Álvaro Santana-Acuña

# Aesthetic Labels, Historical Semantics, and *literatura latinoamericana*

*Words are witnesses which often speak louder than documents* (Hobsbawm 2003 [1962]: 13).

It was a momentous event: the meeting of the International Literary Association in London in 1879. The title of the speaker's address was up to the occasion, "La literatura de la América Latina". Attendees may have expected the speech to celebrate the region's literary achievements, to praise its successful books and authors, but what they heard was rather different. The speaker solemnly stated that Latin America did not have "una literatura que le sea propia". This happened because, as he explained, "nuestra literatura imita a todas las otras". The speaker behind these surprising words was an illustrious person: José María Torres Caicedo (quote in Ardao 1980: 231–232). Two decades earlier, this Colombian writer was one of the fathers of the term *América Latina*. And a few years later, in his *Ensayos biográficos y de crítica literaria*, he also coined the label most widely used nowadays to refer to the region's literature: *literatura latinoamericana*.

By 1879, few people were more interested than Torres Caicedo in arguing that *literatura latinoamericana* existed and was original. He used his position as President of the International Literary Association to publicize the idea of a *literatura latinoamericana*. But as his statements above show, he could not praise books and authors that did not yet exist as Latin Americans. It comes as no surprise, then, that his 1879 address created no controversy afterward. Nor did it three years later when it was translated into French and published in *Révue Sud-Américaine* (Ardao 1980: 221). Nobody disputed Torres Caicedo's diagnosis of the state of literature in the region.

Half a century later the situation was quite different. In 1927, Spanish critic Guillermo de Torre published "Madrid, meridiano intelectual de Hispanoamérica". His essay provoked an intellectual tsunami in Latin America and Spain. De Torre despised Latin America as a "falso e injustificado nombre, [un] nombre advenedizo [que] ha llegado incluso a filtrarse en España". For him, the best name for the region, and by extension its literature, was "Hispano América". At the center of it was Madrid, "la más auténtica línea de intersección entre América y España", because, he added, "el área intelectual americana [es] una prolongación del área española" (de Torre cited in Alemany Bay 1998: 65–66). An avalanche of criticism

**Álvaro Santana-Acuña,** Whitman College


https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110713015-004

soon followed. Over thirty writers from six countries in Latin America rejected de Torre's arguments. Citing the words of a fellow writer, Cuban Alejo Carpentier summarized the disapproval of many of his colleagues when he stated, "la única aspiración de América, es América misma". Argentine poet Jorge Luis Borges, who lived in Madrid a few years earlier, replied, "todos los motivos nos invitan a rehusar con entusiasmo la invitación" (Carpentier and Borges cited in Alemany Bay 1998: 71, 95).

By the time de Torre published his controversial essay, other writers inside and outside of the continent had already expressed their strong views about the most adequate name for the region and its literature. In 1910, in his oft-cited talk and essay, Uruguayan José Enrique Rodó (1958: 395) argued, "no necesitamos los suramericanos [. . .] hablar de una América latina; no necesitamos llamarnos latinoamericanos [. . .] podemos llamarnos 'iberoamericanos'". Rodó was indeed voicing an emergent controversy surrounding the term *América Latina* in Spain, the region in question, and in non-Spanish-speaking countries. Many knew, as U.S. scholar Isaac Goldberg (1920: 233–234) put it, that the "term [Latin America] is a new one, and not at all to the liking of many Hispanophiles"[1].

There was also ample disagreement about the best way of naming the region's literature. As late as 1918, German scholar Eduardo P. Salzer (1915–1918: 17) lamented "la vaguedad con que generalmente se define el concepto de literatura latino-americana". Such vagueness was not solved quickly thereafter. This literature was still "joven", according to Argentine writer Manuel Ugarte (1906). During the 1920s, *Repertorio Americano*, the cultural magazine published in Costa Rica and read widely throughout the region, named one of its key sections "Libros y autores hispanoamericanos". And in 1926, it launched a questionnaire "a los escritores de América", asking them, among other questions: "¿No lee el público hispano-americano o no le interesan sus escritores?" (Anónimo 1926: 131).

As this chapter shows, the term *literatura latinoamericana* was barely entering into language in the 1910s. For this reason, "la expresión misma 'literatura latinoamericana', tuvo escaso empleo en nuestra propia América, en la primera mitad del siglo", as Uruguayan historian Arturo Ardao (1980: 135) explained. For decades, this was also the view in popular general interest magazines. In one of its reportages about the region's literature, the Argentine magazine *Primera Plana* reminded its quarter of a million readers that until the 1960s "no había tal vez la sensación de una literatura constituida, autónoma, de un nivel de realización comparable al de las otras literaturas del mundo" (Harss 1966: 66). By the middle of this decade, the situation was the opposite, and regional and international

**1** See Figure 3 below.

publications believed it to be so. In 1965, the influential French critic Roger Caillois proclaimed in an interview in the prestigious newspaper *Le Monde*, "Latin American literature will be the great literature of tomorrow", and added, "as Russian literature was the great literature at the end of the last century [and] the literature of North America that of the years 25–40, now it is the time for Latin American literature. It is the one called to give us the masterpieces that we expect" (Piatier 1965: 12). Months later, the editors of the Anglo-American magazine *Encounter* shared a similar opinion: "the literature now coming out of Latin America is of the first importance" (Spender/Lasky 1965: 4). The same year, another prestigious periodical, *The Times Literary Supplement*, published an article about the region's emergent literature. From its opening sentence, the article underlined how much the novel in the region had changed: "until the present decade [it was] at its best, provincial" (Anonymous 1965: 867). By the mid-1960s, most writers, publishers, readers, and critics believed that *literatura latinoamericana* was the label that best described the region's literary production. Soon, cognate words started to circulate internationally to make sense of this effervescence, in particular *la nueva novela latinoamericana* and *Boom latinoamericano* (Santana-Acuña 2020: 33–38).

More than one hundred and forty years after Torres Caicedo's sour words, *literatura latinoamericana* is synonymous with one of the most successful literatures of the twentieth century, to the point that it has influenced the idea, meaning, and boundaries of world literature. Transnational audiences consider works such as Borges' *Ficciones* (1950), Cortázar's *Hopscotch* (1963), and García Márquez's *One Hundred Years of Solitude* (1967) to be classics and building blocks of the global literary canon (Bloom 1994; Casanova 1999; D'haen 2015; Damrosch 2003; Moretti 1996; Müller and Gras Miravet 2015; Sánchez Prado 2006).

Overlooking the history of labels used to refer to the region's literature, scholars have emphasized that in the 1850s Latin American literature became conscious of itself (Pupo-Walker/González Echevarría 1996; Morán González/Lomas 2018). Certainly, key developments took place at that time, especially in elitist circles of expats in Europe. But the evidence analyzed here suggests that the international success of this literature was partly due to the resonance of a particular way of labeling the region's literature as an entity that was different from the sum of its national parts. At the core of this label's diffusion was an unprecedented collaboration over four decades among three generations of writers, critics, and publishers (Santana-Acuña 2020: 19–22). Thus, the label *literatura latinoamericana* not only has a history, but it is *in itself* a history of the region's literature that needs further research, to which this chapter seeks to contribute.

The chapter will proceed as follows. First, it presents mainly qualitative evidence from the 1840s and the 1920s about the origins and trajectory of the region's names for its territory, people, and literature, stressing the importance of race.

Next, it analyzes big textual data taken from thousands of printed works available via the Google Books Corpus. This evidence covers the changes of several terms used to label the region's literature. Such evidence ranges from the mid-nineteenth century to the early 2000s and is shown in five major literary languages. In sum, the findings in this chapter support the claim that a shift in aesthetic labeling helped *literatura latinoamericana* to enter world literature for the first time and it also helped its literary works to circulate at an unprecedented scale as international bestsellers and classics (Santana-Acuña forthcoming).

## A Literature Searches for a Label Via Race and Politics

Literary historians have claimed that "Latin American literature [became] aware of itself as a continent-wide phenomenon, not just as an assemblage of national literatures" in the middle of the nineteenth century (González Echevarría 2012: 1). But this chronology creates the following puzzle: how could a literature be aware of itself as a region-wide movement if the label used to name that literature had not yet entered into language, was not part of the creative imagination of writers and their works, and was not in the minds of critics and ordinary readers to make sense of these works? A way to find the answer to this question is to study the origins of the aesthetic label *literatura latinoamericana* and its transformation over the decades. The approach used to do so, historical semantics (Koselleck 2002), studies how the appearance of new words and changes in the meaning of existing ones are pivotal to understanding historical shifts, including the rise and fall of literary movements[2].

Like social, political, and scientific labels, aesthetic labels are also deeply historical. Thus using certain labels over others has meaningful consequences that shape the ways people understand and react to what is being labeled (Becker 2008 [1963]; Hacking 1995). Let us take the case of *América*. Usage of this term to refer to that territory was rare before the region's colonial independence from Spain in the nineteenth century. One reason for this, among others, is because using the term *América* implied an understanding of the region as a unified geopolitical entity; something it never was under colonial rule. Not coincidentally, the most common

**2** This approach builds on the theoretical premise that language does things. In other words, language is performative and not just a descriptive means of communication (Austin 1975 [1955]; Cabrera 2004).

word to refer to this territory was the plural name *Indias* (O'Gorman 2006 [1958]). In the minds of those who used it, *Indias* elicited an understanding of this part of the world, not as a homogeneous territory, but as a multitude of territories that were unrelated amongst themselves. They were only linked to the capital of the Spanish Empire in Madrid in the way a vassal is connected to its lord, but not necessarily to its neighbors. Using the evidence from the Google Ngram Viewer, a tool that tracks the frequency of words in billions of printed works, Figure 1 shows that, after the colonies' independence from Spain, references to *Indias* started to decline, while references to *América* grew rapidly and, by the mid-nineteenth century, surpassed those to *Indias*. Other names became popular too: *América del sud*, *América del sur*, *Hispano-América*, and *Colombia*. Each of these terms had its own partisans. For example, Justo Arosemena Quesada, José María Samper, and Eugenio María de Hostos endorsed *Colombia* as the name for the region (Aljovín de Losada/Fernández Sebastián 2009; Ardao 1980; Estrade 1994; Gobat 2013).

Similarly, there was no widely accepted term to name the peoples in the region. *Hispanoamericano* appeared more frequently in Spanish and American texts, especially in the late 1840s and 1850s. But at that time, *americanos* was among the most common demonyms. Regarding *latinoamericano*, this word entered language back then. Yet, as Figure 2 suggests, usage of it was marginal until the mid-twentieth century (see also Aljovín de Losada and Fernández Sebastián 2009; Bello 1836; Gobat 2013; Gonzalez-Stephán 2003).

What about *América Latina*? As Figure 3 shows, usage started after the middle of the nineteenth century. On June 22, 1856, Chilean writer Francisco Bilbao delivered in Paris a lecture during which he allegedly used the term *América Latina* for the first time. He also took advantage of the occasion to praise "our American and Latin race" (Bilbao 1978: 12). Within the same year, his speech, with the title "Iniciativa de la América: idea de un congreso federal de las repúblicas", was printed in newspapers in Peru, Argentina, and Mexico (Gobat 2013: 1360 n. 95)[3]. In the same city and year, Paris 1856, Torres Caicedo wrote in his poem "Las dos Américas", "la raza de América latina / al frente tiene la sajona raza / enemiga mortal que ya amenaza / su libertad destruir y su pendón" (Torres Caicedo cited in Ardao 1980: 182). His poem was first printed in the region in a Bolivian newspaper in early 1857. Both Bilbao and Torres Caicedo came up with the term *América Latina* to call for the creation of a federal republic against the United States. These writers did so by building on what they believed was a growing racial

**3** Using the Readex database of Latin American newspapers, Gobat (2013: 1367 n. 134) found that by 1959 the term *América Latina* appeared in periodical publications in the Caribbean, as in the Cuban newspaper *Diario de la Marina*.

Frequency of names *Indias* and *América* in publications in Spanish (1700-2008)

Y axis: Relative frequency

X axis: Year

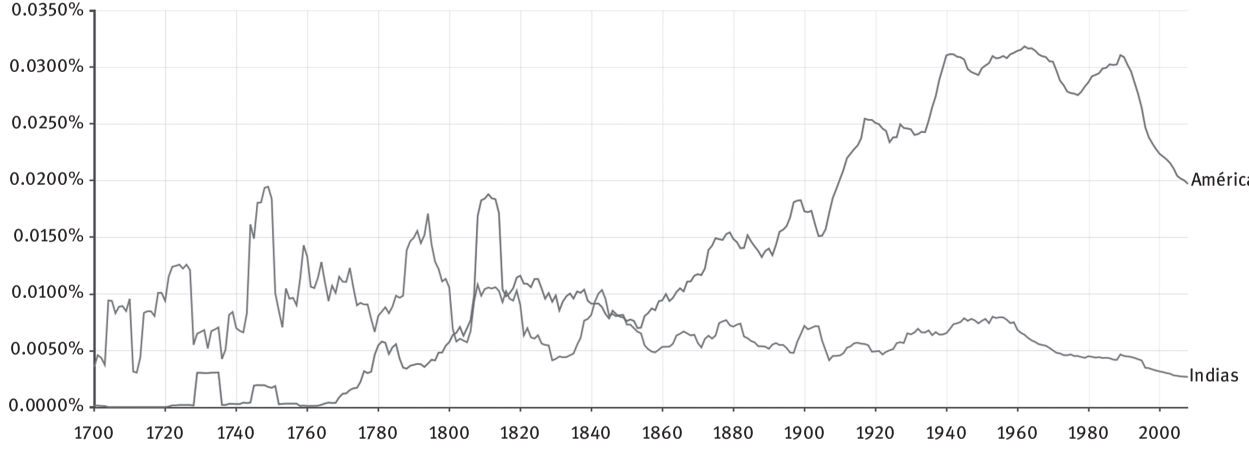


**Figure 1:** Indias vs. América.
Source: Google Books Corpus in Spanish, Google Ngram Viewer.

Frequency of terms *latinoamericano* and *latinoamericana* in publications in Spanish (1850-2008)

Y axis: Relative frequency

X axis: Year

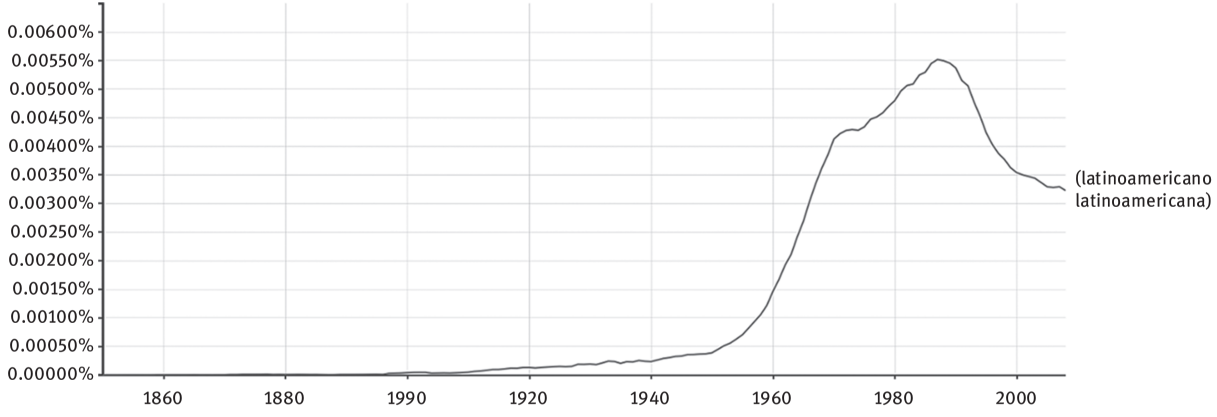


**Figure 2:** Latinoamericano-Latinoamericana.
Source: Google Books Corpus in Spanish, Google Ngram Viewer.

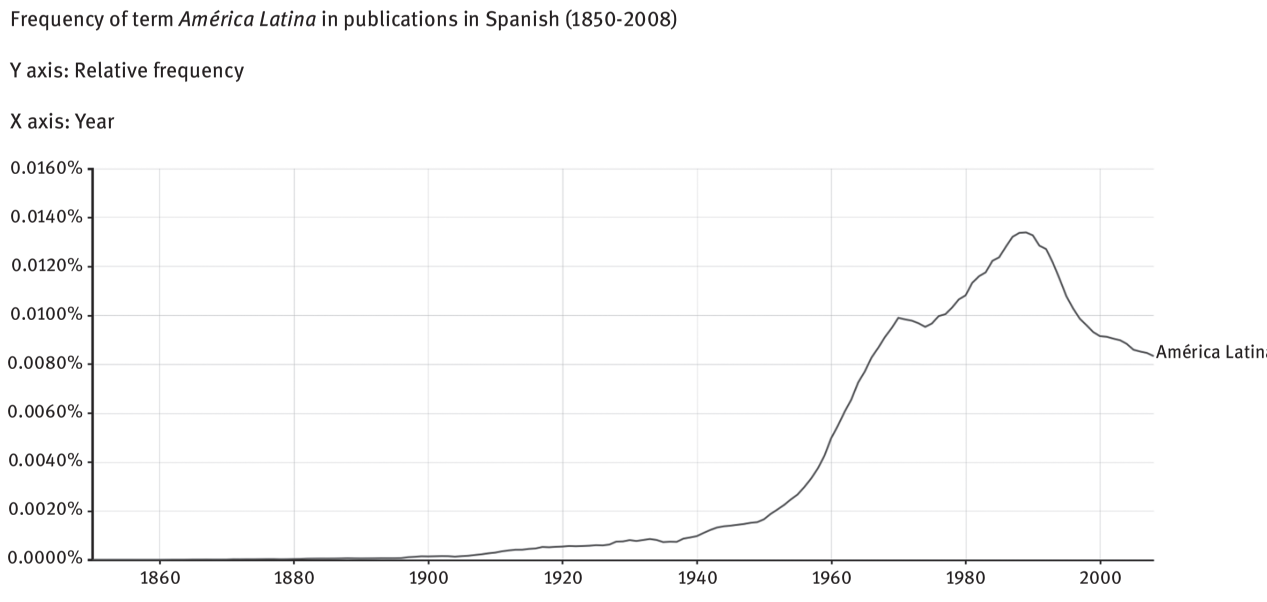


**Figure 3:** América Latina.
Source: Google Books Corpus in Spanish, Google Ngram Viewer.

conflict between North America on the one hand and Central and South America on the other hand (Gabilondo 2009; García San Martín 2013).

The impulse behind the coinage of the term *América Latina* was thus a racial-political project envisioned by a group of Paris-based expatriates and their accolades. Yet their call for the region's racial unity against the North American enemy was hardly new. Referring to America as *latina* was part of *Pan-Latinism*, a popular intellectual trend in Parisian intellectual circles from the 1830s onward. This trend sought to unite the Romance language-speaking peoples. To do so, Pan-Latinism partially built on the ideas of Romantic historian Jules Michelet. His ideas were greatly influenced by two Prussian thinkers: philosopher Friedrich Hegel and historian Leopold von Ranke. Starting in 1807, with his famous *The Phenomenology of Spirit*, the philosopher claimed that a national spirit (*Volksgeist*) guided the fate of peoples through the ages, and the historian published in 1824 *History of the Latin and Teutonic Nations*, a bestselling book about the deep-rooted conflict between these two peoples, the Latins and the Teutons.

According to Pan-Latinists, this conflict arose from the immemorial division of Europe into two races, the Teutonic and the Latin. The roots of the Teutonic race dated from the times of the Germanic tribes, whose descendants eventually spread to the British Isles and North America. The roots of the Latin race dated from Greco-Roman times, and its descendants were alive in France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy. For Pan-Latinists, the national spirit and the inevitable course of history now demanded an alliance, justified by a common Latin ancestry, between the Spanish and the French. Only together could these two Latin peoples stop the spread of Teutonic peoples throughout Anglo America (Aljovín de Losada and Fernández Sebastián 2009; Ardao 1980).

In France, Jules Michelet had numerous Pan-Latinist followers, such as Hugues-Félicité Robert de Lamennais, Benjamin Poucel, and Michel Chevalier. Poucel argued that the entire *América* should belong to the Latin race. Chevalier claimed that the "Spanish-Americans seem to be an impotent race" and warned that this race "will leave no posterity behind it" (Chevalier 1839 [1836]: 428), unless conquests would inject new blood into their race in America. Elsewhere, he claimed that the peoples of South America were really incapable of protecting themselves and, hence, needed the tutelage of France's Empire (Gabilondo 2009; Gobat 2013). Periodicals, such as *La Revue des races latines* (1857–1861), became preferred outlets to promote the French version of Pan-Latinism that defended the superiority of the Latin over the Teutonic race[4].

4 French intellectuals also developed the term *Afrique latine* (Gobat 2013: 1346 n. 6).

It did not take long for Bilbao (under the influence of Lammenais) and Torres Caicedo to embrace Pan-Latinism during their stay in Paris. They thought the term *Latin America* was first and foremost a racial project to prevent the conquest of the territory by Anglo-Saxons, that is, by the descendants of the Teutons in America. Bilbao and Torres Caicedo wholeheartedly believed that the same racial division that permeated Europe for centuries was quickly spreading throughout America. For them, a racial clash was imminent among the newly independent countries in North, Central, and South America. The territorial advances of the United States into Northern Mexico and Panama in the 1840s and 1850s proved it to be so. As Torres Caicedo (cited in Ardao 1980: 80) alerted in 1856, "la raza Española está en vísperas de ser absorbida en América por los anglosajones". In order to gather support, Bilbao and Torres Caicedo claimed that the future of civilization was at stake in America. This continent, they thought, was becoming a new location of the emerging race struggle, namely, the clash between Teutonic America and Latin America. Only a Pan-Latin racial unity would help the region to prevail against the Teutonic enemy. As if race were not a sufficient factor to cause the clash, religion added another explosive reason; the Teutonic United States was Protestant and the Latin American race was Catholic.

Taking into consideration this and other racialized ways of naming the region and its peoples in the nineteenth century, it comes as no surprise that the same racialization shaped the ways of referring to the literary works produced there during the same century. Rather than using *literatura latinoamericana*, a term that did not enter language until the 1860s, when someone wanted to refer to the region's literature as a whole, the customary label was *literatura hispanoamericana*. For example, Venezuelan-Chilean philologist Andrés Bello used this term. So did Spanish explorer Dionisio Alcalá Galino, who wrote "Consideraciones sobre la situación y porvenir de la literatura hispanoamericana" in 1845. In this essay, he stated, as Guillermo de Torre did eight decades later, that the region's literature would not flourish unless it was under Spain's tutelage (cfr. Echeverría 1991).

For others, like Guatemalan lawyer Antonio Batres Jáuregui, author of *Literatura Americana*, the imitation of literary forms in the region was a sign of racial purity in every one of its countries: "la literatura chilena se modela sobre la literatura de la Europa Occidental, porque entre las repúblicas de origen latino, es la que conserva más pura la raza, que apenas tiene mezcla de sangre india y africana" (Batres Jáuregui 1879: 37). Similarly, Venezuelan literary historian Rufino Blanco-Fombona merged literature, politics, and race to argue, "el escritor de uno cualquiera de nuestros Estados tiene por público todo el continente. Las ofensas que se dirigen a cualquiera de nuestras patrias nos hieren a todos; y si Europa o Estados Unidos, creyéndonos débiles, nos agredieren un día, esta raza latino-americana, esta raza nieta del Cid, e hija de Morazán, de Juárez, de

Sucre y San Martín, les guarda tremendas sorpresas y crueles decepciones" (Blanco-Fombona 1908: 7).

None of the two fathers of the term *América Latina*, Bilbao or Torres Caicedo, were married to it. They used *América española* and *América latina* interchangeably (Ardao 1980). This meant that when they turned to cultural matters, Pan-Latinists had little to say about the idea of a region-spanning literature beyond the arguments of a common race. In his oft-cited essay "América en peligro", Bilbao insisted on the need for an alliance between the Catholic religion and the state, which could protect the region from foreign invaders. He mentioned nothing of a unified Latin American culture. For him, Latin America was not a cultural term, but a racial one, which he stopped using all together in the early 1860s (García San Martín 2013). Arguably, his reason for abandoning the term was the French and Spanish invasion of Mexico and Spain's annexation of the Dominican Republic, both happened in 1861. These Latin nations were now invaders, whose military operations on American soil betrayed the ideals of Pan-Latinism.

Torres Caicedo mostly used the terms South America and Spanish America before he stuck to Latin America. Between 1863 and 1868, he published in Paris the two volumes of his *Ensayos biográficos y de crítica literaria*. Rather than using his book as an opportunity to write about the region's united literature (he did not even write a survey of its literature nation-by-nation), he published a series of biographies of illustrious writers. More importantly, he referred on more occasions throughout the volumes to *literatura americana* than to *literatura latinoamericana* (Torres Caicedo 1863–1868). As mentioned above, his 1879 address "La literatura de la América Latina" is problematic too. In reality, it was mostly a contribution to the politics and propaganda of the region's history (from which he excluded Brazil), rather than about its literature.

In another important contribution about the region's literature, *Literatura Americana*, Batres Jáuregui (1879: 87) mentioned only once in his 502-page book the term "*literatura latino-americana*" (notice the use of the hyphen). He did so not to write about the region's writers but to refer to a series of famous poets from Uruguay. Yet he did something for the region's literature that Torres Caicedo never did. Batres Jáuregui's book offered an overview of the region's literature, although we should not interpret this overview as the expression of a self-aware regional literature. What he offered was simply an understanding of the region's literature as if it consisted of the sum of its national parts. Nowadays, it would be as if a scholar published a book entitled *Literatura europea* and, concurrently, offered an account of this literature by surveying the literary traditions of each European country individually. This kind of nation-by-nation survey of the literature of Latin America continued well into the twentieth century, until the contributions of Ernesto Nelson's *The Spanish American Reader* (1916) and Manuel Ugarte's

*La joven literatura hispanoamericana* (1906). The latter wrote that a new type of literature was looking for commonalities in the region across "localismos estrechos" (Ugarte 1906: xliii). However, he referred to it using the term *literatura sudamericana*, despite the fact that his book featured the literature of Central American countries, including Mexico, Costa Rica, and Guatemala, among others (For more examples, see Santana-Acuña 2020: 30–31).

Scholarship on the region's literature has often downplayed the racial origins of the term *Latin America*, and has overstated what the creators of the term intended from a racial viewpoint (Gabilondo 2009; Mignolo 2005). Nevertheless, contemporaries were openly critical of a term that sought to detach the region from Spain. Aurelio Espinosa, a Hispanic studies scholar at Stanford University, wrote, "the term *Latin America* [. . .] is a new term, an intruder [. . .] The new name is not only vague, meaningless, and unjust, but what is much more, it is unscientific". He also cited the opinion of his colleague J. C. Cebrián, who said, "las repúblicas hispanoamericanas [. . .] son hijos legítimos de España sin intervención de Francia ni de Italia [. . .] España, sola, derramó su sangre" (Espinosa 1918: 135–136). The same year Spanish philologist Ramón Menéndez Pidal (1918) rejected the term in favor of *América española*. A decade later, de Torre warned that using the name *América Latina*, as well as *Latinamericanismo*, only served to endorse "las turbias maniobras anexionistas que Francia e Italia vienen realizando respecto a América, so capa de latinismo" (de Torre cited in Alemany Bay 1998: 65). He was not the only one aware of the fact that these racial origins had important implications for the ways of framing the region's culture at large, and more specifically, its literature. As mentioned above, Blanco-Fombona, like Torres Caicedo, understood that race was key to reaching an original, region-wide literature: "¿ha existido en América, hasta hace poco, una literatura nacional, que tenga sangre de nuestra sangre[?] Lo cierto es que hemos vivido mucho tiempo de préstamo. Que hemos imitado y saqueado a los europeos, sobre todo a españoles y franceses. Yo no lo censuro. Ese es nuestro derecho" (Blanco-Fombona 1908: 13). But, to make sense of this situation, Blanco-Fombona did not use the term *literatura latinoamericana*. Instead, he used *literatura americana* and, especially, *literatura hispano-americana*.

Examining this and other evidence, researchers have problematized claims about a self-aware and widely shared *literatura latinoamericana* before the twentieth century (García San Martín 2013; Mignolo 2005). This awareness was only present in some circles of expats at the time, starting with Andrés Bello. They envisioned the region's literature as a unifying transnational phenomenon. Efforts of this kind were pioneering and meaningful indeed, but there were two important obstacles to their diffusion across the region up until the 1920s. First obstacle: only a small cultural elite was interested in writing about a supra-national identity. The main intellectual projects of the nineteenth cen-

tury were promoted mostly through national channels. Furthermore, the idea of a united Latin America and a united Latin race interfered with the nationalist interests of Creole oligarchies in most countries in the region. This means that, in reality, the region's political and cultural elites invested their intellectual capital in the creation of national cultures with distinctive literary traditions; these elites had little interest in the making of a region-wide Latin American culture and literature. Furthermore, as Carlos Altamirano (2010) summarized it, intellectual life was narrowly nationalistic until the twentieth century and, in literature, most writers were committed to the creation of national traditions (see also Kirkendall 2003; Pagni 2012; Rama 1998 [1984])[5].

And second obstacle: this allegedly self-aware literature did not have a reading class in the region to write to. Simply put, writers had no readers. During the nineteenth century, regional levels of illiteracy over sixty percent deprived most people from functional reading, let alone literature reading[6]. Back then, educational infrastructure was scarce, admission to higher education was limited to upper class white males, the publishing industry was siloed in major urban centers, and literary works tended to circulate city-to-city rather than nationally or transnationally (Aljovín de Losada/Fernández Sebastián 2009; Donoso 1972; Kirkendall 2003). These factors limited the publishing success of books released during the lifetime of writers regarded as founders of *literatura latinoamericana*, such as Cuban José Martí and Uruguayan Enrique Rodó. The "public" of another founding figure, Nicaraguan Rubén Darío, "[era] casi inexistente: [estaba] formado por esa élite [letrada] que hacía las veces de productor y consumidor" (Rama 1982: 56). It was this lack of audience that prompted the cultural magazine *Repertorio Americano* in 1926 to ask writers whether readers were really interested in reading "autores *hispanoamericanos*" (Anónimo 1926: 131; my emphasis). However, from this decade onward, the idea of a region-spanning literature started to attract more readers both throughout Latin America and beyond (Santana-Acuña 2020: 24–26). It was precisely during this decade when the label *literatura latinoamericana* took off, as did references to *América Latina* (see Figure 3).

**5** In addition, multiple partisan, civil, regional, and international wars in over twenty rising nation-states punctuated the region's history after its independence from Spain and Portugal. These wars delayed efforts of cultural integration in the region (Annino and Guerra 2003; Bethell 1998).

**6** Illiteracy was over forty percent among Argentines until 1914, while half of Mexico City's population was illiterate for most of the nineteenth century (Guerra 2003; Kirkendall 2003). As it happened in Europe (Chartier 1987), only the practice of public reading out loud exposed illiterate people to literature.

## Big Textual Data and Aesthetic Labels

Aesthetic labels create boundaries that delimit which works of art and which creators are included in or excluded from a given literary tradition. As the analysis in this section shows, the now-dominant label, *literatura latinoamericana*, has precise historical origins and trajectory. This analysis uses data from the Google Books Ngram Viewer, an online search engine that charts the relative frequency of selected words year-by-year in sources printed between 1500 and 2008 and scanned by Google. This database currently tracks over 500 billion printed works, most of which are books. Data searches are normalized to compensate for the smaller amount of works published in earlier centuries. The Ngram database only shows matches found in over 40 publications in any given year. Despite technical and sampling problems, many of which were solved in the 2012 version of the Ngram Viewer, this search engine is a powerful tool when tracing sudden changes and long-term tendencies within language. Both transformations and patterns can indicate something deeper (and often overlooked) about the ways people were using specific words over the course of decades and centuries in multiple languages. In this chapter, I analyze data I gathered about the frequency of four aesthetic labels used between 1850 and 2008 to name the region's literature in five major literary languages[7].

### Literatura hispanoamericana

The label *literatura hispanoamericana* was the first one to appear more regularly in printed works, according to the available data shown in Figure 4. References surfaced timidly in the 1910s, increased slowly throughout the 1920s, grew at a faster pace over the next two decades, and augmented suddenly in the 1950s. Since then, *literatura hispanoamericana* has remained stable over the decades. In English (Figure 5), the label *Spanish-American literature* grew in the 1920s and especially between the 1940s and 1960s. In French (Figure 6), the label *littérature hispanoaméricaine* surfaced in the 1920s and did not reappear until the 1950s. It then developed rapidly in the 1960s and 1970s. In German (Figure 7), *hispanoamerikanische Literatur* barely started to appear in the 1920s, and then reappeared in the late 1950s, growing little over the decades. Finally, in Italian (Figure 8), *letteratura*

7 In 2020, when this chapter was entering final production, Google released an updated Ngram Viewer with new data through 2019. The updated version does not change the findings for the terms under analysis in this chapter.

Labels used to name the region's literature in publications in Spanish (1850-2008)

Y axis: Relative frequency

X axis: Year

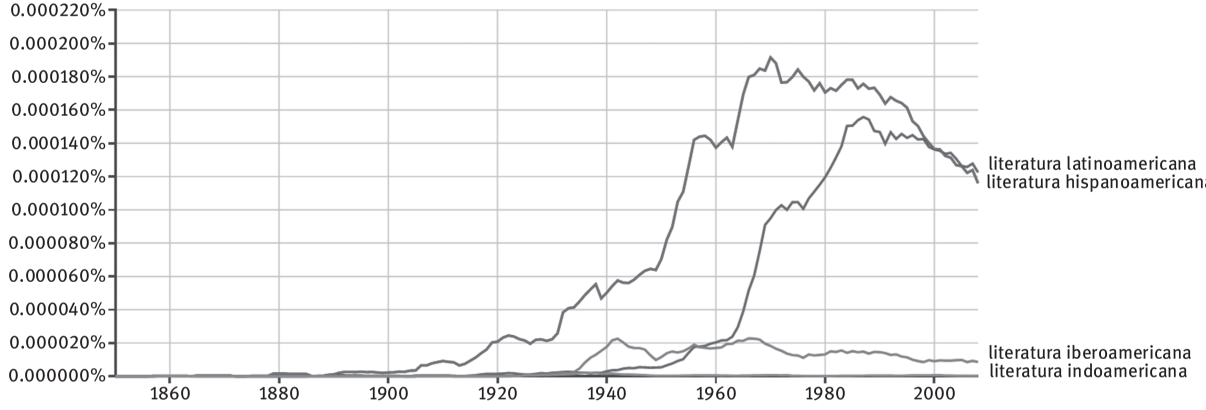


**Figure 4:** Google Ngram viewer. Spanish.
Source: Google Books Corpus in Spanish, Google Ngram Viewer.

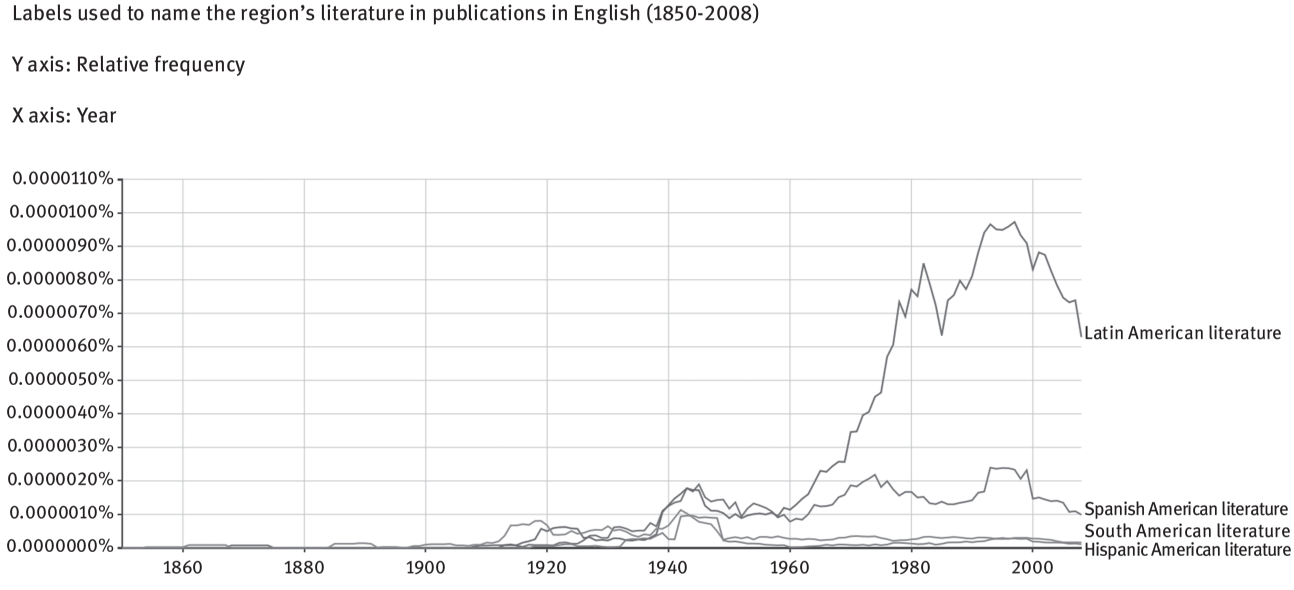


**Figure 5:** Google Ngram viewer. English.
Source: Google Books Corpus in English, Google Ngram Viewer.

Labels used to name the region's literature in publications in French (1850-2008)

Y axis: Relative frequency

X axis: Year


**Figure 6:** Google Ngram viewer. French.
Source: Google Books Corpus in French, Google Ngram Viewer.

Labels used to name the region's literature in publications in German (1850-2008)

Y axis: Relative frequency

X axis: Year


**Figure 7:** Google Ngram viewer. German.
Source: Google Books Corpus in German, Google Ngram Viewer.

Labels used to name the region's literature in publications in Italian (1850-2008)

Y axis: Relative frequency

X axis: Year

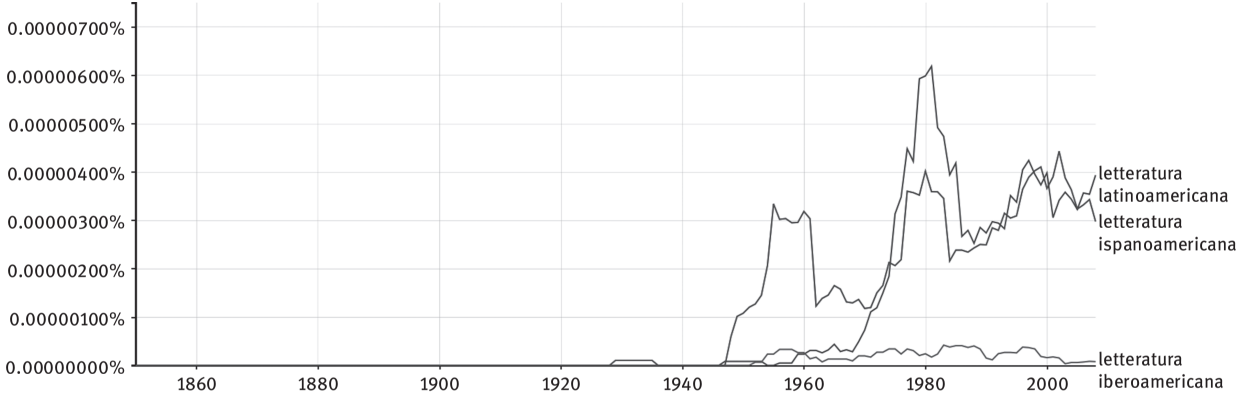


**Figure 8:** Google Ngram viewer. Italian.
Source: Google Books Corpus in Italian, Google Ngram Viewer.

*ispanoamericana* grew rapidly after the mid-1940s and continued to increase in use until the 1970s, when it was surpassed by *letteratura latinoamericana*.

The label *literatura hispanoamericana* has well-known political, ethnic, and cultural implications, because the adjective *hispano* permits to include works in Spanish from Spain as part of this literature. This means that, for example, Cervantes' *Don Quixote* can qualify as a work of *literatura hispanoamericana*. However, some members of the region's intelligentsia, seeking to break free from Spain culturally, rejected this label, particularly during the Franco dictatorship (1939–1975). At this time, *hispano* was indistinguishable from *hispanidad*, an idea that promoted the superiority of the Spanish race throughout world history (Díez Medrano 2003). Annual commemorations of *hispanidad* and *la raza hispánica* sought to reaffirm the attachment of Spanish American nations to Spain. Given its racial and historical connotation, *hispanidad* could hardly be the region's strategy for attaining cultural independence from the colonizer, Spain (Gabilondo 2009).

Despite the term's colonial origins, even after the end of the Franco dictatorship and with the arrival of democracy, organizations in Spain such as the Royal Spanish Academy of Language have defended the superiority of the term *hispanoamericano* over *latinoamericano*. During his tenure as director of the Royal Spanish Academy in the 1990s, Manuel Alvar urged Spanish authorities to "abandon[ar] las voces ajenas y equívocas de Latinoamérica y latinoamericano" (Alvar cited in Estrade 1994: 80), a demand that was similar to that of de Torres more than half a century before. Not coincidentally, the most ardent critic of Alvar's call was Paul Estrade, a French scholar and supporter of the term *latino*. He defended the historical authenticity and legitimacy of the word *latinoamericano*, despite the fact that, as mentioned above, nineteenth-century French intellectuals coined the term *Amérique latine*. Other scholars criticized usage of the label *literatura hispanoamericana* as part of Spain's neo-imperialist campaign in Latin America (Gabilondo 2009). Critics also debated early on whether or not this label left out Brazil. For some, like Rodó, it did include them (Goldberg 1920; Rodó 1958: 395).

## Literatura iberoamericana

The next label to gain currency from the mid-1930s onwards was *literatura iberoamericana*. But as Figure 4 shows, it did so only in the Spanish language. Even in this language, references to *literatura iberoamericana* were almost non-existent during the first third of the twentieth century. Although they began to appear more frequently since, the term remains a less popular way of labeling the region's literature. The Ngram Viewer search for this label in English, French, and German

yielded no results over time (Figures 5–7). In Italian (Figure 8), the frequency of *letteratura iberoamericana* was always significantly below *letteratura ispanoamericana* and *letteratura latinoamericana*.

Geographically, *literatura iberoamericana* is more capacious a label than *literatura hispanoamericana*, because the adjective *ibero* can apply to literary works produced in the Iberian Peninsula. So this label would encompass works published in Spain and Portugal as well as Spanish America and Portuguese America. Critics of the label claim that *literatura iberoamericana* underscores the region's colonial attachment to not one, but to two colonial powers on the Iberian Peninsula. This label, they point out, also neglects the uniqueness of the region's literature, as it implies the region owes its existence to the colonizer's culture. In addition, critics contend that Brazil is not part of the region culturally, and yet this label creates an artificial sense of unity between this Portuguese-speaking country and the rest of the Spanish-speaking region (Mignolo 2005).

## Literatura indoamericana

A priori *literatura indoamericana* could be most adequate label to name the region's literature, because the words *indo* or *indio* show the main difference between the region and its former colonial powers: America's indigenous population. Yet references to *literatura indoamericana* remain quite rare in Spanish, despite flagging the region's ethnic specificity and despite receiving the endorsement of mainstream writers, such as *indigenista* writer José Carlos Mariátegui. (Carlos Fuentes, once a supporter of the label *literatura latinoamericana*, also coined the term *indo-afro-ibero-América* in his 1990 book *Valiente nuevo mundo*). According to the Ngram Viewer, this label's presence in other languages is marginal or non-existent. The Ngram Viewer search yielded no frequency patterns in French, English, German, and Italian. A key reason for the label's infrequency has to do with the words *indio*/*indo*, which, for its opponents, downgrades the input of Western culture in the region. This label only succeeded in the Spanish language modestly as a reaction to the global circulation of the label *literatura latinoamericana* in the 1980s, when several writers and scholars criticized this label for suppressing the literary voices of non-Creoles (Gabilondo 2009; Mignolo 2005).

## Literatura latinoamericana

Unlike the previous label, *literatura latinoamericana* acknowledges Western cultural input that stems from the Greco-Roman tradition. As already mentioned, be-

hind the adjective *latino* is the idea of *latinidad*, which the Creole intelligentsia promoted in the nineteenth century in order to highlight the region's racial link to the civilizations of Ancient Greece and Rome. For its supporters, this label is more cosmopolitan than previous ones because it includes several countries of Latin descent: Spain, Portugal, France, Romania, and Italy (Ardao 1980; Goldberg 1920). This means that the adjective *latino* can also apply to French America's territories and their literature. Accordingly, when poet Saint-John Perse, a native of the French archipelago of Guadeloupe in the Caribbean, won the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1960, writers like Carlos Fuentes, general interest magazines such as *Siempre!*, and literary journals, like *Mundo Nuevo*, celebrated him as a *Latin American* writer (Santana-Acuña 2020: 32).

It is important to highlight that searches on the Ngram Viewer do not distinguish by country of publication. Unfortunately, this gives the false impression in Figure 4 that *literatura hispanoamericana* was the dominant label in the Spanish-speaking world until the 2000s. In reality, the increased frequency of the label *literatura hispanoamericana* had mostly to do with the large number of works published in Spain where this label is more popular due to its colonial legacy, as discussed above. If the Ngram Viewer search could include only works published in Latin American countries, excluding those released in Spain, my hypothesis is that the results for this label would be more similar to those in Figures 5 through 8. As these figures show, there was a rapid growth of *literatura latinoamericana* in the 1960s and 1970s in English, French, German, and Italian. This growth coincided with the international success of *la nueva novela latinoamericana* and *el Boom latinoamericano* as well as with the circulation of books, such as *Hopscotch* and *One Hundred Years of Solitude*, received by thousands of readers in the region and abroad as works of *literatura latinoamericana*.

The results also confirmed that, although Torres Caicedo allegedly coined this label in the 1860s, it rarely appeared in the first four decades of the twentieth century in Spanish-language publications. It did so even later in other major literary languages. This sudden appearance coincided with international achievements of works published as region-spanning Latin American literature between the 1950s and 1970s. It was during this period when the label gained more notoriety than competing labels, thanks to the combined efforts of writers, critics, and scholars who promoted new and old literary works as *latinoamericanos* in literary journals, general interest magazines, professional conferences, and commercial publishing houses. A self-aware, region-encompassing literature was now in full swing.

For this growth to happen, the label *literatura latinoamericana* had to remove its racial origins. But its racial component did not disappear immediately. For example, scholar E. P. Salzer wrote, "la cultura latino-americana es exclusivamente

propia de la población de raza blanca y de los criollos de sangre mezclada" (Salzer 1915–1918: 29). Some scholars tried to tone down the racial dimension and replace it with references to culture, and in the early twentieth century, culture started to replace race. In 1913, Dominican scholar Pedro Henríquez Ureña rejected race and embraced the concept of a Latin culture: "hay que comenzar, a mi juicio, por echar a un lado la fantástica noción de *raza latina*, a que tanto apego tiene el *demi-monde* intelectual. Solo ha de hablarse de *cultura latina* o, en rigor, *novolatina*" (Henríquez Ureña cited in Gabilondo 2009: 805).

However, for later opponents this racialized component has never gone away (Santana-Acuña 2020: 181–183). They argue that the racialized label *literatura latinoamericana* excludes non-Creole groups – especially Indians and Creoles of African descent – and their literary voice. Criticism only grew harsher as the label spread internationally. For Cuban writer Guillermo Cabrera Infante, once praised by peer writers and powerful periodicals as a key figure of the *Boom latinoamericano*, not only was Latin America the "most absurd" term to refer to the region, but also stated, "I [am] not a Latin American writer" (Cabrera Infante 1980: 10, 12). He decried the application of this term by default to make sense of any literary work published in the region from the 1960s onward. Others, on the contrary, felt excluded. Scholars like Cornejo Polar and Moraña (1998), D'Allemand (2001), and Mignolo (2005), among others (Gobat 2013), lamented that the term discriminates against indigenous peoples and those of African descent, and it also robs the region of the plurality of its literary voices. Writers from the region living and publishing in the United States in either English or Spanish, as well as Brazilians, continue to challenge the boundaries of the label *literatura latinoamericana* (Santana-Acuña 2020: 182–183).

## Conclusion

The boundaries of literary labels are not fixed because, among other reasons, the cultural, ethnic, and geographical boundaries of these labels are anything but static. This is particularly pertinent for *literatura latinoamericana*, due to ongoing developments in the United States (Morán González/Lomas 2018). This country – the racial enemy to be defeated by the civilizatory project of Torres Caicedo and Bilbao in the 1850s – has, in recent decades, become the preferred market of Latin American literature, celebrating authors from García Márquez to Isabel Allende to Valeria Luiselli.

As the analysis in this chapter showed, the labels used to refer to the region's literature have histories that call for further research. The semantic changes that affected the region's literature in the twentieth century is one of the factors that

helps to better understand the phenomenal success of its literature from the 1960s onward, precisely when the label *literatura latinoamericana* entered and took root in all major literary languages. Using an approach that draws from historical semantics and big textual data, this chapter has argued that change in *aesthetic labeling* is an often-overlooked factor that forms the basis for this literature's global success. Unlike other competing aesthetic labels analyzed here, the label *literatura latinoamericana* was the most successful at merging different generations of writers, multiple literary genres, and hundreds of works published in over twenty countries, written in two main languages, Spanish and Portuguese, but originating in a region with more than sixty indigenous languages. This merging transformed *literatura latinoamericana* into the most successful multinational, multiethnic, and multilingual literature of the twentieth century.

Yet behind every success there are powerful alternatives and paths not taken. And the historical semantics approach can help rescue them from the condescension of posterity. For example, while Torres Caicedo and Bilbao favored Pan-Latinism, another option was *Pan-Americanism*, which was part of the American Hispanic discourse. Accordingly, North America would be seen not as a racial enemy to be defeated, but as a partner (Arenal 2011; Faber 2008). Pan-Americanist scholars interpreted works by Latin American writers as works of Pan-Americanism. For example, from Goldberg's (1920) Pan-American perspective, Rubén Darío's "Canto a la Argentina" (1910) celebrated the fraternal union that "hermana / la raza anglo-sajona / con la latino-americana". Similarly, for Ernesto Nelson, literature occupied a special place in his Pan-American ideal, which he described as: "a literature which cannot fail to thrill him [the U.S. reader] with a keen sense of *relationship* to his Latin-American cousins" (Nelson 1916: v, vi; emphasis in original). Due to this special relationship, literature written in South and Central America continues to migrate North America and, arguably, because of this interaction, we may be currently witnessing a new semantic shift of the label used to name the region's literature.

## Works cited

Alemany Bay, Carmen (1998): *La polémica del meridiano intelectual de Hispanoamérica (1927): estudios y textos*. Alicante: Universidad de Alicante.

Aljovín de Losada, Cristóbal/Fernández Sebastián, Javier (eds.) (2009): *Diccionario político y social del mundo iberoamericano*. Madrid: Fundación Carolina, Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales.

Altamirano, Carlos (2010): "Élites culturales en el siglo XX latinoamericano". In: Altamirano, Carlos (eds.): *Historia de los intelectuales en América Latina*, vol. 2. Buenos Aires: Katz, pp. 9–28.

Annino, Antonio/Guerra, François-Xavier (eds.) (2003): *Inventando la nación: Iberoamérica siglo XIX*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
Anónimo (1926): "Cuestionario que plantea el 'Rep. Am.' a los escritores de América". In: *Repertorio Americano* XIII/9, p. 131.
Anonymous (1965). "Southern Crosses". In: *The Times Literary Supplement*, 30/09/1965, pp. 867–868.
Ardao, Arturo (1980): *Génesis de la idea y el nombre de América Latina*. Caracas: Centro de Estudios Latinoamericanos Rómulo Gallegos.
Arenal, Celestino del (2011): *Política exterior de España y relaciones con América Latina: iberoamericanidad, europeización y atlantismo en la política exterior española*. Madrid: Fundación Carolina.
Austin, John (1975) [1955]: *How to Do Things with Words*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
Batres Jáuregui, Antonio (1879): *Literatura americana: colección de artículos*. Guatemala: El Progreso.
Becker, Howard (2008) [1963]: *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*. New York: The Free Press.
Bello, Andrés (1836): "Las repúblicas hispanoamericanas: autonomía cultural". In: *Ensayistas.org*, <https://www.ensayistas.org/antologia/XIXA/bello/bello2.htm> (last visit: 09/04/2020).
Bethell, Leslie (1998): *A Cultural History of Latin America: Literature, Music, and the Visual Arts in the 19th and 20th Centuries*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.
Bilbao, Francisco (1978): *Iniciativa de la América: idea de un congreso federal de las repúblicas*. México DF: UNAM/Unión de Universidades de América Latina.
Blanco-Fombona, Rufino (1908): *Letras y letrados de Hispano-América*. París: Sociedad de ediciones literarias y artísticas.
Bloom, Harold (1994): *The Western Canon: The Books and School of the Ages*. New York: Harcourt Brace.
Cabrera, Miguel (2004): *Postsocial History: An Introduction*. Lanham: Lexington Books.
Cabrera Infante, Guillermo (1980): "Include Me Out." In: Minc, Rose/Frankenthaler, Marilyn (eds.): *Requiem for the 'Boom' – Premature?: A Symposium*. Montclair, NJ: Montclair State University, pp. 9–20.
Casanova, Pascale (1999): *La République mondiale des lettres*. Paris: Seuil.
Chartier, Roger (1987): *Lectures et lecteurs dans la France d'Ancien Régime*. Paris: Seuil.
Chevalier, Michael (1839) [1836]: *Society, Manners and Politics in the United States: Being a Series of Letters on North America*. Boston: Weeks, Jordan and Company.
Cornejo Polar, Antonio/Moraña, Mabel (eds.) (1998): *Indigenismo hacia el fin del milenio: homenaje a Antonio Cornejo-Polar*. Pittsburgh: Instituto Internacional de Literatura Iberoamericana, University of Pittsburgh.
D'Allemand, Patricia (2001): *Hacia una critica cutural Latinoamericana*. Lima/Berkeley: CELACP/Latinoamericana Editores.
Damrosch, David (2003): *What Is World Literature?* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
D'haen, Theo (2015): "Latin American Literature between World Literature and Géocritique". In: Müller, Gesine/Gras Miravet, Dunia (eds.): *América Latina y la literatura mundial: mercado editorial, redes globales y la invención de un continente*. Madrid/Frankfurt am Main: Iberoamericana-Vervuert, pp. 55–66.
Díez Medrano, Juan (2003): *Framing Europe: Attitudes to European Integration in Germany, Spain, and the United Kingdom*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Donoso, José (1972): *Historia personal del Boom*. Barcelona: Anagrama.

Echeverría, Esteban (1991): *Obras escogidas*. Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho.
Espinosa, Aurelio (1918): "The Term Latin America". In: *Hispania* 1/3, pp. 135–143.
Estrade, Paul (1994): "Observaciones a don Manuel Alvar y demás académicos sobre el uso legítimo del concepto 'América Latina'". In: *Rábida* 13, pp. 79–82.
Faber, Sebastiaan (2008): "Economies of Prestige: The Place of Iberian Studies in the American University". In: *Hispanic Research Journal* 9/1, pp. 7–32.
Gabilondo, Joseba (2009): "Genealogía de la 'raza latina': para una teoría atlántica de las estructuras raciales hispanas". In: *Revista iberoamericana* 75/228, pp. 795–818.
García San Martín, Álvaro (2013): "Francisco Bilbao, entre el proyecto latinoamericano y el gran molusco". In: *Latinoamérica. Revista de Estudios Latinoamericanos* 56, pp. 141–162.
Gobat, Michel (2013): "The Invention of Latin America: A Transnational History of Anti-Imperialism, Democracy, and Race". In: *The American Historical Review* 118/5, pp. 1345–1375.
Goldberg, Isaac (1920): *Studies in Spanish-American Literature*. New York: Brentano's.
González Echevarría, Roberto (2012): *Modern Latin American Literature: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.
Gonzalez-Stephán, Beatriz (2003): "Showcases of Consumption: Historical Panoramas and Universal Expositions". In: Chasteen, Charles/Castro-Klarén, Sara (eds.): *Beyond Imagined Communities: Reading and Writing the Nation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America*. Washington, D.C./Baltimore: Woodrow Wilson Center Press/Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 225–238.
Guerra, François-Xavier (2003): "Forms of Communication, Political Spaces, and Cultural Identities in the Creation of Spanish American Nations". In: Chasteen, Charles/Castro-Klarén, Sara (eds.): *Beyond Imagined Communities: Reading and Writing the Nation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America*. Washington, D.C./Baltimore: Woodrow Wilson Center Press/Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 3–32.
Hacking, Ian (1995): "The Looping Effects of Human Kinds". In: Sperber, Dan/Premack, David/Premack, Ann James (eds.): *Causal Cognition: A Multidisciplinary Debate*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 351–394.
Harss, Luis (1966): "Literatura: Latinoamérica despierta". En: *Primera Plana*, 9/08/1966, pp. 66, 68.
Hobsbawm, Eric (2003) [1962]: *The Age of Revolution*. London: Abacus.
Kirkendall, Andrew (2003): "Student Culture and Nation-State Formation". In: Chasteen, Charles/Castro-Klarén, Sara (eds.): *Beyond Imagined Communities: Reading and Writing the Nation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America*. Washington, D.C./Baltimore: Woodrow Wilson Center Press/Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 84–111.
Koselleck, Reinhart (2002): *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
Menéndez Pidal, Ramón (1918): "La lengua española". In: *Hispania* 1/1, pp. 1–14.
Mignolo, Walter (2005): *The Idea of Latin America*. Malden/Oxford: Blackwell.
Morán González, John/Lomas, Laura (eds.) (2018). *The Cambridge History of Latina/o American Literature*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.
Moretti, Franco (1996): *The Modern Epic: The World-System from Goethe to García Márquez*. London/New York: Verso.

Müller, Gesine/Gras Miravet, Dunia (2015): "Introducción". In: Müller, Gesine/Gras Miravet, Dunia (eds.): *América Latina y la literatura mundial: mercado editorial, redes globales y la invención de un continente*. Madrid/Frankfurt am Main: Iberoamericana-Vervuert, pp. 9–20.

Nelson, Ernesto (1916): *The Spanish American Reader*. Boston/New York/Chicago: Heath.

O'Gorman, Edmundo (2006) [1958]: *La invención de América: investigación acerca de la estructura histórica del nuevo mundo y del sentido de su devenir*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Pagni, Andrea (2012): "Intelectuales en América Latina: historias, discursos, intervenciones". In: *Iberoamericana* 12/45, pp. 179–192.

Piatier, Jacqueline. (1965). "'La Littérature latino-américaine sera la grande littérature de demain', affirme Roger Caillois". In: *Le Monde*, 10/04/1965, p. 12.

Pupo-Walker, Enrique/González Echevarría, Roberto (eds.) (1996): *The Cambridge History of Latin American Literature*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.

Rama, Ángel (1982): *La novela en América Latina: panoramas 1920–1980*. Bogotá: Procultura.

Rama, Ángel (1998) [1984]: *La ciudad letrada*. Montevideo: Arca.

Rodó, José Enrique (1958): *El mirador de Próspero*. Montevideo: Barreiro y Ramos S.A.

Salzer, Eduardo P. (1915–1918): "De la literatura latino-americana". In: Schulze, Otto (ed.): *La cultura latino-americana: crónica y bibliografía de sus progresos*. Köthen: Órgano transatlántico de la Sociedad Ibero-americana de Hamburgo, pp. 15–31.

Sánchez Prado, Ignacio (ed.) (2006): *América Latina en la "literatura mundial"*. Pittsburgh: Instituto Internacional de Literatura Iberoamericana y University of Pittsburgh.

Santana-Acuña, Álvaro (2020): *Ascent to Glory: How* One Hundred Years of Solitude *Was Written and Became a Global Classic*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Santana-Acuña, Álvaro (forthcoming): "Aesthetic Labeling and Scale Shifting in Cultural Production and Circulation". In: *Journal of World Literature*.

Spender, Stephen/Lasky, Melvin J. (1965): "Rediscovering Latin America: Foreword". In: *Encounter*, September, pp. 3–4.

Torres Caicedo, José María (1863–1868): *Ensayos biográficos y de crítica literaria sobre los principales poetas y literatos hispano-americanos*. Paris: Guillaumin y cia.

Ugarte, Manuel (1906): *La joven literatura hispanoamericana: antología de prosistas y poetas*. Paris: Armand Colin.