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Pilgrimage to Santiago (1610)

*by* Diego de Guzmán

*translated by*  
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## Introduction

Like many well-heeled pilgrims who trekked to Santiago de Compostela and the tomb of Saint James over the centuries, Bishop Diego de Guzmán (1566-1631) was blending honest piety with earnest business. A distinguished prelate in the royal entourage, he held the titles of *Capellán Mayor* (senior court chaplain) and *Limosnero* (dispenser of alms). The higher the social class of the traveler, the more likely the merger of missions, and Diego's pious journey was probably overshadowed by the royal commissions he executed during this trip.

Guzmán was ordered by King Felipe III (ruled 1598-1621) to visit Compostela in fulfillment of the monarchs' observance of the 1610 Jacobean Holy Year when the saint's feast day fell on a Sunday. In his capacity of royal emissary bearing official gifts to honor Spain's patron saint,<sup>1</sup> Guzmán set out with numerous companions from Valladolid on September 20 and concluded his journey at the Escorial royal palace on October 26, 1610. The travel journal he kept of his progress and personal experiences along the way was framed with an eye to producing an appropriate account for their majesties on his return to the court. The 1610 manuscript should be viewed as a rough performance script full of run-on sentences adaptable for oral delivery on multiple occasions but especially before their majesties who apparently expected a prompt debriefing.

That manuscript was rediscovered by Julio Vázquez Castro in the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid and published in 2014 as *La peregrinación a Santiago de Diego de Guzmán*. The travel notes from 1610 provided the narrative armature for one of the internal episodes of a much longer memorial published as *Reyna Católica. Vida y muerte de D. Margarita de Austria. Reyna de España* in 1617 after Margarita's death in 1611 at twenty-six years of age. The *Vida y muerte* has been known for some time and left a trail of later citations, never receiving the annotated critical edition it deserved until Vázquez Castro's edition of the pilgrimage portion.

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<sup>1</sup> Teresa of Ávila and her Carmelite foundations were growing in popularity in the early sixteenth century. She was declared co-patroness of Spain from 1627 until 1630 when Saint James resumed title of sole national patron. Erin Kathleen Rowe traces the intertwined history of double patronage in *Saint and Nation. Santiago, Teresa of Avila* (2011).



Ordinary travelers who produced accounts of their journeys in the Middle Ages and Early Modern period were routinely long-distance merchants and explorers not bent on authoring anything, or pilgrims who had few writing tools in their possession. Many sacred travelers report disasters and thefts which left them stripped bare. What notes they took were utilitarian, noting distances, measurements of shrines, amounts exacted for tolls, and lag time spent at sea or on shore stymied by adverse weather or merciless captors. Some sort of document pouch however was common. Especially in hostile territory, letters of validation or safe passage were vital.<sup>2</sup>

Guzmán needed no protective documents to allow his safe passage from the royal court to Compostela. Royal emissaries were couriers of news and negotiation, especially chaplains and others trained in diplomacy and already part of national and international webs of political and social networking. In his account Guzmán mentions various pieces of correspondence received from or sent back to the court including letters to and from the queen while Guzmán was away. He carried missives to be transmitted to the authorities along his route and in Compostela and probably ferried other correspondence between stopping points as a courtesy to his successive hosts. He had the advantage of being accustomed to generating administrative reports and in the company of attendants who could write for him as assigned. Guzmán delivered and collected both transactional documents and private letters and could restock writing supplies as needed.

As in most pilgrimage reports, the more distant the locale, the greater detail: closer destinations need no descriptions because there is enough traffic to provide a reliable oral information stream. Guzmán is exceptional in detailing every stop on his round trip and deliberately taking a distinct return route to report on additional swaths of the kingdom, their local roadways and noble power brokers, even the number of buildings and inhabitants, village-by-village, gazetteer style.

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<sup>2</sup> Spanish Muslims traveling from Castile to the Islamic shrines in the Holy Land, for instance, were grateful for letters of accreditation given by a Franciscan friar who was a sympathetic fellow Spaniard (Roza Candás 8).



Guzmán's account of his Holy Year pilgrimage emerged as a byproduct of the strenuous literate culture that surrounded it. With his queen Margarita of Austria, Felipe had bulletins printed and distributed throughout his realm encouraging cathedrals and religious houses to send Holy Year delegates to the shrine to Saint James and had entertained making the trip in person.<sup>3</sup> Print culture represented different sorts of public communication. Those flyers were in themselves a devotional gesture. They also put whole territories on high alert that a royal entourage might be coming through.<sup>4</sup> Some of the lavish receptions that Guzmán enjoyed had been prepared for the monarchs' visit if it took place, and the welcome extended to their majesties' proxy would be assuredly reported back to the court.<sup>5</sup>

Guzmán's most public mission was the delivery of magnificently embroidered Florentine textiles, today still in the possession of the cathedral of Santiago, and the promise of extravagant silver standing candelabras with painted royal coats of arms delivered July of 1612. These gestures of piety were lavish, chosen for their visual impact. A master tailor traveled with the party to trim and assemble the massive bolts of Italian cloth woven with a dazzling quantity of gold and silver metallic thread. Years later, after the cloth supports were too stretched and worn to use as wall hangings, large sections were unraveled to detach and melt down the precious metals for bullion. After 400 years, the surviving panels are still stunning examples of Baroque craftsmanship.

Guzmán includes an unsettling and quite unique report about the grand cathedral censer or *botafumeiro*, still today the most dramatic and crowd-pleasing bit of theatrics performed at the end of a pilgrims' Mass. The thurible is the largest in Christendom, some 60 pounds of silver-plated tin

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<sup>3</sup> In the version of 1617 Guzmán explains how he dissuaded the monarchs from undertaking such an arduous and risky journey over bad roads. Perhaps more pressing were the facts that the prince and heir was running a fever and queen Margarita gave birth to a daughter, also Margarita, on May 24. Of the queen's eight children several died in infancy and the queen herself at age 26.

<sup>4</sup> The Spanish court was highly mobile and might have taken any number of routes to arrive in Compostela, just as Guzmán took a completely different route for his outbound and homebound journeys. I have not located surviving copies of those royal flyers promoting the 1610 Holy Year pilgrimage to Compostela and its Saint.

<sup>5</sup> The version set down for the 1617 print edition makes careful note of hosts and special marks of hospitality shown during this trip, all drawn from personal memory and perhaps reflecting enduring alliances.



bearing a large pan of burning coals and issuing clouds of fragrant incense as the great organ blares out a hymn for Saint James. The censer is suspended from iron struts and wooden pulleys operated by eight attendants pulling on cables in a rhythmic performance. Guzmán writes that he saw the *botafumeiro* crashing against the ceiling of the cathedral. This may have been due to a wildly enthusiastic performance in honor of the royal emissary, or simply the clatter of the censer basin and lid bouncing at the top of its arc caused by a slack rope which would also explain the shower of embers described in Guzmán's account. The censer in use today is mounted on old but sturdy iron struts with barrel pulley and ropes, all carefully monitored by engineers at the city's university.

The 1610 field report delivered on the senior chaplain's return forms the core of the 1617 print publication, expanded in detail but barely upgraded in rhetoric. By the time the published version appeared, Diego de Guzmán had risen considerably in his fortunes, adding to his titles and benefices further emoluments as Archbishop of Sevilla, titular Archbishop of Tyre in the Holy Land, and Patriarch of the Indies. Never an exceptionally learned man, Guzmán writes in a relaxed first-person voice without citing other published sources or adding more than the most routine of pious inflections. A secretary may have transcribed his earlier account to tidy up spelling and mechanics. The voice and simple style are certifiably those of Guzmán.

This translation of the 1610 manuscript notes occasional changes introduced in the 1617 revision when the sense is completed or altered. I modernize proper names with only occasional notes on historical context. One of the temptations of the translator of a fairly flat text is to spruce it up with more colorful vocabulary and better sentence structure, something I yielded to only to make Guzmán's utilitarian travel notes more readable.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> I wish to acknowledge the excellent guidance of Julio Vázquez Castro, editor of my source edition, and consultants Xosé M. Sánchez Sánchez of Santiago's Cathedral Archives, Miguel Taín Guzmán, Director of the Chair of the Camino de Santiago at the University of Santiago, José Suárez Otero, archeologist at the University of Santiago, Luis Gordo-Peláez, art historian at California State Univ.-Fresno, and Maryjane Dunn, Henderson State University.



### About the translator

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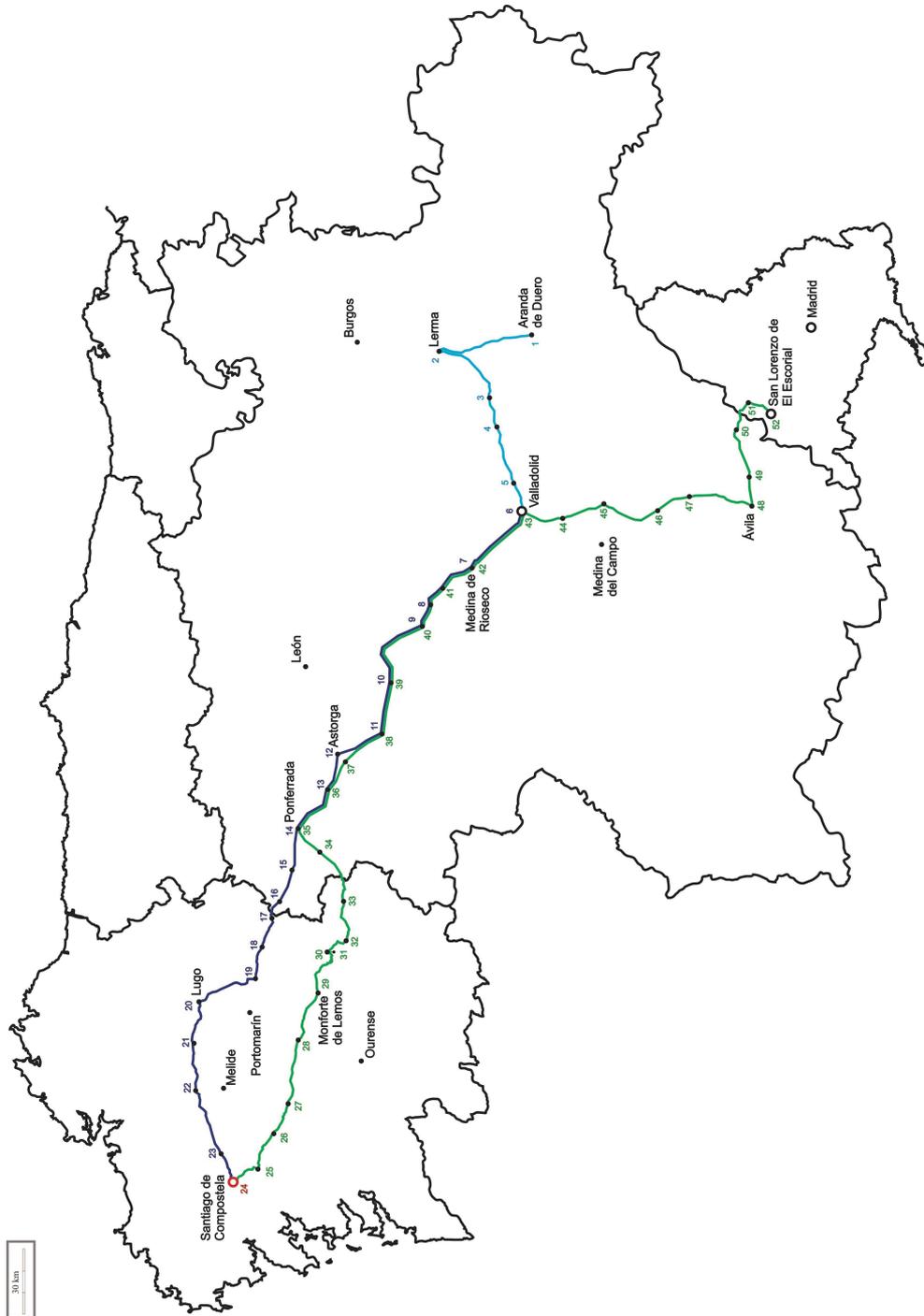


Fig. 1. Map of Diego de Guzmán's pilgrimage 1610. Courtesy of Julio Vázquez Castro.



THE JOURNEY OF DON DIEGO DE GUZMÁN, ALMONER AND SENIOR  
CHAPLAIN OF THEIR MAJESTIES, UNDERTAKEN IN THEIR NAMES TO  
THE HOLY CHURCH<sup>7</sup> OF SIR SAINT JAMES<sup>8</sup> OF GALICIA TO VISIT HIS  
HOLY REMAINS AND EARN THE JUBILEE INDULGENCE

**Sunday, September 19.** The Queen, our lady, took communion and then their majesties heard Mass together.<sup>9</sup> They granted audience to the Count of Benavente who came from Naples where he had been Viceroy. In the afternoon their majesties left for the Monastery of Sacramena in Vernardos [Segovia] five leagues<sup>10</sup> away. I took my leave of their majesties in order to go to Sir Saint James<sup>11</sup> of Galicia where they had commanded me to go in their name. Her ladyship princess Doña Ana<sup>12</sup> and her ladyship princess Doña Margarita also departed with their majesties and made straight away for the Escorial.<sup>13</sup>

**Monday, September 20.** Having kissed the hand of our lord the prince<sup>14</sup> who remained in Aranda recovering from his illness, I left with the Licentiate Tribaldos and Don Diego Bela, chaplains to his majesty, for Lerma where the queen, our lady, had sent some very fine cloths

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<sup>7</sup> Guzmán routinely uses *Iglesia* to refer to the apostle's shrine rather than its status as a 'cathedral' which is the see of a bishop. His official dealings were more directly with the canons of the Chapter to whom the royal gifts were directed while the bishop was his personal host. I capitalize Church for the great Romanesque structure in Compostela, the city, lower case 'church' for lesser places.

<sup>8</sup> Guzmán often uses the honorific *Señor Santiago* still in common use in Spanish at the cathedral. I opted for 'Sir Saint James' to distinguish from 'lord' as a noble title or 'Lord' as God.

<sup>9</sup> The narrative begins in Aranda del Duero, Burgos.

<sup>10</sup> Leagues are roughly 5.5 kilometers or 3.4 miles. A determined traveler, Guzmán averaged about eight leagues per day or about 27 miles.

<sup>11</sup> To avoid confusion, I sometimes use 'Compostela' as the place name even when Guzmán uses 'Santiago' indiscriminately for the place, shrine, its corporate body, the person, or the cult of Saint James.

<sup>12</sup> Ana María Mauricia de Austria (1601-1666), the eldest of Felipe III and Margarita's eight children, later wife of Louis XIII and Queen Consort of France.

<sup>13</sup> Major royal palace north of Madrid in a vast complex with monastery, library, grammar school, basilica, and pantheon of royal tombs.

<sup>14</sup> The future Felipe IV (1605-1665), five years old at the time.



to the countess of Lemos, her senior chamberlain, who was there, so that she [the queen] might have wall hangings, a canopy and [an altar] frontal made so that I could take them in the name of her majesty to said Church of Santiago, and so the aforementioned countess did and arranged so that the chamberlain of her majesty left for Compostela with the cloths.<sup>15</sup>

**Tuesday, September 21<sup>st</sup>.** I was in Lerma.<sup>16</sup>

**Wednesday, September 22<sup>nd</sup>.** I left Lerma and went to spend the night in Tórtoles, a village of 200<sup>17</sup> which belongs to Benedictine nuns in the same town, a very ancient village and it has a parish church dedicated to San Esteban with a very pretty retable.

**Thursday, September 23<sup>rd</sup>.** The three of us said Mass in the said church of San Esteban. We left at six in the morning and we went to eat at midday<sup>18</sup> in Castroverde, a town dependent on the Marqués of Avilafuente six leagues from Tórtoles. From there we went to Villa Armenteros five leagues away where we slept.<sup>19</sup>

**Friday, September 24<sup>th</sup>.** We said Mass in this town of Armenteros and at six we left for Valladolid where we arrived at ten where Fr. Pedro de Guzmán<sup>20</sup>, of the Company of Jesus,<sup>21</sup> the canon [Pedro] Sanz del Castillo, a canon of Santiago and administrator, came out to

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<sup>15</sup> Apparently the gift of rich textiles was being held by the Countess and transferred to Guzmán's care.

<sup>16</sup> Vázquez Castro (2014) provides a detailed map of the journey and extensive notes [See Fig. 1].

<sup>17</sup> Guzmán relays numbers of residents (*vecinos*) or houses (*casas*) either of which may be households tallied for tax purposes.

<sup>18</sup> Guzmán calculates his stopping points where food for his party has been prearranged, so *comer* indicates the midday meal, *rendezvous* and rest stop and *cenar* an evening repast.

<sup>19</sup> The travelers kept up a vigorous pace of five-to-eleven leagues per day, averaging about eight depending on weather and terrain.

<sup>20</sup> This Pedro is first cousin to the author Diego de Guzmán, not be confused with Diego's father or brother with the same name.

<sup>21</sup> Formal name for the religious Order commonly known as Jesuits.



receive us. I went to dismount in the house of Don Gregorio de Tovar, *oidor*<sup>22</sup> of Valladolid; the bishops of Palencia and Valladolid; the Marqués of Vélez; Gabriel Núñez, the Corregidor<sup>23</sup>; church [officials]; inquisitors and knights; and the father superior of the Company [of Jesus] came out to see me.

**Saturday, September 25<sup>th</sup>.** I said Mass at the [chapel of] the Company of Jesus and I went along to the Discalced Franciscans<sup>24</sup> to see the works our lady the queen is doing there.<sup>25</sup> I saw all the work in progress and its layout, I spoke with the abbess and nuns about them and it was agreed that there should not be a bench next to the choir grille because it would impede services, just as there isn't one at the Descalzas Reales [in Madrid]. In the evening I wrote to our lady the queen.

**Sunday, September 26<sup>th</sup>.** I said Mass in the [chapel of] the Company [of Jesus], in the afternoon I visited certain persons who had invited me, and I went to the churches of Our Lady of San Llorente and the Well. I made arrangements for the trip and servants arrived from Madrid with a litter to carry me.<sup>26</sup>

**Monday, September 27<sup>th</sup>.** The five of us priests said Mass in the [chapel of] the Company [of Jesus], and we set out in the name of the Lord and of their majesties on this pilgrimage to Sir Saint James. We left Valladolid at ten in the carriage of Don Gregorio de Tovar, the pack animals carrying the hangings that our lady the queen was sending going on ahead to

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<sup>22</sup> The *oidor* was a magistrate of first appeal who literally 'heard' complaints which might result in further legal action.

<sup>23</sup> The *corregidor* functioned at a regional or municipal level on behalf of the monarch.

<sup>24</sup> Some religious Orders, most famously Carmelites, are divided between 'calced' (shod, wearing shoes), and 'discalced' (barefoot, usually more strictly observant). The Discalced Franciscan nuns are more commonly known as Poor Clares, in Spanish *Clarisas*.

<sup>25</sup> Inspecting and giving specifications for the new Franciscan convent of Valladolid according to the directions of the queen.

<sup>26</sup> Litters (*litteras, palanquines*) of the period were the showy, luxury transport of the noble class, commonly a light cabin slung on flanking poles between two horses or surefooted mules in front and behind. Guzmán probably only used it on open, smooth stretches. [See Fig. 2 and Fig. 3]



the Holy Church of Sir Saint James. A bailiff assigned by the [royal] chancery went on ahead charged with arranging for lodging and beds for those making this journey with me which were twenty-one.<sup>27</sup> We came to Medina de Ríoseco at nightfall and the Corregidor and town [councilmen] came and they sent a gift of sweets.

**Tuesday, September 28<sup>th</sup>.** We left Medina at six. At eleven we arrived at Valdunquillo, a town of 200 residents which has two parishes and answers to Doña Francisca Osorio, widow of Don Pedro de Guzmán who was on the royal Council. We said Mass there and left at one for Valderas three leagues away. Antonio Alfonso de Benavides, secretary to the Adelantamiento,<sup>28</sup> came out to receive us with other noblemen of the town. We took lodging at his home.

**Wednesday, September 29<sup>th</sup>.** We all said Mass in Valderas and at eight we departed. This town is under the Marqués of Astorga, has 600 residents, although it does not owe levies [to the crown] because it is free of them on account of the great service they performed in the time of Count [Duke] of Lancaster.<sup>29</sup> We arrived at Laguna de Negrillos which is four leagues from Valderas. We ate there and the Corregidor came to visit us in the name of the Count of Luna to whom the city pertains. We left at one and we arrived at dusk at La Bañeza which is three long leagues from Laguna. This place [La Bañeza] has 400 residents and belongs to the Duke of Peñaranda, there is a famous Saturday market. It has a monastery of Discalced Carmelite nuns and two parish churches.

**Thursday, September 30<sup>th</sup>.** At six in the morning we left for the city of Astorga. I dismounted in San Francisco just inside the gates of the city, where I said Mass with Fr. [Pedro] Guzmán. The Marqués sent a message asking me to come to his house and so I did, and I dined with him. In the afternoon we went to the cathedral which is a fine building and

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<sup>27</sup> Guzmán's party varied in number at different stages of the journey.

<sup>28</sup> Regional administrative body by this point handling mostly matters of the judiciary.

<sup>29</sup> John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, laid siege to the town in 1387. The residents resisted heroically.



has a retablo made by Becerra, a great sculptor who also made the retablo at the Convent of the Discalced Nuns of the Princess.<sup>30</sup> I saw the relics and the other notable things in the church. The Dean and many other canons were at the entrance to receive us; having first sent word of his [promised] visit, the bishop wasn't in Astorga but out tending to his bishopric yesterday, so the adjudicator<sup>31</sup> came later. Astorga is a very ancient city, very well walled, with 600 residents. The Church has 80 prebends. There are four monasteries and some parishes. It is under the Marqués who has a very fine house or castle in the highest part of the city. I slept in it and in the morning we left for Foncebadón.

## October

**Friday, October 1<sup>st</sup>.** At seven in the morning we left Astorga and went to eat at Foncebadón five leagues away, and we slept at Ponferrada, another four.<sup>32</sup> This city pertains to his majesty, has 600 residents, there is in it a monastery of Augustinian monks and two parishes.

**Saturday, October 2<sup>nd</sup>.** We said Mass in the monastery of the Augustinians, we went to eat in Villafranca [del Bierzo] which pertains to Don Pedro of Toledo. It has 500 residents and a collegial church, it has an abbot and canons and the support of the entire place is provided by the said Marqués.<sup>33</sup> A monastery of Franciscan friars that was founded in the time of Saint Francis is very well built. In the main chapel is buried Doña Beatriz Osorio [de Castro], lady of Villafranca, Ponferrada, Monforte and Caldelas, who was married to Don Pedro Osorio, Count of Lemos and of Cabrera and of Ribera; and a son is also buried there, and each of them with a recumbent sculpture. At either side of the church in chapels are buried Don Gonzalo Osorio, Archbishop of Sevilla, and on the left hand side a princess of Castile,

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<sup>30</sup> *Descalzas Reales*, Madrid.

<sup>31</sup> The *provisor* of a diocese manages disputes on behalf of the bishop and may function in his absence.

<sup>32</sup> This is over 60 kilometers during less than eleven hours of daylight that time of year. Some of the party without ceremonial obligations probably rode ahead with their own escorts and guards. It goes unmentioned but replacement mounts may have been available as a courtesy.

<sup>33</sup> A *colegiata* church is not a cathedral but has a Chapter of canons as its governing body. It may be under diocesan authority or that of a religious Order in which case it could have an abbot.



of the house of La Cerda, who died there on her way back from Sir Saint James. There are two other monasteries of Saint Francis, one of Discalced nuns and another of Calced. The Discalced convent is under the patronage of Doña María of Toledo, daughter of the aforementioned Marqués of Villafranca.

**Sunday, October 3<sup>rd</sup>.** We said Mass in the monastery of San Francisco and left for La Faba five leagues away for a midday meal and for O Cebreiro for dinner two leagues away. There is a monastery of Benedictine monks which has a priory there with a prior and another friar. They are the lords<sup>34</sup> of this town and other surrounding towns. The said priory has a shelter where they lodge pilgrims going to Sir Saint James in Galicia. There is a relic in the tabernacle of the Most Holy Sacrament which is said to date back more than three hundred years, the story being that there was a priest in said church and a farmer arrived when the priest had already elevated the [consecrated] host. The farmer told the priest that he greatly regretted not having seen the elevation and the priest told him not to regret seeing it because it was just some bread and wine, and immediately the bread became flesh and the wine blood and today they are kept in two glass vials set in silver and through the same glass can be seen the color of the flesh and blood and shown with them are the chalice and paten with which this miracle took place.<sup>35</sup> At the same place is another relic which is part of the True Cross which is arranged in the form of a cross. They say that Pope Calixtus<sup>36</sup> left it while on his pilgrimage to Sir Saint James. The place is rough terrain because it is the summit of the pass.

**Monday, October 4<sup>th</sup>.** We said Mass in said church and went to Triacastela, five leagues away with fifty residents and under the bishop of Lugo while subject to the Count of Lemos,

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<sup>34</sup> Guzmán notes repeatedly who are the legal administrators of a settlement using 'lord' for secular or religious dependency.

<sup>35</sup> The miracle of the visible transformation of the bread and wine into flesh and blood is well known, often dated to around 1300. The first documented report is in a papal bull of Innocent VIII in 1487. The chalice and paten reportedly used by the priest is still on display in O Cebreiro, and the two vials supposedly containing remnants of the flesh and a blood-soaked cloth.

<sup>36</sup> Born Guy of Burgundy, he was brother to Raymond of Burgundy, husband of Queen Urraca, and uncle to Alfonso VII of León. Under the name of Calixtus II he ruled as pope from 1119-1124.



for a midday meal. I ate there and continued on to sleep at Sarria, three leagues away, a town of a hundred residents under the Count of Lemos, where he has a very large and strong fortress. It has an Augustinian monastery where they also lodge pilgrims heading toward Compostela in Galicia; there is another hospice founded by Don Dionis de Castro where they shelter pilgrims coming back from Saint James;<sup>37</sup> there are two parishes in the bishopric of Lugo.

**Tuesday, October 5<sup>th</sup>.** We left Sarria at ten in the morning having said Mass in the said monastery and eaten in the said fortress and we came to the city of Lugo five leagues away, over a good road, against a strong wind.<sup>38</sup> We arrived at said city at nightfall where the adjudicator, dean and some of the prebendaries of said Church came out to receive us. We entered the city after dark and because the bishop was not in town the adjudicator took us to his house where he lodged us. In this city there is a fine old cathedral church; the bishopric has an income of six-to-eight thousand ducats; the current bishop, Don Juan García, born in Cassar near Alcalá de Henares, was away visiting his diocese and those to be confirmed. The canons of the said Church are worth two hundred [ducats] and the dignitaries<sup>39</sup> four hundred.<sup>40</sup> They always have the Most Holy Sacrament [consecrated host] exposed on the main altar<sup>41</sup> because this city was never reconquered from the Moors but was always preserved in faith in Christ Our Lord, and has the following monasteries....<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> This is an odd instance where there are two pilgrim shelters, one for outbound aspiring pilgrims and another for homebound accomplished ones.

<sup>38</sup> Heading north to Lugo lengthens the journey but allows Guzmán to confer with an important bishop.

<sup>39</sup> The *dignidades* of a cathedral were canons with specific duties and titles, such as dean, cantor, treasurer, archdeacons, etc. These positions also brought higher salaries as benefices. The term is also used simply to express someone worthy of or with accumulated public honors.

<sup>40</sup> Guzmán continually reports back to the court on the finances of individuals and institutions he meets up with. He does not report the population of the city of Compostela, but two years later Bernardo José de Aldrete reports it as about 1500 inhabitants (Gan Giménez 405). Visiting in late February 1612, Aldrete is thoroughly impressed with the Florentine hangings; the massive candle stands would not arrive for a few months yet.

<sup>41</sup> The perpetual exposition of the Blessed Sacrament above the main altar is the most unique ritual of the cathedral of Lugo dating to perhaps 1400. The tradition is still observed relying on a magnificent mechanical golden shield which covers the monstrance with host during Mass, then moves aside again.

<sup>42</sup> A blank follows without naming the monasteries.



**Wednesday, October 6<sup>th</sup>.** I said Mass on the high altar and the others in the side chapels. We left at eight for Villafríol four leagues away to eat at midday at the house of a former estate of the Losada family which is now in the possession of the Hernández de Losada. After eating we left for Our Lady of Sobrado five leagues away where there is a monastery of Saint Bernard [Cistercians], very ancient and large buildings with a cloister and lodgings, a very fine ancient church and on the Gospel [north] side of the church under arches are burials under the arms of the Counts of Lemos although they are not the founders of the church or chapel because they say that the Order established the foundation. It has more than eight thousand ducats in income, there are sixty monks. We arrived at the monastery at nightfall, went straight to the church and from there to the sacristy which has some of the finest embellishments there are in Spain. We slept at this monastery and at seven in the morning after hearing Mass we left for our midday meal five leagues away. At this point Francisco Suárez de Ocampo arrived, secretary to the Illustrious Bishop of Santiago and canon of that Church. He came from Melide where he had waited the day before to host us, that being the most direct route from Sarria to Compostela and having understood that I was coming along there. The Archbishop [of Santiago] sent him to host me, so we set off together as noted five leagues away from Sobrado to a place of ten dwellings where we ate under a chestnut tree.

**Thursday, October 7<sup>th</sup>.** After having eaten at that place, we left for Santiago which was four leagues from there. We came within sight of Compostela at sunset and seeing the dome of the Glorious Apostle<sup>43</sup> we did as pilgrims do, which is praying and offering an invocation to Sir Saint James, and when we came down the hillside a little ahead of us near a stream some of the cardinals<sup>44</sup> and canons appeared, prebendaries of the Holy Church of Sir Saint

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<sup>43</sup> At this time, before the construction of the present towers, the most visible first sighting of the cathedral itself was of the Gothic dome of 1424 over the crossing, rebuilt in the 1650s and 1660s. The highest points of the cathedral are now the towers of the Obradoiro façade completed in 1747.

<sup>44</sup> Exceptionally and with permission of Rome since the time of Archbishop Diego Gelmírez in the early eleventh century, the shrine of Saint James was allowed to title some of its canons as ‘cardinals’. The practice was discontinued by the nineteenth century.



James, and with them almost the entire family of the Archbishop and other knights of the city and friar Fr. Antonio de Acuña, superior of the [monastery of] Saint Francis, all of whom came out to honor us and guide us in, and they gave to me one message delivered by a cardinal on behalf of the Chapter<sup>45</sup> and another cardinal on behalf of the Archbishop. I got down from my litter and mounted a mule and so we entered the city by night our way lit by torches. From the gate of the city we went straight to the Church where we prayed before the sanctuary, embraced the Glorious Apostle<sup>46</sup> and after we prayed we went to the residences of the lord Archbishop where he came out to receive me in the entry rooms, showing me much grace and welcome, then we entered alone in his chamber to speak of several matters. He took me to where he was lodging me, and it was agreed that at ten the next day his illustrious Chapter would come down to where I could enter and speak and give the message that I brought from their majesties.

**Friday, October 8<sup>th</sup>.** We went to say Mass in the main sanctuary of Sir Saint James and after having said it I returned to the home of the Archbishop, where at nine in the morning four of the canons came to offer me a welcome, and at ten I went with the Archbishop to the entrance to the cathedral where the entire Chapter was waiting and they went accompanying the Archbishop to the Chapter room<sup>47</sup> and there they all sat in their seats, the Archbishop in the middle, the dean at his right and me at his left, that is the one who was acting dean after the death of Don Francisco Manuel. When the door was closed and all were seated I said what their majesties had commanded be done in their name on this holy pilgrimage, the desire they had for making it [themselves] and knowing the need that Holy Church had of some candle stands and hangings they intended to honor the Glorious Apostle with them. The candelabras were not brought because they were not finished as they were making four of them in silver which were worth ten thousand ducats. I showed the material for the

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<sup>45</sup> The Chapter is formed by the canons who are the permanent corporate stewards of a church or cathedral and therefore the hosts of bishops who come and go.

<sup>46</sup> Pilgrims still ascend steps behind the main altar to embrace a life-size statue of Saint James from behind.

<sup>47</sup> The Chapter room, sometimes house, is normally a space reserved for reading a daily chapter of the governing rule of the community of canons and for conducting all business.



hangings right there, cloths woven with silver and shimmering with gold and colored flowers,<sup>48</sup> three hundred and thirty-some yards which came as bolts, and so it was ordered that six hanging panels of five yards were made, each intended for the whole main sanctuary, plus a canopy, and a frontal for the high altar of the Glorious Apostle, and another panel for behind the [statue of] the Saint. All this was cut in my presence this day<sup>49</sup> after having said many other observations about the resolve with which his majesty made this offering and the devotion he had for the Glorious Apostle and with which I had desired to come and had appreciated the favor his majesty had shown me in commanding me to perform this pilgrimage. His lordship the Archbishop answered me with great feeling how much he valued the favor that their majesties had shown in all manner of ways toward that Holy Church and how much they had wanted to see their royal personages in it. And with that the Chapter session was concluded. In the afternoon I was in the house [of the Archbishop] receiving visitors. The Archbishop hosted us all in his home, having it very well equipped and treating us lavishly, having twelve or fourteen at table every day, during which he invited all the prebendaries of the Church and others.

**Saturday, October 9<sup>th</sup>.** We said Mass in the Church, gained the jubilee indulgence and I gave communion to all the servants, and at eleven with the senior sacristan of the Church guiding us we walked all the stations, which are many,<sup>50</sup> until we entered in the church, which is underground,<sup>51</sup> all this ended around twelve. After a midday meal I went to visit the monastery of San Francisco which is very ancient, and the glorious Saint Francis had it built

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<sup>48</sup> Guzmán writes “shimmering with gold and *primavera* [spring]” which likely alludes to delicate spring flowers in soft colors. Remnants of the textiles are still among the treasures of the Cathedral in Santiago.

<sup>49</sup> A royal tailor apparently was assigned to the party so that the hangings could be prepared immediately for mounting. The 1617 account elaborates that “these were among the finest textiles that had come to Spain, woven in Florence, sent by her serene excellency the sister of the queen our majesty; the adornments of the canopy were so extravagant that in tassels and fringes alone there were ten pounds of gold.”

<sup>50</sup> These are not stations of the cross but more likely the twelve gilded and painted consecration crosses set high on the walls. They are arguably the finest in Christendom and became at times a sort of pilgrimage circuit within the cathedral.

<sup>51</sup> The crypt chapel directly below the Pórtico de la Gloria and at the level of the Plaza de Obradoiro.



telling a coal porter to construct it.<sup>52</sup> He is buried at the entrance in a nook in the stone foundations. From there I went to the Royal Hospital which the Catholic Monarchs founded, a very noble structure, all of stone, it has four very handsome patios, two churches, four infirmaries, there all illnesses are treated for women and men, pilgrims are lodged, a friar of the Order of Santiago<sup>53</sup> is the administrator, it has a revenue stream of eight thousand ducats each year, the kings of Spain are the patrons of this hospital and so they provide the administrator. There is also a monastery of monks of the Order of Saint Benedict called San Martín [Pinario], a very large and very ancient house and a very fine building, it has an income of twenty thousand ducats. There is a monastery of Dominican friars outside the city,<sup>54</sup> it has an income of two thousand ducats and the Counts of Altamira are the patrons of the main church. I was also in the monastery of the Company of Jesus, a school with twenty religious that was founded by Archbishop Blanco, Archbishop of Santiago and he is buried in the same church on the Gospel side. There are also two monasteries of nuns, one called San Payo of Benedictine nuns,<sup>55</sup> who have six thousand ducats of income. The other is of the Order of Saint Clare, more recent and with less income.<sup>56</sup> There is also a university where they read canon law, theology, arts and grammar, the rector is a canon of the Church.<sup>57</sup> There is a college of sixteen students who go about dressed in dark capes and red bands like those in Valladolid.<sup>58</sup> There is also [an office of the] Inquisition in which there are two officials who are inquisitors.

**Sunday, October 10<sup>th</sup>.** After having said Mass in said Church, the Archbishop came there dressed in his pontifical cape, and emerged in procession from the sacristy. It was a solemn procession with mitred cardinals and dignitaries and the lord Archbishop garbed in his

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<sup>52</sup> The apparently legendary Cotalay who was commissioned to build the first Franciscan house in Santiago after Saint Francis's supposed pilgrimage to the city.

<sup>53</sup> A religious military Order like the Knights Templars or Knights of Malta.

<sup>54</sup> Santo Dominigo de Bonval, now an ethnographic museum for the Galician people.

<sup>55</sup> San Paio [Pelayo] de Anteaules, still a working convent of Benedictine nuns.

<sup>56</sup> Convento de Santa Clara de Santiago de Compostela, founded in 1260.

<sup>57</sup> The University of Santiago, founded in 1495.

<sup>58</sup> Not a hood but a band of cloth like a stole. Colegio Mayor de Fonseca or de Santiago Alfeo, subsumed into the present university.



pontifical raiment. They carried in procession the [reliquary with the] head of Sir Saint James the Lesser<sup>59</sup> on a silver platform and made its way through all the aisles.<sup>60</sup> The censer in the middle of the crossing was swung as is customary on high feast days, very full of lit coals and striking the high ceilings, an ancient practice in that Church which brightens feast days. We walked in procession behind the bishop and once the procession was over we entered in the choir<sup>61</sup> to hear Mass which was celebrated with great solemnity as a votive Mass for Sir Saint James with a proclamation<sup>62</sup> in his honor, all on behalf of the health and happy outcome of the affairs of their majesties and giving thanks for the gifts they offered that day. Two panels of the textiles were hung that day and the frontal for the altar. There is in this Holy Church of Santiago an Archbishop who is [titular] Senior Chaplain for his majesty and the office is worth seventy thousand ducats.<sup>63</sup> There are eight dignitaries in the Church, four of which are more ancient and outrank those of the cardinals. There are six cardinals and a senior cardinal.

They have very good music because they have five thousand ducats for it, without the prebends, and the choirmaster is a canon and has seniority and a vote in the Chapter. The canonries are worth a thousand two-hundred ducats each year, and the cardinalates the same, only they have more on account of the sung Masses that they say on the high altar,

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<sup>59</sup> In the early twelfth century a skull relic was given to the Cathedral of Santiago as if to complete the bones of Saint James the Greater. Diplomatically, the recipients in Compostela ascribed the head as that of the other apostle, Saint James son of Alphaeus, Santiago Alfeo. The elaborate reliquary bust of a life size head crafted in 1322 is still carried in procession on the patronal feasts of the double namesake Santiago.

<sup>60</sup> The account of 1617 reports that the cathedral was packed with people of every estate, religious and secular, all seeking the Holy Year indulgence and propelled by the encouragements that had come from the royal court. Priests were hearing confessions from pilgrims of every nation. Amusingly, in 1617 Guzmán marvels in retrospect that for as much as it rains in Galicia he hardly ran into any, something he credited to the intervention of the Apostle himself.

<sup>61</sup> An enclosed choir open toward the main altar full of carved wooded stalls for the canons and clergy once occupied the front of the central nave, completed in 1606 and still new when Guzmán visited in 1610. It was removed in the mid-1940s and was re-installed in the nearby Saint Martín Pinario church.

<sup>62</sup> The *ofrenda* is literally an offering. Formerly a monetary gift collected as a tribute authorized and collected by the crown for the benefit of the shrine of Saint James, it morphed in early modern times into a proclamation of devotion. It is proclaimed in endlessly recreated forms by representatives of visiting troops of pilgrims and on the high feast day of July 25 by the reigning monarch of Spain or his (usually political) delegate.

<sup>63</sup> Guzmán, of course, was the true senior chaplain to their majesties along with his assistant chaplains.



two hundred ducats, and on the high altar one cannot say Mass unless a cardinal. The Church is a very ancient structure, with many chapels, and one that the king of France founded. There is an image they call Our Lady Great with Child, fondly venerated, behind the choir of the high altar. The relic chapel has many relics and two bodies of saints. The choir is very large and fine. This Sunday in the afternoon I took care of some audiences and in the evening two emissaries of the Chapter came to tell me how they had committed themselves and taken a resolution, for themselves and their successors, that every year they would celebrate two solemn feasts with vespers and Mass for their majesties, may God preserve them. One would be on the feast day of Saint Phillip and the other on that of Saint Margaret and that they wrote it in a letter to their majesties which they gave me. I thanked them greatly for it and the graces they had shown me and we bid farewell.

**Monday, October 11<sup>th</sup>.** We said Mass in said Church and at nine we left to eat at La Vega, three leagues from Compostela, in an orchard of the Chapter where the Archbishop had food for us, his chamberlain and head of staff came there. We went to eat at Chapa, another three leagues on, in the jurisdiction of said Archbishop, where he also had food arranged for us.

**Tuesday, October 12<sup>th</sup>.** We went to eat four leagues on to a village of the Count of Lemos, where the Corregidor of that district hosted us and afterward we went another four leagues from there to a priory of the Benedictine friars<sup>64</sup> at a place called Chantada which is a village under the Marqués of Astorga, and where there is a Monastery of Benedictines where they usually have three monks. They have their church and cloister and a nice house which is under the authority of Saint Benito el Real in Valladolid. We got there before there was a great downpour around midnight.

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<sup>64</sup> Guzmán can be careless calling Benedictines ‘friars’ (they are monks), or Franciscans and Dominicans ‘monks’ (they are friars). Spanish uses *convento* for houses of professed religious, both men and women, of any Order.



**Wednesday, October 13<sup>th</sup>.** We left Chantada after hearing Mass, we went over the bridge of Belasar, called such because a Roman captain called Belisarius built it.<sup>65</sup> It is a very arduous roadway and the gradient among the worst in Spain, it passes over the Miño River. We arrived for a meal four leagues from Chantada at Monforte de Lemos which is a village positioned on a height and entered from a plain below, it has a castle and stone buildings all walled-in and belongs to the Count of Lemos. It had a very ancient monastery of Benedictine monks within the town walls, another of Franciscan friars outside [the walls], a college of the Company [of Jesus], a notable edifice founded by Don Rodrigo de Castro, Archbishop of Sevilla, where they read theology, arts and grammar and teach reading and writing; they say it has an income of eight thousand ducats. I lodged in the palace of the Count and dined there.

**Thursday, October 14<sup>th</sup>.** We went to say Mass in the said College of the Company [of Jesus] where they did a dialogue and dance<sup>66</sup> and we ate. The bishop of Lugo was there who came to visit. We left at twelve for the Valle de Quiroga which was five leagues of bad roads and steep inclines, we arrived at nightfall to the houses of said Valle and there Don Alonso de Solís, abbot of San Clodio, came out to meet us, and on a boat carried us over to the houses of his abbey which are about an eighth of a league away and the river we crossed was the Sil. We slept in the residence of said abbey and at dawn we left.

**Friday, October 15<sup>th</sup>.** We crossed the said river by another boat and with the said abbot of San Clodio accompanying us we went to take midday meal four leagues from there at a village of his abbey called San Miguel de Montefurado. We saw the hillsides below which passes the River Sil through an opening twenty fathoms long which is all carved out by

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<sup>65</sup> Guzmán repeats uncritically some oral scrap about a “Roman” captain when the historical Belisarius was a Greek commander (ca. 490-565). This Roman-style bridge is now submerged due to a modern dam downstream.

<sup>66</sup> The students at the Jesuit school performed a theatrical piece for Guzmán’s enjoyment (Rivera 320).



pickaxes because the stone is flint, they say it was the work of Romans, up above the hillsides are tilled fields and vineyards.<sup>67</sup> We ate in said place, we went to sleep four leagues on in a place called El Barco which pertains to the Count of Ribadavia and is on the banks of the river Sil.

**Saturday, October 16<sup>th</sup>.** We left at dawn and went to eat five leagues on, at a place called Las Borenas along the banks of the Sil, it belongs to the Marqués of Villafranca. From there we went to sleep in Ponferrada, three more leagues, we lodged in the monastery of San Agustín.

**Sunday, October 17<sup>th</sup>.** We left after having said Mass at Foncebadón, four leagues, where we ate and from there we went to sleep in the Valle de San Ramón, which is a town of a certain knight.

**Monday, October 18<sup>th</sup>.** The feast of Saint Luke. After Mass we left for La Bañeza four leagues away, where we ate and from there we went another four leagues to Laguna de Negrillos.

**Tuesday, October 19<sup>th</sup>.** After having said Mass we left for Valderas where, after having eaten, we went to sleep in Aguilar de Campos, three leagues away.

**Wednesday, October 20<sup>th</sup>.** I left for Medina de Ríoseco, three leagues, where we ate and from there we left for Valladolid where we arrived after night, I lodged in the house of Don Gregorio de Tobar as I did when heading out.

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<sup>67</sup> The tunnel of Montefurado is one of the marvels accomplished by Roman engineers. In the second century CE the Emperor Trajan authorized a perforation of the hillside next to the river Sil to channel the waters for mining gold. When Guzmán passed by, the channel was still at about 150 feet in length, 60 feet wide and nearly as high.



**Thursday, October 21<sup>st</sup>.** I was in Valladolid, I visited the Discalced Franciscans and the Duchess of Medina and I set in order some of the works for the Discalced just as the queen, our lady, had sent me to order done; I found letters from the queen [waiting for me] in Valladolid.

**Friday, October 22<sup>nd</sup>.** I left Valladolid in the morning, I went to eat at Valdestillas and to sleep in Olmedo.

**Saturday, October 23<sup>rd</sup>.** After having said Mass I left for Arévalo where I ate in the house of Don Juan Tello, knight commander, I went to sleep in Pajares [de Adaja].

**Sunday, October 24<sup>th</sup>.** After having said Mass we went to eat in Ávila, I ate in the monastery of Santa Ana, where my sister is.<sup>68</sup> I went to Santa Catalina by nightfall to visit lady Doña Luisa de Guzmán, my aunt, sister of my father. I slept in the houses of the Guzmán, which are in the street Pescadería, and today Don Pedro my brother has possession of them, and the pastures of Palenciana and Flor de Rosa which had belonged to Gil González de Ávila.<sup>69</sup>

**Monday, October 25<sup>th</sup>.** After having said Mass in Santa Ana, I left for Urraca Miguel, three leagues away, a village of twenty residents, I ate there and afterward came to El Espinar, four leagues. I stopped in the residences of the bishop of Córdoba, the licentiate Laguna.

**Tuesday, October 26<sup>th</sup>.** After having said Mass in the main church, I left for Guardarrama, three leagues, where we ate and after eating left for the Escorial where we arrived at nightfall, I went to kiss the hands of their majesties and because the king our lord was out hunting I went first to kiss the hand of our lady the queen and the infanta Doña Ana who was with

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<sup>68</sup> The sister could have been Juana, Margarita or Catalina, all siblings of Diego.

<sup>69</sup> Guzmán carefully embeds in this report his own noble family, naming specific relatives who supported the trip from beginning to end.



her majesty. I kissed her hand and gave an account of my entire pilgrimage, which her majesty heard with much pleasure and bestowed on me much favor and approval. I went then to kiss the hand of his majesty the king, and I gave him the same report of all that happened to me, and his majesty asked me about certain things that happened along the way and what happened in Compostela, and I told their majesties about the two feast days they [the canons of the Chapter] had decreed in perpetuity in the Church of Santiago for their health and elevation of the feast days of Saint Phillip [and Santiago]<sup>70</sup> and Saint Margaret, which they [their majesties] were very grateful for and I gave them the letters I brought for their majesties concerning that from the Archbishop and Chapter. And for the honor and glory of God, Our Lord, I will put down here what the queen, our lady, told me, that the same Saturday that we earned the Jubilee [indulgence] in Santiago, the king our lord had a fever and the following Sunday when they celebrated [in Santiago] a solemn feast for his health, the fever left him and he was completely well as he is now, thanks be to God, for this mercy and others that his majesty and the realm receive every day from Our Lord may be attributed to the merits of the glorious Apostle. I give him endless thanks because he brought me and all who traveled with me along this holy pilgrimage in good health. I hope to have managed to be of some service by it, and that it helps me to be of more service for the rest of my life.

Here ends the journey to Sir Saint James.

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<sup>70</sup> Error omitted in the retelling of 1617 which simply reports solemn rites on the monarchs' patronal saints' days: "two feast days for their [majesties'] health and success".



Fig. 2. Litter for Spanish nobles: Emperor Carlos V, 1552.<sup>71</sup>



Fig. 3. Litter for Spanish nobles: The Duke of Alba leaving Brussels, 1573.

<sup>71</sup> All illustrations from non-copyrighted sources.



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