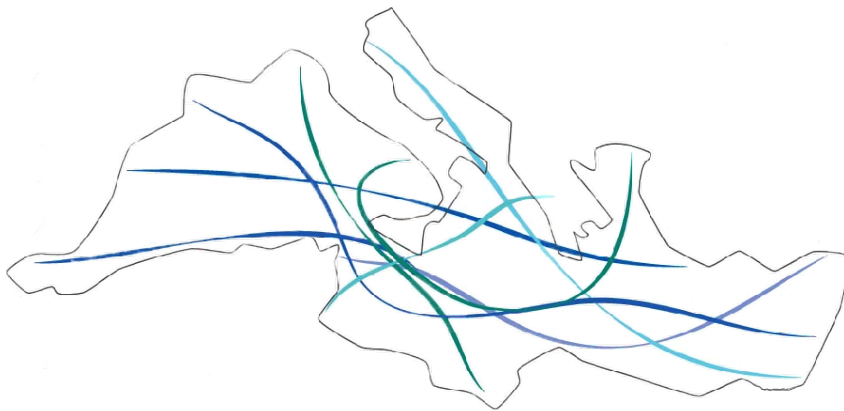


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*Cultural options of transatlantic
exile: Rosalía de Castro's image as
conjured up by Galician Day
commemorations on the two shores*



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Cultural options of transatlantic exile: Rosalía de Castro's image as conjured up by Galician Day commemorations on the two shores

Abstract

This paper examines the 1950 commemoration of Galician Day held in Argentina and Spain, and the symbolic significance it acquires in these two countries, which were undergoing different political circumstances. While the Buenos Aires celebration is inspired in the topic of exile following the Francoist dictatorship, in Santiago de Compostela stands out the liturgical and religious content surrounding the exaltation of Saint James the Great, and draws upon the existing allegiance of the Catholic Church to the Francoist regime. In this context, we will dig into the symbolic identity of the poet Rosalía de Castro along both commemorations, the symbols her figure was associated to and the enshrinement she was submitted to. Our work will be informed by the Galicia magazine — Centro Gallego de Buenos Aires house organ — and *El Correo Gallego* and *La Noche* dailies, from Santiago de Compostela, as well as the correspondence that Luis Seoane, an exiled intellectual in Buenos Aires, exchanged with some of the contributors of each paper.

Keywords: Francoist Spain, Galician Day, Rosalía de Castro, Transatlantic exile.

Opciones culturales del exilio transatlántico: la imagen de Rosalía de Castro evocada por las conmemoraciones del Día de Galicia en las dos orillas

Resumen

En este trabajo se analiza la conmemoración del Día de Galicia en 1950 en Argentina y España, y el significado simbólico que adquiere en estos dos países, que atravesaban diferentes circunstancias políticas. Mientras que la celebración porteña se inspira en el tema del exilio tras la dictadura franquista, en Santiago de Compostela destaca el contenido litúrgico y religioso que rodea la exaltación del Apóstol Santiago, y se basa en la fidelidad existente de la Iglesia católica al régimen de Franco. En este contexto, el artículo profundiza en la identidad simbólica de la poeta Rosalía de Castro en ambas conmemoraciones, los símbolos a los que fue asociada y la consagración de su figura. El trabajo toma como punto de partida la revista *Galicia* - Órgano de Casa Centro Gallego de Buenos Aires - y los diarios *El Correo Gallego* y *La Noche*, de Santiago de Compostela, así como la correspondencia que Luis Seoane, intelectual exiliado en Buenos Aires, intercambiara con algunos de los colaboradores de esas publicaciones.

Palabras clave: España franquista, Día de Galicia, Rosalía de Castro, Exilio transatlántico

Opzioni culturali dell'esilio transatlantico. L'immagine di Rosalía de Castro nelle commemorazioni della Giornata nazionale della Galizia sulle due sponde

Sinossi

L'articolo esamina la commemorazione del 1950 della Giornata della Galizia in Argentina e Spagna, soffermandosi sul significato simbolico che acquisì nei due Paesi, che si trovavano in situazioni politiche diverse. Mentre la celebrazione di Buenos Aires era ispirata al tema dell'esilio seguito all'instaurazione della dittatura franchista, a Santiago de Compostela fu centrale il contenuto religioso e liturgico che circonda la figura di San Giacomo il Grande, con riferimento alla fedeltà della Chiesa Cattolica al regime franchista. Pertanto, esamineremo l'identità simbolica della poetessa Rosalía de Castro sulla base delle due celebrazioni, dei simboli ai quali la sua figura fu associata e della sua sacralizzazione. Il lavoro si basa su periodici come *Galicia*, organo del Centro Gallego de Buenos Aires, e quotidiani di Santiago come *Correo Gallego* and *La Noche*, nonché sulla corrispondenza scambiata con i collaboratori di questi giornali da Luis Seoane, un intellettuale esiliato a Buenos Aires.

Parole chiave: Spagna Franchista, Giornata nazionale della Galizia, Rosalía de Castro, Esilio transatlantico.

Cultural options of transatlantic exile: Rosalía de Castro's image as conjured up by Galician Day commemorations on the two shores¹

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Introduction

Among the dictatorial regimes that ensued after the end of World War II, that of Francisco Franco has been by far the longest, extending for 36 years, from the end of the Spanish Civil War in 1939 to his death in 1975. As is well known, during the Francoist regime or Francoist Spain many intellectuals, writers and artists on the Republican side were forced to leave the country due to the political persecution of their own activities. In this brief study we will examine the transatlantic relations at the time between Spain and Argentina, in terms of their migratory movements and their transatlantic exile. Starting from the celebrations of the 1950 Galician Day – dedicated to the patron of the community, Saint James the Great, the Apostle Santiago –, we will make a comparative analysis of the symbolic significance of this festivity in both countries, at the time undergoing different political circumstances. Secondly, we will dig into the symbolic identity of Rosalía de Castro along both commemorations. Given that she is nowadays considered a misadjusted character, away from her previous status as a mythical cultural figure, the poet has

¹ This work is part of research groups “Migration memory, war experience and exile. Spain and Argentina: literary representations of and about women in war, dictatorship and banishment contexts during the 20th century” and “Spain and Argentina engaged in dialogue. Literature, culture, memory: 1940-2013”, directed by Mariela Sánchez and Raquel Macchiuci respectively. It is carried out in the framework of a scholarship, granted by Consejo Interuniversitario Nacional.

awakened a growing interest among a heterogeneous public scattered on both sides of the Atlantic. Finally, this paper seeks to provide a historical – though limited – frame for the Argentinian and Spanish commemorations of Galician Day that could allow us to connect them with each other within the context of the Francoist regime. Francisco Franco's dictatorship had a profound impact on the ways the poet was conceived and it could be said to have been a turning point in the social representation of the poet and in the process of canonization that she went through over the years following her death.

Last but not least, we have translated into English all titles, lines and speeches quoted in this paper in order that the English-speaking reader may easily follow the line of thought. In brackets, we provide the quoted texts in its original language. The translations are my own, and I have endeavoured to offer an accurate simulacrum of the original. Following Delfina Muschietti (2013), no language can be faithful to another; it is, in fact, a matter of being faithful to that strangeness that derives from repetition (Muschietti, 2013).

1. Galician Day commemoration in Buenos Aires

The Buenos Aires Galician Centre [Centro Gallego de Buenos Aires] was one of the main non-profit associations promoting cultural involvement of Galician communities in Argentina. It began as a medical association seeking to provide support to Galician immigrants through health insurance and social services. Since the previous century, thousands of Galician newcomers had arrived in the Río de la Plata area and, over the years, the Centre had incorporated a strong cultural mark that helped revive the ties between the South American region and the Galician culture. The Galician Centre registered a steady growth along its various administrations, with a wide infrastructure including a private hospital, a meeting room, a theatre and the Galicia magazine – its official house organ. Though occasionally counting on international sponsorship, the running of the Centre was possible due to the contribution of its members: with an initial membership of 200, this number quickly rose from 60,000 to almost 85,000 by the end of the Second World War (Bonardi, 2006). Between 1939 and 1957,

Luis Seoane was in charge of the magazine and participated in the Centre's Culture Board from where he contributed to the resistance to Francoism and maintained regular contact with intellectuals from both the Republican exile and the so-called 'internal exile', such as Alfonso Rodríguez Castelao, Xosé Núñez Búa, Arturo Cuadrado and Lorenzo Varela. These extended duties increased Rodríguez Castelao's recognition among the Argentine public (De Cristóforis, 2015) and brought him closer to a more political role, consisting of strengthening the transatlantic ties between Spain and Argentina and reporting the transformations in the Buenos Aires cultural scene.

The Galician Centre celebrated Galicia Week from 23 to 31 July, 1950, within the 100th anniversary of José de San Martín's death. From May to October that year, Galicia magazine issues covered both the preparations and the celebration itself. It is interesting to note the treatment of the figure of Rosalía de Castro during this commemoration and the imagery evoked by many of the characters participating in the event. Most of them Galician exiles on the Republican side, the emigrated communities had always held Rosalía in high regard. It is the need to strengthen a collective identity that can account for this consideration. Rosalía de Castro was celebrated for her defence of the Galician people, their land and their language, which found a rapid agreement among the emigrated communities. We will look at the incidence of the Centre and its political position when it comes to exalting or vindicating the key aspects of its public life, and we will examine the eventual silencing of the political dimension of her writing. That said, we have no desire to deny Rosalía's 'holy place' within the popular religions of modern societies (in this case, the Galician people and its immigration centres), but do appreciate that she had a more active role than that the Western canonical standards have traditionally assigned her. This expanded image has to do with the development of a positive female self for the poet and of a female vision in general, as seen in the strong females portrayed in her poems.

Galicia magazine would sketch the preparations of Galician Day in several previous issues, but it is the June issue that would announce the final schedule. The Week began with a tribute to General José de San Martín in his Gran Bourg house replica, and, in the afternoon, Galician music was broadcast on national radios. The main gala would

take place on 24 July at the Avenida Opera House [Teatro Avenida], with the presence of Valentín Paz Andrade, recently arrived in the country, as well as that of President Juan Domingo Perón and the First Lady, María Eva Duarte. The next day was reserved for a mass at the Social Pantheon, where Paz Andrade would read a message sent by the Rosalía de Castro Foundation, and the week was meant to end with an engraving exhibition from Santiago de Compostela in the Centre Library. We will dwell now on the analysis of Paz Andrade's interventions on 24 and 25 July, in which the figure of Rosalía de Castro acquires a fundamental mythical meaning for the Galician commemoration. Indeed, this work subscribes to Encarna Alonso Varela's (2010, p. 66) observations about how the poet was subjected to a process of enshrinement after her death:

In the years that followed her death, Rosalía de Castro began to be a necessary myth for Galician nationalism, so that throughout the 20th century her figure makes History, it becomes a sublimated symbolic reference.

During the main gala at the Avenida Opera House, Valentín Paz Andrade gave a lecture that is partially referred to in the August issue, and which displays the first signs of this process: reference to the Argentine land as the mother of Galician emigrants: "With a heartfelt memory to the Galicians who have already found their final motherhood in the loving heart of the Argentine land" (*Galicia*, August 1950, p. 12). These are no chance references, considering that rooting as a metaphor and the figure of Mother Earth both worked as national political symbols in essentialist identity ideologies in general, and in the Galician imagery, in particular (Garrido González, 2017). Through this process, Rosalía de Castro then became a national myth of Galician identity among the exile communities. Along these lines, Paz Andrade makes a similar comparison with one of the most important intellectuals of Galician nationalism: Alfonso Rodríguez Castelao: "And especially Alfonso Rodríguez Castelao, the last to go, and in whom everyone could feel gloriously represented" (*Galicia*, August 1950, p. 12). Rodríguez Castelao died in Buenos Aires in January of that same year, and his funeral attracted an unprecedented crowd with undeniable political significance due to his broad representation among the emigrated communities of Galician nationalism and Republican exile. During the

1930s and 1940s, his character served as a pulling force for Galician writers and intellectuals emigrated in Buenos Aires, although his links with other social actors had begun to change. In particular, he fell out with the Federation of Galician Societies [Federación de Sociedades Gallegas] with which he had disagreements as to the ways to oppose Francoism. As is the case with Rosalía, the figure of Rodríguez Castelao has been hailed as the father of Galician homeland, his mention on Paz Andrade's speech being no coincidence: his last public speech in Buenos Aires – entitled “Alba de Goria” – corresponds to the 1948 Galician Day celebrations (Monteagudo, 2016). Alonso Varela highlights the symbolic potential of this type of rituals as well as the set of political operations aimed at enshrining public figures like these two:

The funeral ritual transforms the sentimental or political blow of death into a perception of strength, unity and hope. Often, the symbolic denial of death can be seen through certain attitudes and images: the deceased are spoken to, sung to as if they were alive, and this was the case both of Rosalía de Castro and [Rodríguez] Castelao (Alonso Varelo, p. 78).

These social congregation rites seek to overcome death by symbolically denying it. They also seek to maintain alive the ideals of the deceased in as much as they are shared by a community and are meaningful in certain political contexts. This process is at the basis of Rodríguez Castelao and Castro's foundation as national myths, and their memory within the Galicia Day celebrations arises in response to the intention of building a stronger collective identity within the community of Galician immigrants. However, as Ana Garrido González (2017) points out, the Galician community is marked by exile, so that essentialist representations linking the individual with the land tended to lose strength. Indeed, the metaphor of rooting had to undergo a necessary reformulation, since it was aimed at a group that had lost its geographical basis and was, therefore, away from its homeland. If emigration is understood as the construction of new personal and social subjectivities, we can observe how the traditional nationalist discourse operates from “new discursive and subjective places that reconstruct the question of the nation and its struggles while they offer alternative interpretations of Galician identity and the process of national construction” (p. 131).

On 25 July, the day after the main gala, the Buenos Aires Galician Centre organized a mass at the Social Pantheon, where Paz Andrade participated again, but this time as a messenger, reading a speech that the Rosalía de Castro Foundation had sent to the Galician émigrés. Here, the figure of Rosalía is recovered, once again, as a symbol of the union between Galicians on both sides of the Atlantic, possibly as an invitation to smooth over any political tension brought about by the recent change in management favouring a Francoist positioning².

And we beg you that our formidable beat come with fervent emotion to the aid of the association that, under the Patronage of that holy woman who embodied forever the entire soul of Galicia, wants to be the bond between the Galicians of both shores of the ocean, wants to honour her memory, wants to make of the Rosalia's verses a heart-warming reality that encourages the absent to the beat of their home and their land (*Galicia*, August 1950, p. 13).

Although the message of the Foundation does not contain any explicit political stance, the final words describe Galicia on a nationalist note, as that land which managed to overcome the submission to Spain:

Remembrances of Galicia, that land at the end of old Europe which they wanted to kill a thousand times by the iron, by poison, by choking; whose tongue they wanted to tear out so she wouldn't sing and her eyes so she wouldn't cry and her heart so she wouldn't feel! (*Galicia*, August 1950, p. 13).

In this excerpt we can once again observe the overlap of the image of Galicia with that of the poet: both the Galician homeland and Rosalía de Castro were thought of in the light of the struggle for independence and freedom, a feature that gave rise to the embodiment of the people's values and virtues in the figure of the poet. The ceremony culminated in the delivery of an olive and laurel wreath, a symbol of glory and peace, which Pilar Prada, Paz Andrade's wife, made to José Villamarín, President of the Centre.

² For further information regarding the Buenos Aires Galician Centre's political affiliation during the mid-20th century, see Bonardi 2006.

2. Galician Day in Santiago de Compostela

The Apostle's celebrations in Buenos Aires were widely reported on the other side of the Atlantic given the connection of some of its organizers with fellow cultural actors that still lived in the Peninsula. A close look at the press in both countries, together with Luis Seoane's correspondence, reveals the latter's desire to maintain a cohesive cultural scene despite the geographic dispersion of its members. This is seen most clearly in the correspondence Seoane exchanges with Francisco Fernández Del Riego, a contributor to *Galicia* magazine, and *La Noche* and *El Correo Gallego* dailies, where both intellectuals talk about the need to spread Galician arts and literature both in the Peninsula and in Buenos Aires. In a letter dated 24 November 1950, Seoane reveals:

I have some projects that I deem good for the Galician Centre's Culture Board and I think that we should hold a decent celebration of the 100th anniversary of [Manuel] Curros [Enríquez] next year. Please let me know urgently what other writers, friends, we can count on for the books in the Galician Center diffusion collection (Seoane, 1950).

Along these lines, we will discuss the Galician Day festivities as covered by two organs of the Spanish press: *El Correo Gallego* and *La Noche* dailies, both belonging to the same editorial group (Editorial Compostelana) and sharing a wide range of their contributors, respectively covering the morning and afternoon slots.

The 25 July issue of *El Correo Gallego* and *La Noche*, published jointly as a special issue dedicated to the Apostle's Day, both begin with notes on Saint James The Great's early life, his arrival in Spain and his evangelistic activity in the territory. This long report adjusted to the biblical accounts confirms the presence of Catholic sectors in the writing of the number. *El Correo Gallego* continues with an article entitled "Philosophy of Santiaguismo" ["Filosofía del Santiaguismo"] signed by Father José Isorna, a well-known Franciscan from Galicia, who defines Galician identity on the basis of the Catholic faith and advocates a cultural homogenization with Spain:

The apostolic verb of Santiago thus formed the first community of Hispanic men united by the same faith and in principle, perhaps, by the same race and the same language. The life of Santiago is the germ of the social and national life of Spain. Without it, Hispanic Heritage lacks a soul. (*El Correo Gallego*, 25 July 1950, p. 3.)

Regarding *La Noche* daily, the first pages show an article entitled “Neither fable, nor legend: authentic history!”³, which claims to establish the authenticity of the remains found in Iria Flavia (A Coruña) at the end of the previous century corresponding to the apostle’s tomb. By providing a wide range of scientific and archaeological texts, the article – signed by Cizur Goñi – aims to demonstrate the true story that lingered in Galicia after his death and, by this, match his figure to that of other national historical figures.

The political context that marked the country at time, i.e., the Francoist regime, demanded its own repertoire of national myths to weaken the political idols set by Galician nationalism. Hence, this kind of celebrations provided a good opportunity to give a halo of truth and historical veracity to a biblical character and link him to the Spanish national heritage. The following pages of *La Noche* do not present major references to the festivities. Instead, these can be found in the 26 to 28 July issues of *El Correo Gallego*, which covered the complete schedule of events. It should be noted that the official ceremony took place at the Metropolitan Basilica of Compostela, with the attendance of Francoist high-ranking military officers such as Lieutenant Francisco Delgado Serrano, on behalf of Generalissimo Franco, and Generals Mariñas and Ortiz, governors of La Coruña and Pontevedra. Leaving the City Council towards the Church, the procession concluded with the traditional national offering of ‘Mil Escudos’ given every year as part of the Apostle’s cult. In this regard, we may quote part of the speech given by Delgado Serrano during the Mass:

Continue, Santiago, protecting Spain and its Leader, your distinguished devotee, so that, with your help, so often implored, he may continue his enormous work of liberating our homeland from communist danger and, as a result of the victory of the arms, obtain Hispanic greatness under his most successful leadership and reach

³ “¡Ni fábula, ni leyenda: historia auténtica!”

the zenith of his greatness, the true safeguard of its honour and independence. (*El Correo Gallego*, 26 July 1950, p. 1.)

The history of this offering dates to 1643, when the Spanish crown decided to make the donation to the Cathedral of Santiago. It was intended to help sustain the cult and compensate the Compostela Church and the saint himself for the hard years spent since the end of the 16th century when the patronage of the saint had been called into question. The existing allegiance between Francoism and the Catholic Church, characterizing the political situation then, is replicated within the Galician Day celebrations of 1950. The political strategy was based on the use of Catholic liturgical symbols and military images to replace the regionalist Galician idols – linked to the Republican Left – that this commemoration had featured in previous decades.

On that 25 July 1950, while the Buenos Aires Galician Centre celebrated the Galician heritage with Valentin Paz Andrade as a guest of honour, Abelardo Estévez, was in Santiago de Compostela on behalf of the Buenos Aires community. On the occasion, and at the Convent of Santo Domingo in front of the graves of Rosalía de Castro and Alfredo Brañas, Estévez delivered a coy speech that revealed the substantial discrepancy at the heart of Buenos Aires Centre. The divergence possibly stemmed from the fact that Valentin Paz Andrade had been invited by Luis Soane and, as he himself, he sympathized with the Republican side, whereas Abelardo Estévez had visited Santiago de Compostela on account of the connection of José Villamarín, the President of the Buenos Aires Centre, to the Franco Cabinet.

The speech is partially reproduced in the August and October issues of *Galicia* magazine and in the 25 to 27 July issues of *La Noche* and *El Correo Gallego* dailies. The ceremony had the traditional floral offering to the tombs of Castro and Brañas in the Pantheon of Illustrious Galician at St. Domingo de Bonaval Convent – just as Paz Andrade had made in Buenos Aires. The Palencia Bishop, Souto Vizoso, offered the mass and both Estévez and representatives of the Pontevedrés, Orensano and Coruñés Centres participated with floral arrangements which carried the Galician, Spanish and Argentinian bands on them, and the messages: “From

the Buenos Aires Galician Centre to Rosalía” and “From the Buenos Aires Galician Centre to Alfredo Brañas” respectively.

Even in Galicia, the event diverged in its two versions: whereas the mass at Santiago de Compostela in the city centre gathered Franco’s supporters and exalted religious and military values, very important figures from the intellectual Left attended the ceremony in Santo Domingo, which seems to suggest that in a way it departed from the liturgical tone of that of Santiago and rose to a different political stature. Some of these figures were Ramón Otero Pedrayo, representing the Royal Galician Academy, and Francisco Fernández del Riego, a contributor in all three press organs mentioned above. However, unlike the message from Rosalía de Castro Foundation read by Paz Andrade in Buenos Aires, Estévez’s speech avoids getting into political issues and is questionably neutral. For instance, the image of Rosalía is worshiped as a dear little saint [santiña] and equated to the motherland for Galician emigrates. She is portrayed as some sort of Saint, purposely leaving out her political participation in the cultural scene of her time. As a Galician regionalist, Rosalía promoted liberal and progressive policies that provoked the hostility of her opponents on the conservative side, identified as Castilian centralists (Wilcox, 1997). If we add to this the fact that she was a woman writer who had to struggle with political marginalization – of a kind that was three-folded: political, social and esthetic –, the result is that she had to deal with pressures of a social and psychological nature which tried to dissuade her from achieving her goals in 19th century Spain.⁴

In this sense, Estévez’s speech is in tune both with the political situation in the Peninsula and with the pro-Franco ideology of the management of the Buenos Aires Galician Centre at the time. This lead Estévez to drift apart from uncomfortable issues which could compromise the Centre on political themes and lead to disputes among its members. This could be one of the reasons why his speech emphatically refers to the migratory issue that characterized

⁴ The bulk of criticism on Rosalía’s work focuses on the topics her poetry shared with male poets (themes, styles, symbols, regionalism and existentialist doubt, among others) rather than on her feminist concerns. For a more empathetic and exhaustive treatment of her work, cfr. Davies, 2015; Kirkpatrick, 1989.

transnational Galicia, even if in doing so he brings up the figure of the pilgrim instead of that of the exile.

Such duty is to come to the grave of our holy Rosalía, also on a pilgrimage, and through the flowers that we leave on it, deliver the message of love and veneration that on behalf of the Buenos Aires Galician Centre, our first Institution in that dear Argentina, all the Galicians that remained there wish to send her as a heartfelt tribute of admiration and affection. (*Galicia*, August 1950, p.15)

In this context, replacing the figure of the exile by that of the pilgrim points to the preaching of Saint James across Europe and avoids speaking of the forced displacement of Galicians to America, i.e. the Republican exile in Buenos Aires. If we examine Estévez's speech at length – as of the August issue of *Galicia* magazine – we can see that this substitution also extends to the figure of the emigrant as someone who travels along the world to finally find a second homeland in America.

Still, on a pilgrimage, arrive all scrambled together those who, as children of this same land one day – usually very distant – left everything behind except their dignity and went to other lands, to America most of the time, to try their luck and, with dignity as their only baggage, crossed the immense sea to bravely face the fierce struggles of life under other skies (*Galicia*, August 1950, p. 15).

The Santiago press – *La Noche* and *El Correo Gallego* – reviewed the events much more succinctly and without adding any essential information in comparison to the *Galicia* magazine coverage. With the help of the Buenos Aires Galician Center's silence and apparent neutrality, the dictatorship was not even put into question. Therefore, we could speak about a strategic partnership between these three press organs without which such rapid consolidation of Francoism among the transatlantic emigration centres may not have been possible.

From a literary angle, Rosalía has helped set the scene for changes as to the regionalist Galician cause on the one hand, and for an increased visibility of the patriarchal culture that conditioned the 19th century woman artists. It is due to this condition that she is considered a spokesperson for personal autonomy and individual freedom (Kirkpatrick, 1989). Moreover, this could be one of the reasons why her figure has been interpreted from a political

perspective comparable with that of Alfonso Rodríguez Castelao. In as much as they are public personalities, everything to do with their funeral rites, then – death, burial and procession parades – acquires a special meaning. In 1891, the Pantheon of Illustrious Galicians began to house the remains of Rosalía de Castro, thanks to the initiative of the Havana Galician Centre, also represented at the celebration. By the same token, Rodríguez Castelao was transferred to the St. Domingo de Bonaval Convent in 1984. The theme of return has hovered around these duplicate graves as a collective odyssey, which stresses the social dimension of the rite: just as transnational Galicia has built its identity based on the idea of mobility (Garrido González, 2017), so gathering together around their honoured dead has kept alive the struggle for collective identity and the vindication of their national myths.

Conclusions

The aim of this work has been to analyse the content of the Galician Day festivities in Buenos Aires and Santiago de Compostela, their similarities and differences, and the ways they unfolded in the two countries, given their distinct political circumstances at the time. In that respect, we can assert that the content of Galician Day on both sides of the Atlantic displayed notable differences in terms of the symbolic repertoire exhibited, which is shaped by the speeches made on the occasion and the sort of turnout present at the event. The Santiago festivities are typically liturgical and religious in nature, marked by the exaltation of the figure of the Apostle Santiago and the validity of the traditional rites dedicated to the Patron Saint's festival. The event is also clearly set in the context of Francoism and its relationship with the Catholic Church. The Galician Week in Buenos Aires, by contrast, was not characterized by its appeal to the liturgy: rather, it was structured around the migratory theme.

These differences in symbolic frames had a considerable influence on the image of Rosalía de Castro and the chain of meanings her figure was associated to on the two shores. She came across as a holy character both in Galicia and in Buenos Aires and, either way,

this interpretive path has diminished the significance of the poet in the process. In Galicia, she is assigned a lesser place in the patron saint festivities of Santiago, overshadowed by the figure of the Apostle, who is presented as an almost real historical character. In turn, exalting her figure during Galician Week in Buenos Aires implied mythicizing her to strengthen and reproduce Galician identity in the context of exile and Galician diaspora. In this sense, her figure is equated to that of the motherland and the Galician nation. Moreover, Abelardo Estévez's speech in Santiago de Compostela clearly left out the author's political connotations and only focused on her unanimous devotion. On the other hand, the message from the Rosalía de Castro Foundation, read in Buenos Aires by Paz Andrade, knew how to differentiate itself from the former and adopted a tone closer to Galician regionalism.

Our working hypothesis has been that during these festivities the figure of Rosalía de Castro deploys a body of discourses pointing to and enhancing her physical body. On the one hand, her enshrinement as a holy figure with angelic qualities and as mother of the Galician emigrants tells us about the need to venerate her body through a set of acts and rituals that take place in the public space, among them, the funeral rite. In this kind of rituals, the location of the body is vital not only for the performance of the funeral ceremony but also the background of the attendees and cultural heritage embodied by the persona of the departed person. That is the reason memorial sites like Pantheons, tombs and cemeteries hold a special significance when it comes to unifying the corpse with the territory, this rooting enabling the community to pay tribute to the deceased.

On the other hand, the body of discourses on Rosalía's modest nature and female passivity also ends up reducing her to a simplistic portrayal of patriarchal stereotypes, just as it worked as a prison for her body during the years that she was active. As mentioned at the onset of this paper, Rosalía's poetry and political life have not been duly acknowledged by traditional and male-centered criticism, which has customarily taken note of universal topics on Modern poetry and dismissed the more feminist and regionalist streaks of her work. Hence, it is essential that we reconstruct new forms of reading Rosalía's work in order to rediscover fresh edges and contribute to

establishing a continuum with other woman writers at that time, possibly in Spain but mainly in Argentina.

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