino” opens with a long and detailed description of the front altar area of the Compostela Cathedral. The elaborate language and complicated syntax mimic the Churrigueresque figures of the altar area and serve in stark contrast to the simple, plain figure of the Pilgrim:

En aquel templo extraordinario, ante aquel apóstol bizantino, engastado en plata como una perla antigua, de plata el revestimiento del altar, la pesada esclavina, la enorme aureola, destacándose sobre un fondo de talla dorada inmenso retablo, con figurones de ángeles que tremolan banderas de victoria y moros que en espantadas actitudes se confiesan derrotados, mientras el colosal incensario vuela como un ave de fuego, encandiladas sus brasas por el vuelo mismo, y vierte nubes de incienso que neutralizan el vaho humano de tanta gente rústica apiñada en la nave, *había algo que atrajo mi atención* más que el cardenal con sus suntuosas vestiduras pontificales, más que las larguísimas caudas de los caballeros santiaguistas, majestuosamente arrastradas por la alfombra del presbiterio. *Lo que me interesaba era una persona* que, apoyada en un pilar, reclinada en la románica efigie de Santa María Salomé, asistía a la ceremonia como en éxtasis.<sup>52</sup>

Inside that most extraordinary temple, before that most byzantine apostle who is seated on high, as if he were an antique pearl mounted in his encrusted silver throne, wearing his heavy capelet and crowned with his enormous halo, standing out against that immense gilded altarpiece with its outsized figures of angels waving their victory flag over Moors who, crouching in fear, confess their defeat, while the colossal censer flies above like a firebird, its embers sparkling throughout its flight, while pouring out clouds of fragrant incense which neutralizes the steamy odor of the crowds of rustic believers packed into the nave, *something caught my attention*, more than the Cardinal with his sumptuous pontifical robes, more than the long lines of Knights of St. James as they moved majestically over the carpets of the chancel area. No. *What interested me was a person* who, leaning against the pillar where the Romanesque figure of St. Mary Salomé sits, participated with ecstasy in the ceremony.<sup>53</sup>

The description of the cathedral altar and the State and Church officials far overshadows the figure of the simple pilgrim. In the midst of the riotous splendor of the cathedral and ceremony, it is not the pilgrim’s simple dress or physical appearance that Pardo Bazán notes, but his facial expression—the ecstasy of worshiping before the tomb of the Apostle.

52 Emilia Pardo Bazán, “La Danza del Peregrino,” *Blanco y Negro* (8 Oct. 1916): 4 (Emphasis added.)

53 Maryjane Dunn, trans. “The Pilgrim’s Dance” (“La Danza del peregrino”) by Emilia Pardo Bazán. *Confraternity of Saint James Bulletin* (Dec. 2011, No. 116, pp. 20 – 25): 20 – 21.

The subsequent description of this pilgrim is similar to that of the old woman described in her 1915 *La Ilustración Artística* article, especially in linking the antiquity of their pilgrim's garb to the medieval atmosphere of the cathedral. The Pilgrim's description is also remarkably similar to that of Pardo Bazán's earlier Pilgrim of "El Peregrino": the long and lion-like mane of hair, the short oilcloth cape or cloak embellished with scallop shells, the pilgrim's hat with its upturned brim with its own shell emblems, and carrying a staff from which hung a small gourd. In the descriptions of the two pilgrim protagonists, as well as the description of the older female pilgrim in the weekly column, we see in words the romanticized connection between these early 20<sup>th</sup> century pilgrims and the Middle Ages, a connection epitomized in the famous pilgrim photograph by Luis Casado Fernández, originally published in *Estampas Compostelanas*<sup>54</sup> [Figure 2]. Pardo Bazán's writings give written corroboration of the continued, albeit moribund, belief in the efficacy of the Santiago pilgrimage and the persistent association of the common medieval pilgrim's clothing as signs of being a "real" spiritually focused pilgrim. Pardo Bazán's fascination with the Pilgrim, however, centers less on his physical appearance than on his mystical aspect: "las guedejas . . . completaban el carácter profundamente místico de la faz, donde ardían dos ojos pacíficamente calenturientos, con la mansa fiebre del entusiasmo."<sup>55</sup> ("The wild locks of his mane... completed his overwhelmingly mystical countenance. From amidst this lion's ruff, his two eyes shone, burning brightly with a benignly feverish enthusiasm.")<sup>56</sup> The spiritual intensity of the pilgrim leads Pardo Bazán to think that "el hombre era una aparición de la Edad Media, y de un salto—así debía ser en tal lugar—desaparecían seis o siete siglos"<sup>57</sup> ("the man stood as an apparition from the Middle Ages, and in a leap—or so it would seem in such a place—six or seven centuries disappeared.")<sup>58</sup> She imagines that he is one of many medieval pilgrims who have filled the Cathedral; she describes their arduous journey through wolf-filled forests, swamps, crossing rivers, with angels, like those on the baldachin to guide him.

As Pardo Bazán muses about the ancient glory of the pilgrimage route and the true faith of these medieval pilgrims, her reverie is burst by "el inevitable señor bien informado que siempre llega a punto para barrer las telarañas de oro del ensueño"<sup>59</sup> ("the inevitable, well-informed gentleman, who always arrives to sweep away the golden webs of our daydreams"<sup>60</sup>) and she learns that the Pilgrim is just a local pilgrim-beggar who has taken up residence on the Pico Sacro and is supported by the good farm workers of the area. The gentleman obviously does not approve of his lifestyle, nor is he impressed by his devotion. Pardo Bazán does not take up the argument but indicates that the gentleman

54 Luis Casado, *Estampas Compostelanas*, (Madrid: Gráficas Villarroca, 1910). This famous photo was reprinted with Pardo Bazán's story "El Pelegrino" in *Finisterre: Revista de Galicia*, (3,21, July 1945): 12 - 13.

55 Pardo Bazán, "Danza" 4.

56 Dunn, 21.

57 Pardo Bazán, "Danza" 4.

58 Dunn, 21.

59 Pardo Bazán, "Danza" 4.

60 Dunn, 22.



Figure 2: Postcard “Parteluz del pórtico de la Gloria” (c. 1941); Original photo, c. 1915, *Estampas Compostelanas*, Luis Ksado.

does not understand the simple message of deep faith portrayed in the Pilgrim’s face.

The National Offering ceremony goes on; the governor presents the Offering, the cardinal responds, as Pardo Bazán’s ironically relates: “solicitando la paz universal por intercesión del Santo más belicoso que existe”<sup>61</sup> (‘asking for universal peace through intercession of the most bellicose Saint that exists’<sup>62</sup>) and, finally, the political aspect of the ceremony ends, and the entertainment begins as the *Gigantones* ‘Giants’ (representing the far corners of the earth,) and *Cabezudos* ‘Big Heads’ come out to dance in front of the altar. Pardo Bazán immediately sees the change in the face of the Pilgrim; he feels the same sublime joy, as did all the pilgrims who came before. His jubilation is such that she sees his desire to dance. She imagines the spontaneity of expression of earlier pilgrims, but today no one, not even the true pilgrim allows himself the freedom to dance or sing with the oversized characters. The Pilgrim returns to his prostrate position before the altar. Pardo Bazán sadly confirms the lack of spiritual expression of the masses of regular people who are attending the service:

Y nosotros, los pocos que sentiríamos la belleza del movimiento de la danza, tampoco somos capaces, ¡pobrecillos de nosotros!, de seguirla... Harto hacemos (o lo creemos así) con sumarnos (espiritualmente) a ese impulso del hombre que, silenciosa ya la basílica, se postra una vez más ante el Señor Santiago, como se postraban “aquéllos” que en otros días andaban tierras, para llegar, un día feliz, a este templo, cantando himnos de palabras que hoy se ignoran...<sup>63</sup>

And we, those few who would have felt the beauty of the dance’s motion, we also were incapable of following the movements . . . a pity for us! We do enough (or at least we believe we do) by joining (spiritually) with that man’s impulse, who now, silent again in the basilica, prostrates himself one more time before Sir St. James, just as “those others” did, who in another long ago time had walked many lands in order to arrive—oh happy day!—to this sacred temple, singing hymns of words to which today we do not pay attention...<sup>64</sup>

61 Pardo Bazán, “Danza” 5.

62 Dunn, 24.

63 Pardo Bazán, “Danza” 6.

64 Dunn, 25.

Pardo Bazán's depiction of pilgrimage in general at the turn of the 19th century, whether through her more journalistic first person accounts (to Rome or to Santiago de Compostela) or through her short stories, provides us with a human interest angle that is often lost in the architectural, archaeological and historical studies and statistical reports about the pilgrimage to Compostela during that period. She separates attitude from attendance, and spirituality from splendor. "El Peregrino" (1891) and "La Danza del peregrino" (1915), spanning both the author's literary and physical life, show a constancy in her representation of the faith as she imagines it to have been expressed by common, simple people—both in the Middle Ages and during her lifetime—as they made their pilgrimage to visit the tomb of St. James. Although we are never told the origins of the pilgrims in both these stories, they are not from faraway lands, but are local pilgrims, possibly Galician, certainly Spanish. Her melancholic reminders of St. James' international renown parallel her melancholy of Spain's former greatness and international power.

For Pardo Bazán one does not find St. James "on the Camino"; the Pilgrim protagonist of her short stories is not on a particular pilgrimage route, but he is away from home for penitential reasons. Her pilgrim shows great reverence for the Cathedral (praying toward the cathedral every morning from the Pico Sacro; humbling himself on the Humilladoiro). Likewise, her St. James is not the kind and caring Apostle of his miracle tales; he is the mighty warrior who saved Spain, and thereby brought respect, reverence, and adoration to his tomb from the four corners of the earth. The symbols she associates with St. James are not the cockleshell and the field of stars, but the flaming sword and the mighty battle horse. Reverence is due to St. James, not for what he became as a symbol of pilgrimage, but for his apparition in battles—the leading general of the Spanish people, and as such, the Patron Saint of Spain.

Pardo Bazán admired the simple and the sincere belief of these humble pilgrims she sees and about whom she wrote, but she, like the rich man before Jesus,<sup>65</sup> found it hard to leave her station to join in such instinctive worship. Although she praised and admired the world of the working class and of the devout pilgrims, her world was ever that of the powerful and the wealthy. She could never completely reconcile the two aspects of St. James—majestic warrior or benevolent saint. In the next Holy Year, 1920, one year before her death, we read the following social report in *ABC Sábado*:

El programa del viaje don Fernando de Baviera,<sup>66</sup> al representar al Rey para hacer la ofrenda ante el apóstol Santiago, es llegar a la estación de La Coruña hoy . . . y seguir a almorzar en las Torres de Meirás, residencia veraniega de la condesa de Pardo Bazán,...Por la tarde será obsequiado en la misma espléndida residencia con un té al cual están invitadas repre-

65 Mark 10: 17-25.

66 Fernando de Baviera (1884-1958) *Infante* of Spain, Duke of Cadiz and Prince of Bayern (Baviera), son of Luis Fernando de Baviera and María de la Paz de Borbón and grandson of Isabel II of Spain. The *Infante* was the first member of the royal family to bestow the National Offering since the mid-1800s.

sentaciones de la sociedad, la política y la Prensa. Seguirá luego su viaje a Santiago en automóvil desde las Torres.<sup>67</sup>

The travel plans for Sir Fernando of Baviera, representing the King in the presentation of the National Offering before the Apostle Santiago, are for him to arrive at the La Coruña (rail) station today . . . and to continue on to lunch at the Torres de Meirás, summer residence of the Countess of Pardo Bazán . . . In the afternoon, he will be feted in the same splendid home with a tea to which representatives of society, politics, and the press are invited. Afterward, his trip to Santiago will continue from Torres by automobile.

In the end, Pardo Bazán is caught, like St. James, Spain's double-faced saint, between two worlds: simple spiritual faith and commanding ecclesiastical ritual, the past and the present, the light and the fight.

### Appendix

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67 "El Infante d. Fernando a Galicia," *ABC sábado*, (24 July 1920): 12.