Missing Voices: An Analysis of the 20th century Spanish American Works in World Literature Anthologies

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Equality will arrive the day a mediocre woman triumphs to the same extent that a mediocre man has triumphed—Celia Correas de Zapata

What is the first thing that you do when you receive that world literature anthology in your hands? Do you take a moment, first to pause and admire the cover, or do you quickly open it up, cracking the spine, and move on to the table of contents? It can be exciting, curious, interesting, and at times even perturbing to see which literary works are included, and those that are not. The purpose of this essay is to revisit the concept of world literature by asking the questions, do world literature anthologies adequately represent 20th century Spanish American works? This discussion is limited to the most widely used world literature textbooks in Canada and the United States: The Norton Anthology of World Masterpieces and The Norton Anthology of World Literature, The Longman Anthology of World Literature, The Bedford Anthology of World Literature, and The HarperCollins World Reader. The term Spanish American is used instead of either Latino or Hispanic, 1 because the scope of this paper includes writers from the entire American continent—as far south as Tierra del Fuego to the most northern point of North America, Ellesmere Island. Using contemporary world literature theories and an extensive analysis of world literature anthologies, this paper demonstrates that 20th century Spanish American works have been critically undermined. Furthermore, it draws attention to the Spanish American women’s literary tradition that has been relatively ignored in world literature anthologies.

The Norton, The Longman, The Bedford, and The HarperCollins all outline their respective objective in creating a world literature anthology. The choice to include or exclude a work is determined not only by the editor but also the publisher. Copyright, cost, and even translations can also prove problematic. Lynn Bloom explains that in addition to being well written, to have a shot at canonicity, the work must reinforce the anthologies’ cultural, political and social political orientation (28). Whether or not a work is included in a world literature anthology has more to do with the publisher than actual theories that define world literature.

Alan Schrift’s “Confessions of an Anthology Editor” provides firsthand the complexity of editing anthologies. He notes that “First and foremost is the intellectual coherence: for an anthology to work, the pieces must hang together, they must build on
It is difficult for editors to explain their choice of contemporary works that “challenge the traditional canon without forcing them into pre-existing categories and denying their relation to history” (26).

Obviously no world literature anthology can incorporate all the works of world literature; nevertheless, the works selected for the anthology reflect certain biases. Anthologies are not the same as the canon. While both inevitably have to do with pedagogy, Christopher Kruipers explains that the canon is not necessarily as transient as the anthologies (51). Kruipers reference to pedagogy as a determinant to the creation of an anthology resonates well with John Pizer’s definition. The anthology is in many ways a partial abstraction of the whole corpus of literature while the canon is presented as a system. Drawing on the works of Kurt Lewin, the key founder of social and organizational psychology, Kruipers distinguishes between the anthology as a “literary storage and communication form: a textbook, (now) digital archive, (once) a commonplace book, (perhaps still) the poems one memorizes for pleasure” and the canon as a “literary-disciplinary dynamic” (51). The differences between the canon and the anthology are important to keep in mind when looking at not only the restrictive works that are included in the canon, but also those that are excluded.

From the beginning of the 20th century through to the 1950s, most of the anthologies were influenced by almost entirely white men, including The Best of the World’s Classics (1909), The Harvard Classics (1910), The Story of the World’s Literature (1925), and An Anthology of World Literature 3rd ed. (1951). These anthologies not only focused on mainly Western literature, but also reserved the majority of their space exclusively for male writers. By the middle of the 20th century, the map of world literature was beginning to change and the United States emerged as a new place to publish world literature anthologies. Frank Magill’s Masterpieces of World Literature in Digest (also known as Masterplots), first published in 1949, was comprised of more than 510 major works (Damrosch, What is World Literature? 124). Despite the title that alluded to a collection from around the world, the anthology was almost completely restricted to the literary tradition of Western European and the United States.

Soon after Magill’s compilation, The Norton Anthology of World Masterpieces, probably the most widely used anthology, was first published in 1956 under the editorship of Maynard Mack. From the outset, the first three editions mirrored the works geographically represented in the Masterplots. While the fourth edition brought about change with the inclusion of Spanish American tradition, as we see later in this essay, from the beginning until 1995, The Norton Anthology included the subtitle “Literature of the Western Culture.” Wál Hassan points out that the titular World Masterpieces fails to replicate the works that are included, or perhaps better yet those that are excluded: “The confusion would not have occurred had the Norton avoided the universalist pretensions of the title ‘World Masterpieces,’ and renamed its anthology for what it is, a book of Western material” (41). Previous to the publication of the anthology between 1949 and 1950, Mack and a group of interested colleagues came together to create an anthology, but soon discovered that their desire to create such a collection was hindered by the publisher (Lawall, “Canon” 26). Lawall explains that the publisher easily approved of the earlier works selected but resisted some of their later choices (26). The publisher wanted to take a census of prospective users to determine
what should be included, but by 1953, things were at a stalemate, and Mack eventually turned to the Norton Publishing Company. According to Lawall, “The subject of commercial imitation and amusing parody and the focus of attacks on the canon was in fact difficult to produce in the 1950s because it represented neither familiar principles of selection nor current practice in the teaching of literature” (26). Despite attempts to create a collection of “world masterpieces,” a quick glance at the first edition’s table of contents reflects the emphasis on European mainly Anglo, French, German, and Slavic traditions, with the first three editions containing no Spanish American works.

Before proceeding to the second half of this essay, the analysis of the four world literature anthologies as set out in the introduction, it is important to consider that by the middle of the 20th century, many Spanish American literary works had already been translated into English as well as other languages. Therefore the exclusion of this group cannot be attributed to lack of translation. On the contrary, articles by Donald Devenish Walsh entitled “Spanish American Literature in 1946” (1947) as well as Celia Correas de Zapata’s “One Hundred Years of Women Writers in Latin America” (1975), the Borzoi Anthology of Latin American Literature (1977), edited by Emir Rodríguez Monegal; The Latin American Literature in the 20th Century (1986), edited by Leonard S. Klein; as well as many articles and books, unfortunately too many to name here, all prove the accessibility to Spanish American literary tradition.

The preface of the Borzoi Anthology provides insight into the situation of Spanish American works. The editor writes, “for too long, Latin America suffered from a feeling of having come too late to the world's banquet table” because “their fate, or so it seemed, was always to repeat what had already been done in Europe or in the United States” (Rodríguez Monegal xiii). The Borzoi Anthology is separated into two volumes; the second, which is exclusively devoted to the 20th century, is divided into two sections: “The Modern Masters” and “A New Writing.” From the table of contents, it is obvious that despite an attempt to provide an overview of Latin American Literature, Rodríguez Monegal compiled a list of namely male writers with the exception of three women: Peruvian Blanca Varela along with Brazilians Clarice Lispector and Nélida Piñón. The same attitude towards women's literary tradition can be seen in The Latin American Literature in the 20th Century. While it provides a comprehensive list of over one hundred authors and their works from Mexico, Central America, the Caribbean, and South America; and a brief description of the literature of each country, only Gabriela Mistral from Chile and Rosario Castellanos from Mexico are included. Thus, while the Spanish American literary tradition was being ignored by the American publisher, the Uruguayan editor marginalized women's writings.

When comparing the Borzoi Anthology to The Norton Anthology 4th edition (1979), it can be seen that, like Rodríguez Monegal, who limited the representation of women's works, Mack included only Borges. Inside the first pages of the third, fourth, and fifth editions, Mack makes reference to the supplement “companion volume” entitled Masterpieces of the Orient. Hassan problematizes this division of works when he explains, “Even more than the subtitle of the anthology itself, this strange, optional supplement at an additional cost uneasily, and grudgingly, acknowledges the Eurocentrism of the anthology” (41). While this point deserves to be investigated, it is not within the scope of this paper. I only draw attention to the additional anthology to suggest the absurdity and ask where the Latin American supplement was.

It was not until 1979, in the 4th edition of the Norton Anthology, that Borges’ fantasy short story “The Lottery in Babylon” appeared. For the next three editions published in 1985, 1992, and 1995, Norton replaced Borges’ “The Lottery in Babylon” with “The Garden of the Forking Paths” and added García Márquez’s “Death Constant Beyond Love,” a short story that observes politics, poverty, and corruption. In 1986, Lawall, future editor of The Norton Anthology of World Literature, observed the changes that were beginning to take place in The Norton Anthology of World Masterpieces and notes that “the relative proportion of genres or nationalities has changed more than once; women and minority writers have taken a place” (26). Yet, in that same year that Lawall expressed the inclusion of women and minority writers, no Spanish American women’s writing was incorporated. While both Borges and García Márquez are worthy of mention in world literature anthologies, one might question if García Márquez winning the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1982 influenced the editor and publisher. If García Márquez’ inclusion was influenced by his laureate standing, it is difficult to understand why Mistral, the Chilean poet and the first Latin American to win the Nobel Prize for Literature almost forty years earlier, was not included. Marshall McLintock notes in The Nobel Prize Treasury that the laureate is awarded to “the person who shall have produced in the field of literature the most distinguished work of an idealistic tendency” (5). This is not to say that all who win the Nobel Prize should be included in a world literature anthology, but at the same time, it is curious that Mistral is never included despite her literary achievements.

In 1995, Damrosch explains how The Norton Anthology “wrote from its European dumber and came out with an ‘Expanded Edition’” adding thousands of pages of Western and non-Western works (What is World Literature? 128). Yet, with the exception of the cover displaying Frida Kahlo’s “Self Portrait with Monkey,” no additional Spanish American works were included. Borges and García Márquez remained the sole works. A few years later, Prentice-Hall introduced a companion to their Literature of the Western World with the creation of Literatures of Asia, Africa, and Latin America edited by Willis and Tony Barnstone. While the Barnstone and Barnstone edition generously favors Latin American writers with over thirty works, including some living in the diaspora, the blatant division leads readers to wonder why the only Spanish American author to appear in the “Western” anthology is Borges. In 2002, The Norton Anthology dropped the “Masterpieces,” revised the title to The Norton Anthology of World Literature and added Lawall as the new editor (Dammoch, World Literature 129).

Even with its new title, the only Spanish American added to The Norton Anthology was the Central American Darío. According to José Juan Colín’s “A Survey of Central American Literature,” Central American works have been slow to gain status in Latin American literary circles. He explains that the lack of economic opportunities for the majority of the writers remain unknown outside of their countries (34). It was not until the second edition in 2002 that the faces of Spanish American writers began to emerge in The Norton Anthology. In addition to Borges, García Márquez, and the recent work by Darío, the Argentinean poet Alfonsina Storni, Neruda, and Mexican Juan Rulfo were included. Storni represents not only the first Spanish American woman in The Norton collections but also “the first woman
to be accepted by Argentina’s male-dominant literary establishment” (Lawall, *Norton World 2* 2121). Despite attempts to broaden the inclusion of the Spanish American tradition, *The Norton Anthology* (2009) “shorter second edition” dropped Storni, Neruda, and Rulfo—leaving only Borges and García Márquez—echoing the content of the 1986 edition. In 2004, under the helm of Damrosch, the first edition of *The Longman* appeared. In the preface of this multivolume anthology, Damrosch explains, “A generation ago, when the term ‘world literature’ was used in North America, it largely meant master works by European writers from Homer onwards, together with a few favored North American writers, heirs to European—[Longman xvii]. He goes on to say, “However, today, it is generally recognized that Europe is only part of the story of the world’s literatures” (xvii). The Longman is divided into three kinds of groupings: crosscurrents, perspectives, and (xv). The Longman draws inspiration from Borges. Perspectives, on the other hand, thematically groups works together: Modernist Memory, Poetry about Poetry, Echoes of War, Cosmopolitan Exiles, Indigenous Cultures in the 20th century, and Literature, Technology, and Media. The table of contents in *The Longman* lists only the name of the author and translator as well as the title of the pieces included. Unlike *The Norton anthologies*, *The Bedford* and *The HarperCollins* do not provide the author’s country or language of origin. Nevertheless, *The Longman* companion website and the extended bibliographies at the end of each volume provide additional information on both the authors and their works.

In addition to more literary works by Spanish Americans, both the 1st and 2nd edition of *The Longman* volume F use Diego Rivera’s Dreams of a Sunday Afternoon in Alameda (1947-1948) to grace the cover. The mural created by the Mexican painter represents three principal eras of Mexican History: *The Conquest*, *The Porfirato Dictatorship*, and *The Revolution* of 1910. Nevertheless, the book cover, like all of the Spanish American works included in *The Longman* are the products of men from Mexico, Peru, Chile, Argentina, Colombia, and Cuba. The anthology includes the works of two Peruvians, an excerpt from Mario Vargas Llosa’s *The Storyteller* and four short pieces by César Vallejo. Nobel Laureates Chilean Neruda and Mexican Octavio Paz have two poems each, despite Paz’ most notable work being *The Labyrinth of Solitude*. Best known for his novels *One Hundred Years of Solitude* and *Love in a Time of Cholera*, magic realist writer García Márquez’ short story “Artificial Roses” is included. Borges, the most anthologized Spanish American writer has five works including “The Garden of Forking Paths.” While no Central American writers are included in the anthology, the perspective “Echoes of War” contains magic-realist Cuban Carlos Martí’s short story *In the Middle of the Ocean*. While Carpenter’s work is a nice addition to the often left-out Spanish American islanders, it is odd that under the editorial supervision of Damrosch, Rigoberta Menchú is not mentioned because in *What is World Literature?* Damrosch devotes an entire chapter to Menchú’s testimonio. “Me Llamo Rigoberta Menchú” (I, Rigoberta Menchú) tells the struggles of the highland Guatemalan Mayan people seeking to preserve traditional customs amidst the harsh politically, economically, and socially conditions imposed on them by the dominant mestizo population (Damrosch, *What is World Literature?* 232). Damrosch devotes thirty pages to discussing Menchú’s and says, “Rigoberta Menchú is one of the most international of contemporary authors, her work produced for a global audience” and her stories are “a compelling work of world literature” (259). There seems to be a grave difference between what Damrosch considers world literature in *What is World Literature?* and the anthology that he edits. Furthermore, *The Longman Anthology of World Literature* does not include the Nicaraguan poet Rubén Darío who, according to Damrosch, influenced mid-century American and Chinese poets (21). While men wrote all of the seven Spanish American works included in *The Longman*, *The Bedford* is slightly more inclusive with its geographical and gender representation.

In the preface, Paul Davis et al. explain that the task of *The Bedford* anthology is to “[draw] from the rich literary traditions of Asia, India, the Middle East, and the Americas as well as from the masterpieces of the Western world” (v). They acknowledge that former world literature anthologies focused on the Western literary tradition ignoring works from Latin America and other areas. Like *The Norton* and *The Longman*, *The Bedford* consists of six different books with material listed in chronological order with their country of origin. In addition to the individual works, *The Bedford* features two literary groupings: “In the World” and “In the Tradition” which thematically bring together different literary traditions. The comparative timelines, maps, and extensive illustrations set *The Bedford* apart for its wide variety of supplementary material. All members of *The Bedford* editorial team are professors at the University of New Mexico, and therefore it is not surprising that Chicano/a works have been included in the anthology. A poem by Chicanita Sandra Cisneros and four poems by Chicano Jimmy Santiago Baca are included in “In the Tradition,” and they are entitled “American Borderlands: Voices from the United States” [sic] Many Cultures;” it also incorporates three poems by the Puerto Rican, Martín Espada. Born in Panama to Mexican parents, Fuentes’ “The Prisoners of Los Lomas” takes place in Mexico while Mexican born Paz’ “Three Visits to India,” an excerpt from *In Light of India*, takes place in Bombay. The anthology also contains Borges’ “The Garden of the Forking Paths”. García Márquez’ “A Very Old Man with Enormous Wings,” and nine poems by Neruda. Geographically, North American, Central American, and South American writings are incorporated in *The Bedford*, making it more inclusive. However, Cisneros remains the only woman. Nonetheless, Lynn Bloom observes that *The Bedford* is different: “Bedford (and its affiliates, St. Martin’s) spends a great deal of editorial time developing and promoting first editions that reflect individual features and distinctive personalities and do not look like clones of competitors’ books” (31).

The most unique aspect of *The Bedford* is the inclusion of diasporic writers like Cisneros, Baca, and Espada. By acknowledging these writers, *The Bedford* expands a great deal of editorial time developing and promoting first editions that reflect individual features and distinctive personalities and do not look like clones of competitors’ books” (31). Looking back to the world literature theories, it is evident that *The Bedford*, more so than perhaps either *The Norton* anthologies or *The Longman*, seeks to incorporate Johann Goethe’s
idea of the “oneness” of Weltliteratur, but in the end, represents the “unequal” nature of world literature. If, as Pixer states, “World literature courses should emphasize the engagement with the imaginative works of the globe in its broad cultural diversity, the universalities and the particulars,” then The HarperCollins should be used (109). The HarperCollins is divided into fifteen parts with two sections of particular interest: “Oral Literature Today,” which combines oral traditions; and “Writing Across Boundaries,” which focuses on writers in exile or self-exile (Caws and Prendergast xxii). While the almost 3,000 page collection draws on old works from the Ancient Mediterranean World to contemporary pieces, the section titled “The Americas” provides a comprehensive compilation from Tierra del Fuego to Ellesmere Island. In addition to its large geographical representation of Spanish American writers and the usual suspects Borges, Neruda, García Márquez, and Cortázar, the anthology includes numerous women’s writing as well as a few works by indigenous people.

The first 20th century pieces included is that of Peruvian Clorinda Matto de Turner. Her letter to the director and owner of the newspaper entitled “What a Decree!” echoes the ideas revealed in her novel Aves sin nido (Birds without a Nest) published in 1889, which blends together history and legend as a critique of the oppression of the indigenous people. The second Peruvian piece included is that by the priest, is the second Guatemalan piece included. While Murcia’s tale allows one to better understand Menchú’s story, her testimonio can be compared to ‘Ma Lucia, the great storyteller,’ which is taken from The Autobiography of a Runaway Slave. It is the story of a Cuban slave named Esteban Montejo as told to anthropologist Miguel Barnet. The process of creating is the same for Montejo and Menchú because neither of them was capable of writing their own narrative; instead, they rely on someone else to craft their testimony.

The diverse collection of literature is accompanied by Gloria Anzaldúa’s poem, “We Call Them Greasers,” which demonstrates the difficulty for Mexicans living in the diaspora to locate and situate themselves not only in their new homeland, but also in the consciousness of their past, navigating linguistic, and culture hybridity. Similar sentiments are echoed in the poetry of Cubans Guillén and Mirta Yáñez in the section “Writing Across Boundaries.”

While Damrosch is critical of The HarperCollins stating that “it proceeds essentially by exploding the ‘old world,’ making room for a vivid gallery of snapshots of the ‘whole world,’ yet the result is fragmentary, inconsistent, a disorienting series of abrupt leaps from one brief section to another” (What is World Literature? 130), it could be argued that The HarperCollins’ collection reflects more favorably the works of Spanish American authors than The Norton, The Bedford, or The Longman anthologies. The inclusion of women, indigenous people, and those in the diaspora, as well as a comprehensive geographical representation, demonstrates The HarperCollins dedication to world literature.

Joan Lipman Brown suggests that the reason why women’s literature has been neglected is that in the past men’s works were seen as better than those of women. She suggests that in addition to the hierarchical nature of literature, Spanish American women’s works are not taught because of the absence of a strong tradition of female-authored literature and the presumed inaccessibility of this literature for male readers (1173). While her argument is compelling in some ways, it seems Lipman Brown justifies the exclusion of women writers in world literature anthologies despite her attempt to resolve the issue. Unlike Lipman Brown’s critical article that negates a strong custom of women’s writing, Correas de Zapat’s “One Hundred Years of Women Writers in Latin America” and the collected essays in Latin American Writers: Yesterday and Today (1975) trace the lengthy and noteworthy literary tradition of Spanish American women.

Correas de Zapat’s begins her article with Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz—the Tenth Muse of America—rendering homage to this exceptional woman. She traces the literary tradition of women’s writers from the later part of the 19th century into the 20th century drawing attention to names like Cuban Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, and Peruvians Matto de Turner and Mercedes Cabillo de Carbonera, who all contributed to opening the doors for future women writers. Referring to the two noteworthy Peruvian novelists, Alberto Zum Felde writes:

Other novels later surpassed in mastery those of this courageous co-founder of realism in the Pacific (Matto de Turner), but to her goes the merit of these first fruits in her novel’s dual face of relative narrative credibility and social protest. As in the case of her colleague, Carbonera, the other illustrious woman of the 19th Century Peruvian letters—both excommunicated by conservative, literary and human figures standing intellectually between George Sand and Pardo Bazán—her ideal realism amounts to a protest and a reformist ideal. (qtd. in Correas de Zapat’s 13)

Matto de Turner and Carbonera influenced the works of the 20th century Chilean novelist María Luisa Bombal and Venezuelana Teresa de la Parra. While Parra is best known for her works Ifigenia or The Diary of a Young Lady’s Boredom, which draw attention to the division of class in Caracas, Bombal’s The House of Mist (1935) gained recognition for its amorous surrender (13).

Over the past decades, the representative works of Spanish American authors have dramatically changed in world literature anthologies. However, despite the wider geographical and literary range, the Spanish American women’s literary tradition has been relatively ignored. It is important that the corpus of Spanish American women’s works not be reduced to a small group of
male writers namely Borges and García Márquez or solely to novels of magic realism (Steinmeijer 152). Even the world literature philosophies that help us to see how world literature is included and even excluded in the table of contents of any anthology seem to be dominated by men. Hopefully, in the future, world literature anthologies will find a way to include in its broad diversity, as Pizer puts it, the most "imaginative works of the globe."

Notes
1 Hispanic geographically denotes decedents from the Iberian Peninsula while Latino refers to a person from Latin America, thus including the Portuguese-speaking population.
2 Maria Eugenia Mudrovic's "Reading Latin American Literature Abroad: Agency and Canon Formation in the Sixties and Seventies" as well as Maarten Steinmeijer's "How the West Was Won: Translations of Spanish American Fiction in Europe and the United States" demonstrate the multitude of Spanish American works translated into English.
3 Téstimonio is a genre of literature that blends history and literature to retell historical events using literary elements.

Works Cited
This anthology contains such approaches and critical investigation of renowned Twentieth century British literary texts through multiple aspects. Dr. Arvind Nawale and Dr. Annie John in their very first article have attempted a brief survey of the British Literature during the 20th century focusing on the term ‘Modernism’ and its characteristic features. Modernism in literature marks the departure of traditional values and a break with history or institutions. Sudhir Chavan brings forth the modern theoretical perspective of the 20th Century British Literature. Very aptly, modernity is defined as a break with the tradition, discontinuity of culture, loss of communal meaning and a voyage within. Elements of loss and hopelessness are associated with the past but there is a vision regarding the future. 10 20th century literature. 10.1 The Generation of 1898. 10.2 The Generation of 1914 or Novecentismo. While none of their works can be considered direct ancestors of a Spanish literary tradition, it was out of the cultural milieu fostered by such intellectual energy that the first written manifestations of a Spanish literature proper arise. Medieval Spanish literature[edit]. Main article: Medieval Spanish literature.