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# The Hispanic Literary Canon in U.S. Universities

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Topic: Hispanic Literary Canon in the United States Universities

**Summary:** This report analyzes the state of the canon of Spanish-language literature in U.S. universities through the reading lists provided to students by graduate programs in Spanish literature, as well as exploring its evolution since Brown and Johnson's study about it in 1998.

**Keywords:** Literary Canon, Spanish Literature, Latin-American Literature, United States, University, Readings

## O. Introduction

Dating back to the Ancient Library of Alexandria, the concept of the literary canon has proven to be a durable one. In its over two millennia of existence, literary canons have served purposes religious and secular, promoted agendas political and personal, and have worked to define and redefine the status of both the traditional cultural elite and, most recently, to reflect upon the role played by traditionally underrepresented minority cultures in the discussion of which texts are considered as definitive.

By the 20th Century, the assessment of literary canonicity had become almost the exclusive domain of higher education, especially in the United States, binding the notion of the canon to the pedagogical functions of the modern university. In other words, canon formation became a curricular enterprise, and as modern humanistic curricula evolved at elite American universities to include first English and American literature and then other national literatures, the idea of a single literary canon fragmented in order to accommodate each distinct literary tradition, though, of course, attempts were still made to define a master Western Canon that included only the absolute best from each tradition.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See the first chapter (pp. 16 – 43) of Joan Brown’s *Confronting our Canons: Spanish and Latin American Studies in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (2010) for a more detailed summary of the history of the Western Canon. See also Harold Bloom’s *The Western Canon* (1994), particularly the first section (“On the Canon”).

In the wake of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title IX of 1972's Education Amendments Act, and the general context of cultural shift that surrounded and fomented these legislative achievements, a more diverse student body and professoriate began to take shape, especially in the 1980s and 1990s, contributing to the formation of a new guard in literary studies throughout the country. As Henry Louis Gates reminisces in 1992's *Loose Canons*:

“Ours was the generation that took over buildings in the late sixties and demanded the creation of black and women's studies programs, and now, like the return of the repressed, has come back to challenge the traditional curriculum.” (Gates 1992: 19)

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Armed with a critical vocabulary gleaned from Structuralist and then Post-Structuralist critique, this new wave of literary scholars critiqued the idea of the canon as sexist, racist, and colonialist. This, of course, coincided with an expansion in awareness of so-called World Literatures that reflected the attitudes and concerns of the post-colonial Third World. The heated debates between the old guard and new over literary value and canonical status reached their crescendo in the so-called “Culture (or Canon) Wars” of the 1980s and 90s, which transformed literary studies, forcing canon makers to admit select minority texts into the vaunted pages of university syllabi and graduate school reading lists. The hispanist Joan Brown, one of the authors of a major 1998 study of the Hispanic literary canon that will be discussed below, links the “Culture Wars” to:

“(…) the academy’s efforts to renovate the literary curriculum of the preceding century—a revision designed to take into account various “other parts” of the English-speaking population... [including] women, gays, non-Westerners, people of color, people of non-English descent, and people from lower socioeconomic strata.” (Brown 1998: 37-38)

Though Brown mentions the “English-speaking population,” the fields of Hispanic literature in the United States were certainly not immune to these “Culture Wars”, especially in Latin American literature. As Mabel Moraña points out in her *Crítica impura: Estudios de literatura y cultura latinoamericanos* (2004), the “extension to the Latin American realm of [the debates] that followed the dissemination of cultural studies in the Anglo-Saxon sphere” led to the emergence of subjectivity as a key component of canon making, signaling a shift away from the presupposition of the literary canon as objective and universal (Moraña 2004: 191. My translation). That is, non-traditional –or non-canonical, if you will– perspectives could “compete” in the process of canon formation, and within Latin American literary studies, at least, this began to occur, with more attention given to women writers, as well as to writers of indigenous and of African descent. In addition, more room was created for the study of the cultural and literary production of Hispanics in the United States. Though Spanish Peninsular literature is known for lagging behind its Latin American counterpart –what Wadda Ríos-Font refers to as an “antitheoretical bias... particularly entrenched in the peninsular field”– the study of contemporary literature written by women,

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gays, and in the minority languages of Catalan, Basque and Galician perhaps became more viable as well (Ríos-Font 2004: 15).

As a result of such shifts with respect to the determination of the literary canon –or, better yet, literary canons– which have continued to be felt in Spanish departments across the United States, it seemed the proper moment to reflect upon the previous decades of debate, contestation and redefinition, especially with respect to the meaning and constitution of the literary canon, if any such thing still existed.

This curiosity about the cultural and curricular shifts experienced by U.S. university Spanish programs was the source of a proposal made by Harvard University professor Luis Fernández-Cifuentes to Francisco Moreno-Fernández, executive director of the Observatorio of the Instituto Cervantes at Harvard, that the Observatorio conduct a study examining the current state of the Hispanic literary canon in U.S. universities. It was thus decided that the study would proceed as an official project of the Observatorio. In the preliminary meetings for the project with Professors Fernández-Cifuentes and Moreno-Fernández, a methodological framework was established. It was determined that the most efficient way to get a sense of the state of the canon of Spanish-language literature in U.S. universities was through the reading lists provided to students by graduate programs in Spanish literature. It turns out that this was the same conclusion reached by Brown and her colleague Crista Johnson before their 1998

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study (discussed below), which we had not yet read at this point in the process, though we were aware of its existence. Reading Brown and Johnson's article, and later reading Brown's 2010 book-length expansion on it, served to confirm that this was the most sensible approach.

## 1. Process and Method

The initial goal, then, was to amass a collection of reading lists from a diverse set of universities, both private and public, that represented every U.S. region, but it was equally important that these universities reflected some objective standard of educational quality. To this end, I collected four widely-recognized college and university rankings: the 2016 U.S. and World Reports Best Colleges National List, Business Insider's Best Colleges rankings for 2015, Forbes' America's Best Colleges for 2015, and the most recent Shanghai Academic Ranking of World Universities. The rankings for U.S. institutions were aggregated, and universities were sorted by the number of lists in which they appeared, with the maximum number being 4. Of the 280 colleges and universities that were ranked on at least one of our four rankings, it was determined that 76 had PhD programs in Hispanic Literature, and I was able to access reading lists online for exactly 50 of these programs. The vast majority of these lists were for MA exams, with only a handful being for PhD qualifying examinations. Other lists were for various breadth and/or first-year exams, and the smallest group consisted only of lists of suggested readings to guide students in their studies. Brown does not mention any such breadth or first-year lists in her study, suggesting that these lists are the more recent result of a negotiation process between professors in favor of larger

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canonical lists and those in favor of student choice with respect to preparing reading lists for graduate evaluations.

After sending e-mails to a select group of the remaining 26, we received four additional lists, but several of the Spanish departments we contacted informed us that they had done away with graduate reading lists altogether. This lack of definitive reading lists certainly represents the influence of the “Culture Wars” on Spanish-language PhD programs. Many programs have simply done away with a master list or set of master lists that determine what all students should know at a basic level in order to qualify for the grade of PhD. On the other hand, one of these programs, UC Berkeley, had eliminated their reading lists years ago, but informed me that they were in the process of creating a new list that they planned on using in the future.

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Increasingly prevalent are systems in which graduate students develop specific lists tailored to their individual interests in consultation with the professor or professors with whom they most closely work. In fact, this is the case at the PhD level for at least 53 of the total 76 institutions that were found to offer PhDs in Hispanic Literature. In a sense, there has been a bifurcation in examination approaches between MA exams and PhD exams in Hispanic literature programs. MA programs are much more likely to preserve the singular top-down list (from professors to students, with little room for negotiation) of supposedly canonical texts, whereas the corresponding PhD programs increasingly dispense with such

lists in favor of individualized lists made dialogically between students and professors. On the one hand, such an approach makes sense, since many PhD students have completed MA programs before entering their doctoral programs; such students will have likely already completed an exam that utilized a canonical reading list. On the other hand, numerous universities also accept students who possess a Bachelor's degree directly into the PhD program; in these cases, such students might avoid having to prove their canonical knowledge via a specific and comprehensive examination of key texts across time periods and regions.

The next step was to manually enter the contents of the various reading lists into a spreadsheet for analysis. This was accomplished via a Google Form that required information on university, text, genre, author, author's nationality, the "field" of Hispanic Literature into which the text was included, as well as any additional information on which passages or selections students were required to read and suggested editions of the required texts. At present moment, I have successfully included the contents of 50 reading lists. Only eight of these lists are full-fledged PhD reading lists, with the vast majority (35) being MA-level lists. Remaining are 7 lists that comprise a combination of general breadth reading lists that accompany first-year exams or other similar preliminary assessments.

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## 2. Antecedents

Before proceeding to discuss the results of our study, it is important to discuss a major antecedent to the current project, namely the publication by University of



Delaware professors Joan Brown and Crista Johnson of “Required Reading: The Canon in Spanish and Spanish American Literature” in the March of 1998 edition of *Hispania*. Detailing the results of an exhaustive study of the graduate reading lists for 56 PhD-granting programs in Hispanic Literature, the authors concluded that a “substantial” canon of Spanish and Spanish American literature does not exist. As the authors themselves state:

“Our results indicate that a substantial canon does not exist in our field. For Spanish literature, only two works<sup>2</sup> and two authors<sup>3</sup> are taught to all graduate students. For Spanish American literature, no work or author earns unanimous approval. The count of works that all graduate students can expect to have read in common, those with 95 percent or greater representation on the reading lists, consisted of seven works from the seventeenth century and earlier for Spanish literature, and none for Spanish American literature.” (Brown and Johnson 1998: 5)

As will be seen below, other authors and texts enter the equation when the standards of consensus are relaxed. In general, however, the authors report that there was very little consensus among the universities as to which texts best defined the sociocultural and aesthetic values of Spain and Hispanic America. The authors also found a relatively poor integration of women writers into the

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<sup>2</sup> *Lazarillo de Tormes* and *Don Quijote de la Mancha* (Brown and Johnson 1998: 14).

<sup>3</sup> Miguel de Cervantes and Benito Pérez Galdós (Brown and Johnson 1998: 10).

canonical discussion, outside of figures like Emilia Pardo Bazán and Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, for whom the threshold of inclusion had to be reduced from 100% to around 75% in the case of the former and even to 50% in the case of the latter (3-6).

Nevertheless Brown and Johnson’s dismissal of the Hispanic literary canon as “insubstantial” proves a bit strange given the wealth of information included in their data, data that prove quite demonstrably that there actually is a formidable canon in Hispanic Studies, with more than 80 literary works claiming inclusion on at least half of the 56 reading lists examined. Such a view is only possible after leaving behind aspirations for an “objective” canon built on critical unanimity and following Moraña into accepting canons as subjective and indeed dialogical, or as Ríos-Font argues, as “cultural testimonies that...incarnate many-sided power relations” and “are to be engaged with again and anew.” (Ríos-Font 2004: 29)

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In fact, it seems that Brown has tempered her expectations for a canon of unanimous consensus, given that she has revisited her investigation a few times in years subsequent to its original publication, most notably in *Confronting our Canons: Spanish and Latin American Studies in the 21st Century* (2010), where she expands upon her study to delve into the history of the literary canon as a concept, to discuss the processes of canonization, and to argue for a necessary reform to the notion of a literary canon in order to preserve the autonomy of literary criticism and of humanistic pedagogy from the increasing government

encroachment at the state and national level. The book's title is telling: *Confronting our Canons*. Clearly Brown has come to support the view that canons are plural, subjective constructs and not fixed monuments to a critical unanimity that have perhaps never been possible.

In this more recent exploration of the data from the original study, Brown organized her notion of canonicity around percentage-based tiers, allowing for what the 1998 article called a “truly broad definition of canonical” (Brown and Johnson 1998: 4). Texts or authors with an appearance rate between 100 percent and 90 percent were considered as belonging to the “Core Hispanic Canon,” while texts that appeared between 89 percent and 76 percent of the time constituted the “Nearly Core Hispanic Canon.” The final tier mentioned was the “Marginal Hispanic Canon,” which required an appearance rate between 75 percent and 50 percent (Brown 2010: 68-101). I include here a series of tables that slightly reconfigures the data from Brown and Johnson's study, so that it may be more easily compared to the results from my investigation, which will be discussed below. I am only including information that relates to the canonical texts that emerged from the original study.

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This first table represents the Peninsular texts that would qualify for what Brown calls the “Core Hispanic Canon” in 2010's *Confronting Our Canons*.

**Table 1.** “Core Peninsular Canon” as per Brown and Johnson (1998) and Brown (2010).

Work	Century	Author	1998%
<i>Lazarillo de Tormes</i>	16	Anonymous	100
<i>Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	17	Cervantes	100
<i>Cantar de Mio Cid</i>	12	Anonymous	98
<i>La Celestina</i>	16	Fernando de Rojas	96
<i>El burlador de Sevilla</i>	17	Tirso de Molina	96
<i>La vida es sueño</i>	17	Calderón	96
<i>Libro de buen amor</i>	14	Juan Ruiz	95
<i>Artículos</i>	19	Larra	93
<i>Milagros de Nuestra Señora</i>	13	Gonzalo de Berceo	91
<i>La vida del Buscón</i>	17	Quevedo	91

This table, including Peninsular texts that were present on between 89% and 75% of the lists consulted in 1998, consists of the Peninsular works that constituted what Brown refers to as the “Nearly Core Hispanic Canon.”

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**Table 2.** “Nearly Core Peninsular Canon” as per Brown and Johnson (1998) and Brown (2010).

Work	Century	Author	1998%
<i>El Conde Lucanor</i>	14	Don Juan Manuel	89
<i>Don Juan Tenorio</i>	19	José Zorrilla	89
<i>Fuenteovejuna</i>	17	Lope de Vega	84
<i>La regenta</i>	19	Clarín (Leopoldo A)	84
<i>Don Álvaro</i>	19	Duque de Rivas	84
<i>Niebla</i>	20	Unamuno	84
<i>Coplas por la muerte...</i>	15	Jorge Manrique	80
<i>La verdad sospechosa</i>	17	J. Ruiz de Alarcón	80
<i>Tiempo de silencio</i>	20	Luis Martín-Santos	80
<i>Novelas ejemplares</i>	17	Cervantes	77
<i>El sí de las niñas</i>	19	Moratín	77
<i>Pepita Jiménez</i>	19	Juan Valera	75

Here we find the Peninsular texts that constitute Brown’s “Marginal Canon.”

**Table 3.** “Marginal Peninsular Canon” as per Brown and Johnson (1998) and Brown (2010).

Work	Century	Author	1998%
<i>El caballero de Olmedo</i>	17	Lope de Vega	73
<i>La Diana</i>	16	Montemayor	71
<i>La Araucana</i>	16	Alonso de Ercilla	71
<i>Los pazos de Ulloa</i>	19	Pardo Bazán	71
<i>La casa de Bernarda Alba</i>	20	Lorca	71
<i>Cartas marruecas</i>	18	José Cadalso	70
<i>El árbol de la ciencia</i>	20	Pío Baroja	70
<i>La colmena</i>	20	Camilo José Cela	70
<i>La familia de Pascual Duarte</i>	20	Camilo José Cela	70
<i>Luces de bohemia</i>	20	Valle-Inclán	70
<i>Fortunata y Jacinta</i>	19	Galdós	66
<i>Bodas de sangre</i>	20	Lorca	66
<i>Entremeses</i>	17	Cervantes	64
<i>Sueños</i>	17	Quevedo	61
<i>Guzmán de Alfarache</i>	17	Mateo Alemán	59
<i>La deshumanización del arte</i>	20	Ortega y Gasset	59
<i>Libro de la vida</i>	16	Santa Teresa	57
<i>El estudiante de Salamanca</i>	19	Espronceda	57
<i>San Manuel Bueno, mártir</i>	20	Unamuno	57
<i>Amadís de Gaula</i>	16	Montalvo	55
<i>El alcalde de Zalamea</i>	17	Calderón	55
<i>El gran teatro del mundo</i>	17	Calderón	55
<i>Misericordia</i>	19	Galdós	55
<i>El Criticón</i>	17	Baltasar Gracián	54
<i>Auto de los Reyes Magos</i>	13	Anónimo	54
<i>Cárcel de amor</i>	15	San Pedro	52
<i>Peribáñez y el Comendador...</i>	17	Lope de Vega	52
<i>El Jarama</i>	20	Sánchez Ferlosio	52
<i>Señas de identidad</i>	20	Juan Goytisolo	52
<i>Los intereses creados</i>	20	Jacinto Benavente	52
<i>Tirano Banderas</i>	20	Valle-Inclán	50
<i>Romancero gitano</i>	20	Lorca	50

Gabriel García Márquez’s masterful novel, *Cien años de soledad*, is the only Latin American text that qualified for Brown’s “Core Hispanic Canon.”

**Table 4.** “Core Latin American Canon” as per Brown and Johnson (1998) and Brown (2010).

Work	Century	Author	1998%
Cien años de soledad	20	García Márquez	93

These texts were Latin America’s contribution to Brown’s “Nearly Core Hispanic Canon.”

**Table 5.** “Nearly Core Latin American Canon” as per Brown and Johnson (1998) and Brown (2010).

Work	Century	Author	1998%
<i>Ficciones</i>	20	Borges	89
<i>Pedro Páramo</i>	20	Juan Rulfo	84
<i>La muerte de Artemio Cruz</i>	20	Carlos Fuentes	82
<i>Martín Fierro</i>	19	José Hernández	80
<i>Facundo</i>	19	Sarmiento	80
<i>Los de abajo</i>	20	Mariano Azuela	80
<i>Doña Bárbara</i>	20	Rómulo Gallegos	79
<i>Don Segundo Sombra</i>	20	Ricardo Güiraldes	77
<i>Ariel</i>	19	Rodó	75

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And finally, here is the Latin American cohort of takes that were incorporated into Brown’s “Marginal Hispanic Canon”.

**Table 6.** “Marginal Latin American Canon” as per Brown and Johnson (1998) and Brown (2010).

Work	Century	Author	1998%
<i>El matadero</i>	19	Echeverría	73
<i>María</i>	19	Jorge Isaacs	71
<i>El señor presidente</i>	20	Miguel A Asturias	71
<i>La vorágine</i>	20	J Eustasio Rivera	71
<i>Rayuela</i>	20	Julio Cortázar	71

Work	Century	Author	1998%
<i>El laberinto de la soledad</i>	20	Octavio Paz	71
<i>Comentarios reales</i>	17	El Inca Garcilaso	70
<i>Los pasos perdidos</i>	20	Alejo Carpentier	68
<i>El periquillo sarniento</i>	19	Lizardi	66
<i>Respuesta a Sor Filotea</i>	17	Sor Juana	64
<i>Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España</i>	17	Bernal Díaz	59
<i>El gesticulador</i>	20	Rodolfo Usigli	59
<i>Segunda carta de relación</i>	16	Hernán Cortés	57
<i>Cuentos de amor, de locura...</i>	20	Horacio Quiroga	57
<i>Los ríos profundos</i>	20	Arguedas	55
<i>Tradiciones peruanas</i>	19	Ricardo Palma	54
<i>Altazor</i>	20	Vicente Huidobro	54
<i>Tres tristes tigres</i>	20	Cabrera Infante	52
<i>Residencia en la tierra</i>	20	Pablo Neruda	50

In casting a wider look at the notions and value of a canon in Hispanic literature in particular and in Western literature in general, Brown and Johnson have done a great service to the future of humanistic endeavor in the U.S. and has certainly proven to be an unwitting model and support for the current study and for many of the conclusions drawn from the results. Nevertheless, nearly twenty years after this initial examination of the actual statistical realities of the Hispanic literary canon in U.S. universities, perhaps it is now the time to update the numbers, to revisit the statistical inquiry to see if any changes have occurred within the realm of Hispanic canonicity in the U.S. Any significant shifts in the data could serve, certainly, to give a more up-to-date account of the existence (or lack thereof) of this particular canon; more importantly, they might provide valuable information about how canons shift over the course of measurable time. This would potentially allow us look into the very nature of canonicity itself.

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And so, 18 years after the publication of Brown and Johnson's article, here are the results of the present study on the current state of the canon within Spanish-language and literature programs across the United States.

### 3. Results

#### Genre

In the present investigation, primary texts encompassed a diverse set of genres: prose fiction, prose nonfiction, poetry, drama, film, and even visual art. Secondary texts were culled from literary criticism. Each text was entered into a Google Form that included information on the name, gender, primary language of production and/or nationality, as well as genre<sup>4</sup>, university reading list, time period (according to the individual lists), relevant selections from the given text (in the case of anthologies or collections of poems, short stories, essays, etc.), and even editorial information (if specific editions of texts were suggested on individual reading lists). The input of the contents of the 50 reading lists included in the study produced a total of 10,896 database entries overall. The longest list was a MA exam reading list containing 469 total entries between the Peninsular and Latin American lists, while the shortest was another MA exam reading list with just 39 texts. In total, the entries representing Spanish Peninsular Literature reach 5,356 entries, while those for Latin American Literature reach 5,540.

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<sup>4</sup> Classification of genre, of course, is a complex issue, especially in Medieval, Renaissance, and Early Modern literature. For Peninsular literature, we made use of various volumes of Cátedra's *Cronología de la literatura española* to resolve doubts on questions of genre classification. See reference section for information on which specific volumes were consulted.



With respect to Peninsular Literature, of the 5,356 total entries included, 1,641 corresponded to works of poetry. Of these 369 were individual poems, while 355 books of poetry were also included. Finally, 594 entries were categorized as selections of poems, and 323 entries referred to poetic anthologies. If a poetic anthology was named on a reading list alongside the selections to be read in the anthology, an entry was made for the anthology itself as well as for any of the specific selections listed.

There were also 1,629 entries that related to various forms of Peninsular fiction. 1,366 of these texts were novels, with 114 books of short stories and 69 books of short novels. 41 individual short stories were included, in addition to 16 selections of assorted short stories, 10 short story anthologies, and one isolated short novel. The database also contained 12 hybrid books of short stories and poems, with the majority (if not the totality) of these being Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer's *Rimas y leyendas*.

Drama is a relatively straightforward genre in the database, with 947 entries related to individual works of drama. Additionally, there were 17 anthologies of theatrical works and 5 selections of assorted works.

558 entries came from works of nonfiction. There were also 433 entries corresponding to literary criticism and a final 108 works reflecting the presence of other media, with 106 films and 2 works of visual art represented.

**Table 7. Peninsular Texts by Genre.**

Poetry Total	1,641
Other Media Total	108
Non-Fiction Total	558
Miscellaneous Total	40
Fiction Total	1,629
Drama Total	947
Criticism Total	433
Grand Total	5,356

For Latin American literature, out of the total 5,540 texts, 1,840 represented works of fiction, with 1,352 novels, 179 books of short stories, and 123 individual short stories. Beyond this, there were 81 entries that reflected selections of various short stories and 51 that indicated anthologies of short stories. Finally, there were 28 books containing both short stories and poems, as well as 23 works of indigenous American mythology.

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1,433 entries were labeled as non-fiction. This included 625 works, of various length, labeled as essays. 476 entries represented the so-called *crónicas de Indias*, narrative accounts of voyages, expeditions, and daily life during the colonial period, when Spain asserted its imperial dominance over the Americas and parts of the Pacific. 122 entries reflected autobiography and memoirs, while 80 works were considered to be works of history. 53 entries were labeled as works of anthropology or ethnography, with the vast majority (if not all) of these works listed as such due to a university reading list that specifically included works of anthropology and ethnography.

There were also 1,338 texts listed under the category of poetry. Here, there were 440 selections of varied poems, 422 complete books of poetry, 330 individual poems, and 144 poetic anthologies. After poetry, the next most-represented genres were criticism with 400 appearances, 89 of which were anthologies, and drama with 371 total mentions, 369 of which were for individual works of drama.

Finally, 80 films were included in the lists for Latin American literature, and 78 miscellaneous works were included, usually reflecting hybrid collections such as literary anthologies, readers, and complete works.

**Table 8.** Latin American Texts by Genre.

Poetry Total	1,338
Other Media Total	80
Non-Fiction Total	1,433
Miscellaneous Total	78
Fiction Total	1,840
Drama Total	371
Criticism Total	400
Grand Total	5,540

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### *Representation of Individual Authors*

It is important to differentiate between the gross total of times that an author appears, including repetitions within unique lists, from the number of lists that an author appears on at least once. The latter figure, especially when taken as the percentage of the total number of lists that an author appears on at least once, provides us with the key statistical measure of an author's canonicity.

In function of this metric, the only truly universal Peninsular author is Miguel de Cervantes, who appears on all 49 of the lists that included Peninsular Spanish literature. Of course, looking at the table, *Anonymous* would also appear to be a universally canonical author, since texts without an confirmed author appear on every Peninsular list; nevertheless, no text with an anonymous author appears universally, so it is clear that there is no merit in considering Anonymous as an individual author.

After Cervantes, the most universal Peninsular authors are Federico García Lorca, Benito Pérez Galdós, Pedro Calderón de la Barca, and Fernando de Rojas. These authors, who span five centuries of Spanish literature, all appear on 48 of 49 Peninsular lists for an overall percentage of 98. Lope de Vega, Miguel de Unamuno, Don Juan Manuel, Juan Ruiz, Tirso de Molina, Ramón del Valle-Inclán, Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer and Camilo José Cela round out the lists of authors who appear on 90 percent or more of the Peninsular reading lists. All of these authors, of course, are men, a fact that confirms the precedence of males at the higher reaches of the Spanish Peninsular literary canon. Priority seems to be given to authors from the 17<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, which combine to make up more than half of this core authorial canon.

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**Table 9.** Representation of Peninsular Authors (on 90% to 100% of Reading Lists).

Author	Century	Lists	Percent of Lists	Gender	Language
Anonymous		49	100	M	Spanish
Miguel de Cervantes	17	49	100	M	Spanish
Federico García Lorca	20	48	98	M	Spanish

Author	Century	Lists	Percent of Lists	Gender	Language
Benito Pérez Galdós	19	48	98	M	Spanish
Pedro Calderón de la Barca	17	48	98	M	Spanish
Fernando de Rojas	16	48	98	M	Spanish
Lope de Vega	17	47	96	M	Spanish
Miguel de Unamuno	20	47	96	M	Spanish
Don Juan Manuel	14	46	94	M	Spanish
Juan Ruiz	14	46	94	M	Spanish
Tirso de Molina	17	45	92	M	Spanish
Ramón del Valle-Inclán	20	44	90	M	Spanish
Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer	19	44	90	M	Spanish
Camilo José Cela	20	44	90	M	Spanish

Women begin to appear when the percentage thresholds for canonicity are lowered, with three female authors making the Peninsular canon at a rate between 89 and 75 percent. Of the 17 authors in this fragment of the canon, only three are women, making up less than 20 percent of this subset of the Peninsular canon, and only 10 percent of the top 30 canonical authors. With respect to time periods, we see that 19<sup>th</sup> century authors make the biggest impression at this level of the canon, with 20<sup>th</sup> century texts not far behind.

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**Table 10.** Representation of Peninsular Authors (on 75% to 89% of Reading Lists).

Author	Century	Lists	Percent of Lists	Gender	Language
Francisco de Quevedo	17	43	88	M	Spanish
Emilia Pardo Bazán	19	43	88	F	Spanish
Clarín (Leopoldo Alas)	19	43	88	M	Spanish
Carmen Martín Gaité	20	43	88	F	Spanish
José Zorrilla	19	43	88	M	Spanish
Luis de Góngora y Argote	17	42	86	M	Spanish
Mariano José de Larra	19	42	86	M	Spanish
Luis Martín-Santos	20	42	86	M	Spanish
Leandro Fernández de Moratín	18-19	41	84	M	Spanish
Antonio Machado	20	41	84	M	Spanish
Garcilaso de la Vega	16	41	84	M	Spanish
Fray Luis de León	16	40	82	M	Spanish
José de Espronceda	19	38	78	M	Spanish
Gonzalo de Berceo	13	38	78	M	Spanish
Carmen Laforet	20	38	78	F	Spanish
San Juan de la Cruz	16	37	76	M	Spanish
Jorge Manrique	15	37	76	M	Spanish

This final grouping of Peninsular authors corresponds to Brown's "Marginally-Core Hispanic Canon". Again, women authors are scarce, occurring around 20 percent of the time. The 20<sup>th</sup> Century is by far the most frequent century for Peninsular authors at this level of canonicity, providing exactly half of the 14 primary authors. The 15<sup>th</sup> name represented here refers to anthologies of Golden Age and Baroque poetry put together by American hispanist Elias Rivers. That Rivers' name appears on 59 percent of all Peninsular lists as an editor is a strong testament to his importance with respect to the formation of the canon of Golden Age and Renaissance Spanish literature in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, as well as to the value of comprehensive anthologies for literary studies. No other anthologist makes the canon for Spanish or Latin American literature above the 50% threshold, but there are several anthologies that appeared repeatedly throughout the lists included in this study. Also of note is the presence of Rosalía de Castro, the 19<sup>th</sup> century Galician poet, not only because she is a woman, but also because she is the only author to make the 50% canon for Peninsular literature who wrote significantly in a language other than Castilian Spanish.

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**Table 11.** Representation of Peninsular Authors (on 50% to 74% of Reading Lists).

Author	Century	Lists	Percent of Lists	Gender	Language
José Ortega y Gasset	20	35	71	M	Spanish
Antonio Buero Vallejo	20	35	71	M	Spanish
Pío Baroja	20	34	69	M	Spanish
Juan Ramón Jiménez	20	34	69	M	Spanish
José Cadalso	18	34	69	M	Spanish
Juan Goytisolo	20	33	67	M	Spanish
Santa Teresa de Ávila	16	32	65	F	Spanish
Rosalía de Castro	19	31	63	F	Spanish, Gallego
Duque de Rivas	19	31	63	M	Spanish
María de Zayas	17	30	61	F	Spanish
Ed. Elias Rivers	20	29	59		
Luis Cernuda	20	26	53	M	Spanish
Juan Valera	19	26	53	M	Spanish
Diego de San Pedro	15	26	53	M	Spanish
Benito Jerónimo Feijoo	18	25	51	M	Spanish

The following nine Peninsular authors can be seen as nearly canonical. Most of these authors –Alfonso X the Wise, Jorge de Montemayor, Vicente Aleixandre, Jorge Guillén, and Alfonso Sastre– did qualify as canonical in Brown and Johnson’s study and have since fallen out of favor. On the other hand, authors such as Ana María Matute, Mercé Rodoreda, and Jaime Gil de Biedma, have apparently grown in stature in the last twenty years and might very well achieve canonical status in the coming years.

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**Table 12.** Representation of Peninsular Authors (just below the determined threshold for canonicity).

Author	Century	Lists	Percent of Lists	Gender	Language
Ana María Matute	20	24	49	F	Spanish
Alfonso X	13	23	47	M	Spanish
Mercé Rodoreda	20	22	45	F	Catalan
Jorge de Montemayor	16	22	45	M	Spanish
Jorge Guillén	20	21	43	M	Spanish
Jaime Gil de Biedma	20	21	43	M	Spanish
Alfonso Sastre	20	21	43	M	Spanish
Vicente Aleixandre	15	21	43	M	Spanish
Marqués de Santillana	20	20	41	M	Spanish

Of the 43 individual authors (excluding Anonymous and Elias Rivers) that were included on at least half of the Peninsular reading lists, only six, or 14% were women. This means that the rate of individual women within the most canonical tiers of Peninsular literature is virtually identical to that of women authors when the total number of entries was examined with repetitions of authors (13%). Looking ahead to Table 21, we see that a woman was an author of a primary Peninsular text 22% of the time. This suggests a remarkable uniformity of male dominance across all Peninsular lists, and among texts both canonical and marginal. The gender gap that Brown and Johnson refer to –and that Brown reiterates in her 2010 book– remains firmly intact for Spanish Peninsular literature in the United States.

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For Latin American literature, there are two authors who appear universally on the 50 reading lists included in this study: Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz and El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega. It is interesting that they both are seventeenth-century authors, reflecting the burgeoning tradition of *criollo* writing that would boom in the twentieth century with authors like Jorge Luis Borges and Gabriel García Márquez. Not coincidentally, these two authors are the next most universal Latin American authors, appearing on 98 percent (48 out of 50) of the reading lists. Given the male-centeredness of Hispanic literature in general, it is surprising that Sor Juana is among the most-read authors in the Spanish-language literary tradition, but the quality of her literary work across various genres (drama, essay, poetry) ensures a widespread readership, with some universities highlighting her



poetic work exclusively and others primarily drawing from her nonfiction *Respuesta a Sor Filotea*, for example.

In the most select level of 90% representation or more, Sor Juana is the only woman writer present. In terms of century, the 20<sup>th</sup> Century authors dominate this core group of canonical Latin American authors, claiming 8 of the 12 spots. The 19<sup>th</sup> Century was the primary era of literary productivity for three of the 12, but one of these, Rubén Darío, could also be claimed for the 20<sup>th</sup> Century as well, since much of his best work was composed and published in the early 1900s. There is also some geographical diversity among these 12 authors. Argentina, Mexico, Peru, and Cuba all appear more than once, but there is also representation from Colombia, Nicaragua, and Chile, filling out somewhat the overall map of the Americas.

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**Table 13.** Representation of Latin American Authors (on 90% to 100% of Reading Lists).

Author	Century	Lists	Percent of Lists	Gender	Country
Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz	17	50	100	F	Mexico
El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega	17	50	100	M	Peru
Jorge Luis Borges	20	49	98	M	Argentina
Gabriel García Márquez	20	49	98	M	Colombia
Domingo Faustino Sarmiento	19	48	96	M	Argentina
César Vallejo	20	47	94	M	Peru
José Martí	19	46	92	M	Cuba
Rubén Darío	19	46	92	M	Nicaragua
Julio Cortázar	20	46	92	M	Argentina
Alejo Carpentier	20	46	92	M	Cuba
Juan Rulfo	20	46	92	M	Mexico
Pablo Neruda	20	45	90	M	Chile

The canonical level between 90% and 75% boasts two Spanish writers from the Colonial Period: Christopher Columbus and Bartolomé de las Casas. Of course, Columbus was likely from Genoa in what is now Italy, but I have included him as a Spanish writer since he related his *Viajes* in Spanish and in the name of the Spanish Crown. In addition to Columbus and Las Casas, the two 19<sup>th</sup> Century authors present at this level are vastly outnumbered, again, by 20<sup>th</sup> century writers, whether novelists or poets. Minus the Spanish authors, who were both mostly based in the Caribbean, the writers on this tier come from the same countries that were most numerous above (Argentina, Mexico, Peru), in addition to Chile, which now joins their ranks with its two authors, both 20<sup>th</sup> century poets. Of the ten authors included here, only two are women, Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, the 19<sup>th</sup> Century Cuban (and Spanish) novelist and poet, and Gabriela Mistral, the 20<sup>th</sup> Century Chilean poet and Nobel laureate. The Latin American Boom is represented here by the Peruvian Mario Vargas Llosa and the Mexican Carlos Fuentes.

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**Table 14.** Representation of Latin American Authors (on 75% to 89% of Reading Lists).

Author	Century	Lists	Percent of Lists	Gender	Country
Cristóbal Colón	15-16	43	86	M	Spain
Bartolomé de Las Casas	16	43	86	M	Spain
Mario Vargas Llosa	20	40	80	M	Peru
José Hernández	19	40	80	M	Argentina
Nicolás Guillén	20	39	78	M	Cuba
José María Arguedas	20	39	78	M	Peru
Vicente Huidobro	20	38	76	M	Chile
Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda	19	38	76	F	Cuba
Carlos Fuentes	20	38	76	M	Mexico
Gabriela Mistral	20	38	76	F	Chile

Of the final 25 authors to achieve at least 50% representation across the 50 Latin American literature lists, only 5, or 23%, are women. Whether or not Uruguayan essayist José Enrique Rodó is considered a 20<sup>th</sup> century author, the 20<sup>th</sup> Century again leads all other centuries in terms of authorial representation. Without Rodó, there are 10 authors from the 20<sup>th</sup> century, or 40 percent of the authors on this tier of Latin American canonicity. If Rodó is grouped with the 19<sup>th</sup> century authors—even though his most popular work, *Ariel*, was published in 1900—there are nine 19<sup>th</sup> century authors here, representing a good range of literary styles, including Simón Bolívar and his discourses on Latin American independence from Spain. The 16<sup>th</sup> Century also makes several appearances at this level of the Latin American literary canon, representing what could be seen as the second wave of the Spanish colonial project. Both Hernán Cortés and Cabeza de Vaca appear on 72 percent of all Latin American lists, while Bernal Díaz del Castillo and Spanish epic poet Alonso de Ercilla appear on 68 percent of those same lists. All four of these colonial-era authors were Spanish-born, making Spain the most represented country at this level of the canon, along with Peru. Argentina, Colombia, Venezuela, and Mexico claim three authors, while Uruguay and Guatemala appear twice, and Chile just once, female fiction writer María Luisa Bombal.

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**Table 15.** Representation of Latin American Authors (on 50% to 74% of Reading Lists).

Author	Cent	Lists	Percent of Lists	Gender	Country
Andrés Bello	19	37	74	M	Venezuela
Esteban Echeverría	19	37	74	M	Argentina
José Enrique Rodó	19-20	37	74	M	Uruguay
Hernán Cortés	16	36	72	M	Spain
Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca	16	36	72	M	Spain
Horacio Quiroga	20	35	70	M	Uruguay
Manuel Puig	20	35	70	M	Argentina
Jorge Isaacs	19	35	70	M	Colombia
Mariano Azuela	20	34	68	M	Mexico
Alonso de Ercilla	16	34	68	M	Spain
Bernal Díaz del Castillo	16	34	68	M	Spain
Miguel Ángel Asturias	20	32	64	M	Guatemala
José Eustasio Rivera	20	32	64	M	Colombia
Simón Bolívar	19	30	60	M	Venezuela
Rómulo Gallegos	20	30	60	M	Venezuela
Rigoberta Menchú	20	29	58	F	Guatemala
Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala	16-17	29	58	M	Peru
María Luisa Bombal	20	28	56	F	Chile
Clorinda Matto de Turner	19	28	56	F	Peru
José Carlos Mariátegui	20	28	56	M	Peru
José Asunción Silva	19	27	54	M	Colombia
Elena Poniatowska	20	26	52	F	Mexico
Ricardo Palma	19	26	52	M	Peru
Alfonsina Storni	20	25	50	F	Argentina
José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi	19	25	50	M	Mexico

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The following authors find themselves just slightly outside of the 50 percent canon for Latin American literature. Four of them have fallen from canonical status over the course of the last 18 years: Mexican playwright Rodolfo Usigli, Mexican poet and short fiction writer Manuel Gutiérrez Nájera, Argentine novelist Ricardo Güiraldes, and the Argentine poet and short fiction writer Leopoldo Lugones. On the other hand, all three women writers on this nearly-canonical list have grown in stature since Brown and Johnson's original study, reflecting the fact that the increased inclusivity called for during the 80s and 90s has begun to take effect, even if those changes are not yet fully visible at the levels of 50% canonicity and higher. Ángel Rama, perhaps Latin America's finest critic, is also

worth tracking in the future, as his work—in particular, *La ciudad letrada*—has become a primary text on many reading lists. Colonial era writers like Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora and Carrió de la Vandra are evidence of the expansion of the field of Colonial Studies in recent decades, and Cirilo Villaverde’s presence attests to the revalorization of his 19<sup>th</sup> century novel *Cecilia Valdés*.

**Table 16.** Representation of Latin American Authors (just below determined threshold for canonicity).

Author	Cent	Lists	Percent of Lists	Gender	Country
Delmira Agustini	20	24	48	F	Uruguay
Rodolfo Usigli	20	24	48	M	Mexico
Alonso Carrió de la Vandra	18	24	48	M	Spain
Ángel Rama	20	23	46	M	Uruguay
Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora	17	23	46	M	Mexico
Griselda Gambaro	20	23	46	F	Argentina
Ernesto Cardenal	20	23	46	M	Nicaragua
Manuel Gutiérrez Nájera	19	22	44	M	Mexico
Elena Garro	20	22	44	F	Mexico
Nicanor Parra	20	22	44	M	Chile
Ricardo Güiraldes	20	22	44	M	Argentina
Roberto Bolaño	20	21	42	M	Chile
Cirilo Villaverde	19	21	42	M	Cuba
Leopoldo Lugones	19-20	20	40	M	Argentina

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### *Representation of Total Appearances of Individual Authors*

We have just examined the authorial canons for both Spanish Peninsular and Latin American literatures when assessed in terms of the number of times that authors appear on individual reading lists at least once, without repetition. Nevertheless, it becomes apparent that there are many benefits to looking at the total number of appearances in combination with the primary criterion of author representation on university lists. Authors who appear on a high percentage of

lists but also with a high number of overall mentions across those lists would appear to obtain a particularly entrenched canonical status that cuts across genres and perhaps even regions and time periods. This does not, of course, detract from authors who have become solidly canonical by virtue of one outstanding text (*La Celestina*, *Libro de buen amor*, *Comentarios reales*, just to name a few examples), but it does add depth and indeed volume to our ideas of what canonicity is.

When Anonymous is excluded, the Peninsular authors who make the most total appearances on the graduate reading lists are Federico García Lorca and Lope de Vega, with 158 and 146 total appearances, respectively. In the case of Lorca, this is explained by his vitality in both poetry and drama. In fact, Lorca averages slightly more than three appearances per list, which is almost a full appearance higher per unique list than Miguel de Cervantes, which is the most canonical author based on 100 percent representation across the lists. Lope de Vega claims the second highest number of total appearances, which is interesting given that the overwhelming majority of these appearances are for works of drama. Nevertheless, Lope appears at an average rate of over 3 times per list, meaning an average of three works per list.

After Lorca and Lope de Vega, Benito Pérez Galdós is next, with a total of 127 appearances, for an average of more than 2.5 appearances per list. Like Lope, Galdós's appearances are overwhelmingly the fruit of one genre —novels, in this

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case— showing how important Galdós (who appeared on 100 percent of lists in 1998) remains to the notion of the Peninsular novel. Miguel de Cervantes, the most canonical author across the Peninsular lists, also appears quite frequently, with an average of slightly less than 2.5 appearances per list. Given the almost ubiquity of *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, which was coupled with the frequent appearances of his *Novelas ejemplares* and the occasional inclusion of his dramatic works, it is quite evident why Cervantes appears so often in terms of volume of appearances.

The only other authors to appear more than 100 times total were dramatist Pedro Calderón de la Barca and multifaceted author Miguel de Unamuno, with 108 and 104 total appearances respectively. Calderón was exclusively a playwright on these lists, with the vast majority of his inclusions being for *La vida es sueño* and some other theatrical work, either *El médico de su honra* or *El gran teatro del mundo*. Unamuno was included as a novelist and essayist, and occasionally as a poet. Baroque era multi-genre author Francisco de Quevedo appeared a total of 89 times on the 43 lists that he was included on, representing a mix of his poetry, his picaresque novel *El buscón*, and also occasional inclusions of his satirical prose<sup>5</sup>. Ramón del Valle-Inclán is the last author to average two appearances for every list on which he was included, with a total of 88 appearances across 44

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<sup>5</sup> In addition, it is worth noting that Quevedo is prominently featured in anthologies by the aforementioned Elias Rivers. Unfortunately, this is not represented in the data generated by current study, but it gives a deeper sense of his canonical weight. A future study that focuses on the contents of literary anthologies would prove quite fruitful to an analysis of the Hispanic literary canon.

lists. The play *Luces de Bohemia* was his most frequent work by far, but his overall contribution to the canon was buttressed by one or more of his *Sonatas*, all works of literary fiction.

On the other end of the spectrum, there are authors like Fernando de Rojas, Don Juan Manuel, Juan Ruiz, Tirso de Molina, and Luis Martín-Santos, among others, who largely only achieve canonical status on the strength of one single work.

**Table 17.** Representation of Peninsular Authors including total appearances in database.

Author	Century	Total Appearances	Unique Lists	Gender	Percent of Lists
Anonymous		261	49	M	100
Miguel de Cervantes	17	119	49	M	100
Federico García Lorca	20	158	48	M	98
Benito Pérez Galdós	19	127	48	M	98
Pedro Calderón de la Barca	17	108	48	M	98
Fernando de Rojas	16	49	48	M	98
Lope de Vega	17	146	47	M	96
Miguel de Unamuno	20	104	47	M	96
Don Juan Manuel	14	48	46	M	94
Juan Ruiz	14	46	46	M	94
Tirso de Molina	17	54	45	M	92
Ramón del Valle-Inclán	20	88	44	M	90
Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer	19	64	44	M	90
Camilo José Cela	20	60	44	M	90
Francisco de Quevedo	17	89	43	M	88
Emilia Pardo Bazán	19	75	43	F	88
Clarín (Leopoldo Alas)	19	62	43	M	88
Carmen Martín Gaité	20	56	43	F	88
José Zorrilla	19	48	43	M	88
Luis de Góngora y Argote	17	73	42	M	86
Mariano José de Larra	19	50	42	M	86
Luis Martín-Santos	20	44	42	M	86
Leandro Fernández de Moratín	18-19	52	41	M	84
Antonio Machado	20	52	41	M	84
Garcilaso de la Vega	16	45	41	M	84
Fray Luis de León	16	51	40	M	82
José de Espronceda	19	57	38	M	78
Gonzalo de Berceo	13	43	38	M	78
Carmen Laforet	20	38	38	F	78
San Juan de la Cruz	16	44	37	M	76
Jorge Manrique	15	41	37	M	76
José Ortega y Gasset	20	55	35	M	71
Antonio Buero Vallejo	20	47	35	M	71
Pío Baroja	20	43	34	M	69
Juan Ramón Jiménez	20	42	34	M	69

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Author	Century	Total Appearances	Unique Lists	Gender	Percent of Lists
José Cadalso	18	41	34	M	69
Juan Goytisolo	20	44	33	M	67
Santa Teresa de Ávila	16	46	32	F	65
Rosalía de Castro	19	38	31	F	63
Duque de Rivas	19	33	31	M	63
María de Zayas	17	50	30	F	61
Ed. Elias Rivers	20	32	29		59
Luis Cernuda	20	30	26	M	53
Juan Valera	19	28	26	M	53
Diego de San Pedro	15	26	26	M	53
Benito Jerónimo Feijoo	18	27	25	M	51

**Table 18.** Representation of Peninsular Authors by total appearances per unique lists.

Author	Century	Total Appearances	Unique Lists	Appear per list	Gender	Percent of Lists
Anónimo		261	49	5.32	M	100
Federico García Lorca	20	158	48	3.29	M	98
Lope de Vega	17	146	47	3.11	M	96
Benito Pérez Galdós	19	127	48	2.65	M	98
Miguel de Cervantes	17	119	49	2.43	M	100
Pedro Calderón de la Barca	17	108	48	2.25	M	98
Miguel de Unamuno	20	104	47	2.21	M	96
Francisco de Quevedo	17	89	43	2.07	M	88
Ramón del Valle-Inclán	20	88	44	2	M	90
Emilia Pardo Bazán	19	75	43	1.74	F	88
Luis de Góngora y Argote	17	73	42	1.74	M	86
María de Zayas	17	50	30	1.67	F	61
José Ortega y Gasset	20	55	35	1.57	M	71
José de Espronceda	19	57	38	1.5	M	78
Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer	19	64	44	1.45	M	90
Clarín (Leopoldo Alas)	19	62	43	1.44	M	88
Santa Teresa de Ávila	16	46	32	1.44	F	65
Camilo José Cela	20	60	44	1.36	M	90
Antonio Buero Vallejo	20	47	35	1.34	M	71
Juan Goytisolo	20	44	33	1.33	M	67
Carmen Martín Gaité	20	56	43	1.30	F	88
Fray Luis de León	16	51	40	1.28	M	82
Leandro Fernández de Moratín	18-19	52	41	1.27	M	84
Antonio Machado	20	52	41	1.27	M	84
Pío Baroja	20	43	34	1.26	M	69
Juan Ramón Jiménez	20	42	34	1.24	M	69
Rosalía de Castro	19	38	31	1.23	F	63
José Cadalso	18	41	34	1.21	M	69
Tirso de Molina	17	54	45	1.2	M	92
Mariano José de	19	50	42	1.19	M	86

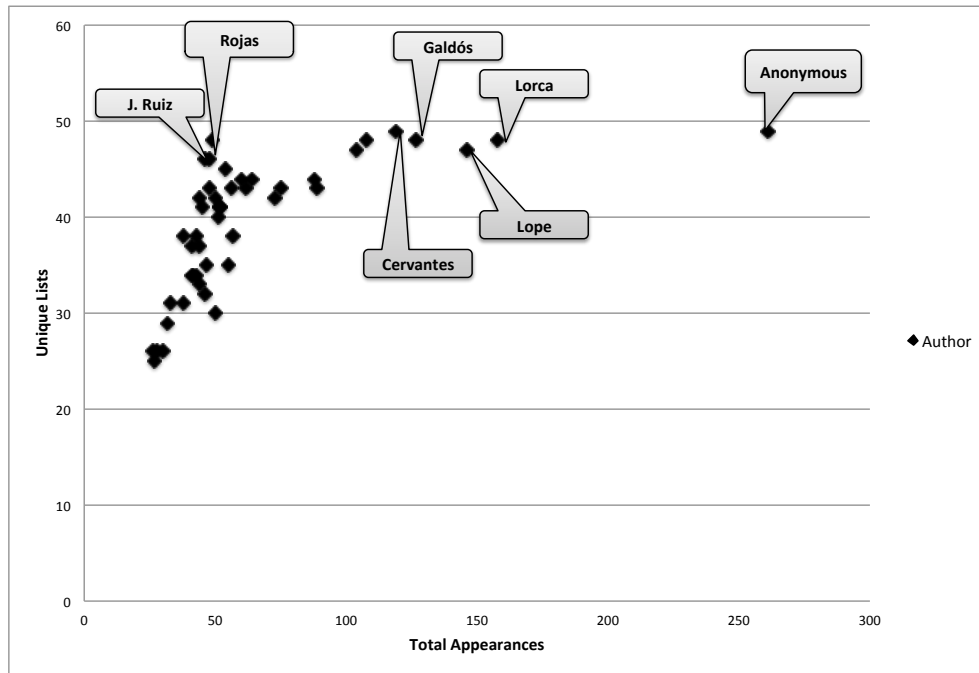
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Author	Century	Total Appearances	Unique Lists	Appear per list	Gender	Percent of Lists
Larra						
San Juan de la Cruz	16	44	37	1.19	M	76
Luis Cernuda	20	30	26	1.15	M	53
Gonzalo de Berceo	13	43	38	1.13	M	78
José Zorrilla	19	48	43	1.12	M	88
Jorge Manrique	15	41	37	1.11	M	76
Ed. Elias Rivers	20	32	29	1.10		59
Garcilaso de la Vega	16	45	41	1.10	M	84
Benito Jerónimo Feijoo	18	27	25	1.08	M	51
Juan Valera	19	28	26	1.08	M	53
Duque de Rivas	19	33	31	1.06	M	63
Luis Martín-Santos	20	44	42	1.05	M	86
Don Juan Manuel	14	48	46	1.04	M	94
Fernando de Rojas	16	49	48	1.02	M	98
Juan Ruiz	14	46	46	1	M	94
Carmen Laforet	20	38	38	1	F	78
Diego de San Pedro	15	26	26	1	M	53

A scatter chart plotting the number of lists appeared on at least once on the y-axis and total number of appearances on the x-axis provides an interesting visual for this measure of canonical volume. In the top-left of the chart, we see the authors that appeared consistently across lists with a low number of total appearances, while the authors who can boast a high number of total appearances tend to find themselves toward the top-center portion of the chart. The point that is located in the upper-right refers to Anonymous.

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**Chart 1.** Spanish Peninsular Authors by Appearances on Unique Lists and Total Appearances.



On the Latin American side, the authors with the most voluminous presence in the canon are Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz with 146 total appearances, José Martí with 135 and Rubén Darío with 106. Sor Juana by far outpaces the rest of the field, appearing at an average of nearly 3 times per each unique list. This makes sense given her importance as an essayist, poet, and playwright within the context of Colonial Latin American literature, and it also makes much sense that José Martí would be second on the list of total appearances since he expertly cultivated poetry, essays, and even a novel, *Lucía Jerez*, that was included occasionally on the reading lists. Darío averages over two works per list almost entirely due to the influence of his poetry/short fiction hybrid *Azul*, which was

inevitably coupled with another volume of only poetry, usually either *Prosas profanas* or *Cantos de vida y esperanza*.

After Darío, the only other Latin American author to average more than two entries per unique list was Mexican poet and essayist Octavio Paz, who claimed 91 total appearances across 43 lists. His seminal nonfiction work *El laberinto de la soledad* when coupled with a work of his poetry explains why. After Paz, the most voluminous author appears to be Jorge Luis Borges with 84 appearances over 49 reading lists, followed by Peruvian poet César Vallejo with 80 total appearances on 47 lists. Many Latin American authors seem to have gained canonical status on the strength of one work, and writers such as José Hernández (*Martín Fierro*), Bartolomé de las Casas (*Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*), the universally canonical Inca Garcilaso de la Vega (*Comentarios reales*) and Gabriel García Márquez (*Cien años de soledad*) are examples of this phenomenon.

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**Table 19.** Representation of Latin American Authors by Total Appearances in Database.

Author	Century	Total Appearances	Unique Lists	Gender
Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz	17	146	50	F
El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega	17	55	50	M
Jorge Luis Borges	20	84	49	M
Gabriel García Márquez	20	59	49	M
Domingo Faustino Sarmiento	19	49	48	M
César Vallejo	20	80	47	M
José Martí	19	135	46	M
Rubén Darío	19	104	46	M
Julio Cortázar	20	73	46	M
Alejo Carpentier	20	67	46	M
Juan Rulfo	20	63	46	M
Pablo Neruda	20	70	45	M
Octavio Paz	20	91	43	M
Cristóbal Colón	15-16	55	43	M

Author	Century	Total Appearances	Unique Lists	Gender
Bartolomé de Las Casas	16	46	43	M
Mario Vargas Llosa	20	53	40	M
José Hernández	19	41	40	M
Nicolás Guillén	20	57	39	M
José María Arguedas	20	48	39	M
Vicente Huidobro	20	57	38	M
Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda	19	55	38	F
Carlos Fuentes	20	49	38	M
Gabriela Mistral	20	45	38	F
Rosario Castellanos	20	63	37	F
Andrés Bello	19	57	37	M
Esteban Echeverría	19	44	37	M
José Enrique Rodó	19-20	38	37	M
Hernán Cortés	16	38	36	M
Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca	16	37	36	M
Horacio Quiroga	20	42	35	M
Manuel Puig	20	40	35	M
Jorge Isaacs	19	35	35	M
Mariano Azuela	20	35	34	M
Alonso de Ercilla	16	34	34	M
Bernal Díaz del Castillo	16	34	34	M
Miguel Ángel Asturias	20	37	32	M
José Eustasio Rivera	20	32	32	M
Simón Bolívar	19	37	30	M
Rómulo Gallegos	20	30	30	M
Rigoberta Menchú	20	30	29	F
Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala	16-17	29	29	M
María Luisa Bombal	20	29	28	F
Clorinda Matto de Turner	19	28	28	F
José Carlos Mariátegui	20	28	28	M
José Asunción Silva	19	35	27	M
Elena Poniatowska	20	30	26	F
Ricardo Palma	19	26	26	M
Alfonsina Storni	20	33	25	F
José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi	19	26	25	M

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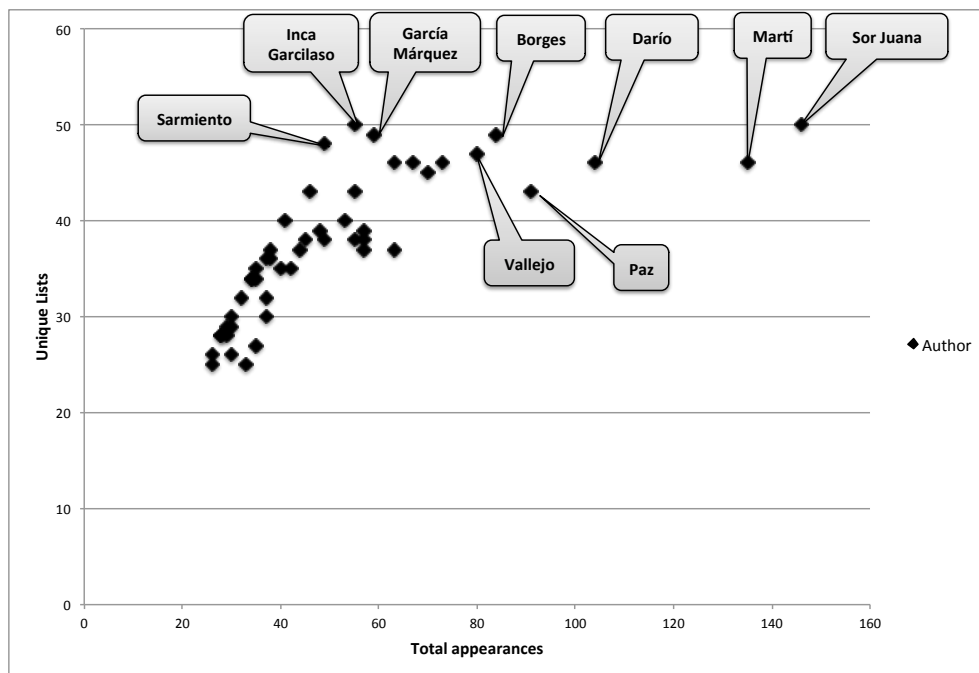
**Table 20.** Representation of Latin American Authors by Total Appearances per Unique Lists.

Author	Century	Total Number of Appearances	Unique Lists	Appear per list	Gender	Percent of Lists
José Martí	19	135	46	2.93	M	92
Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz	17	146	50	2.92	F	100
Rubén Darío	19	104	46	2.26	M	92
Octavio Paz	20	91	43	2.12	M	86
Jorge Luis Borges	20	84	49	1.71	M	98
Rosario Castellanos	20	63	37	1.70	F	74
César Vallejo	20	80	47	1.70	M	94
Julio Cortázar	20	73	46	1.59	M	92
Pablo Neruda	20	70	45	1.56	M	90
Andrés Bello	19	57	37	1.54	M	74
Vicente Huidobro	20	57	38	1.50	M	76

Author	Century	Total Number of Appearances	Unique Lists	Appear per list	Gender	Percent of Lists
Nicolás Guillén	20	57	39	1.46	M	78
Alejo Carpentier	20	67	46	1.46	M	92
Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda	19	55	38	1.44	F	76
Juan Rulfo	20	63	46	1.37	M	92
Mario Vargas Llosa	20	53	40	1.33	M	80
Alfonsina Storni	20	33	25	1.32	F	50
José Asunción Silva	19	35	27	1.30	M	54
Carlos Fuentes	20	49	38	1.29	M	76
Cristóbal Colón	15-16	55	43	1.28	M	86
Simón Bolívar	19	37	30	1.23	M	60
José María Arguedas	20	48	39	1.23	M	78
Gabriel García Márquez	20	59	49	1.20	M	98
Horacio Quiroga	20	42	35	1.20	M	70
Esteban Echeverría	19	44	37	1.19	M	74
Gabriela Mistral	20	45	38	1.18	F	76
Miguel Ángel Asturias	20	37	32	1.16	M	64
Elena Poniatowska	20	30	26	1.15	F	52
Manuel Puig	20	40	35	1.14	M	70
El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega	17	55	50	1.10	M	100
Bartolomé de Las Casas	16	46	43	1.07	M	86
Hernán Cortés	16	38	36	1.06	M	72
José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi	19	26	25	1.04	M	50
María Luisa Bombal	20	29	28	1.04	F	56
Rigoberta Menchú	20	30	29	1.03	F	58
Mariano Azuela	20	35	34	1.03	M	68
Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca	16	37	36	1.03	M	72
José Enrique Rodó	19-20	38	37	1.03	M	74
José Hernández	19	41	40	1.03	M	80
Domingo Faustino Sarmiento	19	49	48	1.02	M	96
Jorge Isaacs	19	35	35	1	M	70
Alonso de Ercilla	16	34	34	1	M	68
Bernal Díaz del Castillo	16	34	34	1	M	68
José Eustasio Rivera	20	32	32	1	M	64
Rómulo Gallegos	20	30	30	1	M	60
Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala	16-17	29	29	1	M	58
Clorinda Matto de Turner	19	28	28	1	F	56
José Carlos Mariátegui	20	28	28	1	M	56
Ricardo Palma	19	26	26	1	M	52

In the scatter chart that follows, it is clear that Sor Juana and José Martí stand alone toward the upper right-hand corner. To the most immediate left, we can see Rubén Darío and Octavio Paz, and then Borges and Vallejo. El Inca Garcilaso climbs as high up the y-axis as Sor Juana, but his data point is far to the left, constituting the crest of the values between 40 and 80 on the x-axis of total appearances.

**Chart 2. Latin American Authors by Appearances on Unique Lists and Total Appearances.**



### Gender of Authors

If we allow for repetitions within and across lists and also include literary criticism, the author of a Peninsular text was a man 4,294 times and a woman 724 times. Six times, a text was co-authored by at least one man and one

woman, and 332 times, there was no concrete author *per se*, given that the text was a compilation or anthology that incorporated numerous authors. In terms of percentages, a single man was the author of Peninsular texts 80 percent of the time, in comparison to a 14 percent rate of authorship for Spanish women.

If literary criticism is removed from the reckoning, a man was the primary author of a Peninsular text 4,024 times, in comparison to 651 for women, with 2 male/female co-authored texts and 246 anthologies or compilations. This means that a man was the primary author of 82 percent of the Spanish works included, as opposed to 13 percent for women. If criticism is examined alone, a man was author of 270 secondary texts, while a woman was author of 73 works. Four texts were written collaboratively by a team of at least one man and one woman, and there were 86 anthologies that boasted several authors. This works out to a man being the author of a critical work 63 percent of the time and a woman being the author 18 percent of the time. Twenty percent of works of Peninsular criticism were anthologies.

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**Table 21.** Gender of Peninsular Authors (with Repetition).

Gender of Authors of Readings from Peninsular List			
Gender	With Lit Critics	Without Lit Critics	Only Critics
Male	4,294	4,024	270
Female	724	651	73
N/A*	332	246	86
Male, Female	6	2	4
Total	5,356	4,923	433
Percentage of Entries Written by Authors by Gender			
Gender	With Lit Critics	Without Lit Critics	Only Critics
Male	80	82	63
Female	14	13	18
N/A*	6	5	20

\*N/A refers to compilations or anthologies with more than one author.



In Latin American literature, the gross total of women authors increases, even though male authors continue to greatly outnumber their female counterparts. Considering all 5,540 Latin American texts, a man was author 4,143 times, a woman was author 251 times, and a team of at least one man and one woman claimed co-authorship 5 times. In addition, there were 251 compilations or anthologies with multiple authors. This means that a man was the author of a Latin American text 75 percent of the time, with a woman being author 21 percent of the time. When criticism is excluded from the analysis, a Latin American text had a male author 3,943 times, as opposed to 1,009 times for a woman author. At least one man and one woman were co-authors only three times for Latin American works, with an additional 185 primary works being anthologies of some sort. This entails an authorship rate of 77 percent for men and 20 percent for women of primary Latin American texts.

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Only in the realm of Latin American literary criticism does the number of female authors increase substantially. A male critic was author of a work 200 times, while a woman claimed authorship 132 times. A collaborative work between at least one man and one woman only appeared twice, and critical anthologies of Latin American literature appeared 66 times. Percentage-wise, this means that a man was the author of a critical work on Latin American literature 51 percent of the time, while a woman was the author 34 percent of the time. This suggests that Latin American literary criticism is by far the most inclusive area of the Hispanic literary canon in terms of gender.

**Table 22.** Gender of Latin American Authors (with repetition).

<b>Gender of Authors of Readings from Latin American List</b>			
<b>Gender</b>	<b>With Lit Critics</b>	<b>Without Lit Critics</b>	<b>Only Critics</b>
Male	4,143	3,943	200
Female	1,141	1,009	132
N/A*	251	185	66
Male, Female	5	3	2
Total	5,540	5,140	400
<b>Percentage of Entries Written by Authors by Gender</b>			
<b>Gender</b>	<b>With Lit Critics</b>	<b>Without Lit Critics</b>	<b>Only Critics</b>
Male	75	77	51
Female	21	20	34
N/A*	5	4	17

\*N/A refers to compilations or anthologies with more than one author.

If repetitions are disregarded in order to count the number of individuals authors that appear at least once on the 50 reading lists examined in the study, the prevalence of male authors remains apparent. Of 456 Spanish or Peninsular primary authors appear, 357 of them men and 99 women. On the Latin American side, there are 606 primary authors, with 468 men and 138 women. Percentage-wise the male-to-female ratio works out to slightly more than 75% men and 25% women for both Peninsular and Latin American literatures. When literary critics are added to the total numbers, we have 642 Peninsular authors (500M, 142W) and 760 Latin American authors (571M, 189W). This leaves us with 186 critics (143M, 43W) of Peninsular literature in comparison to 154 (103M, 51W) Latin American ones.

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**Table 23.** Gender of Individual Peninsular Authors (without repetition)

Individual Authors from Peninsular List by Gender			
Gender	With Lit Critics	Without Lit Critics	Only Critics
Male	500	357	143
Female	142	99	43
Percentage of Total Individual Authors by Gender			
Gender	With Lit Critics	Without Lit Critics	Only Critics
Male	78	78	77
Female	22	22	23

**Table 24.** Gender of Individual Latin American Authors (without repetition)

Individual Authors from Latin American List by Gender			
Gender	With Lit Critics	Without Lit Critics	Only Critics
Male	571	468	103
Female	189	138	51
Percentage of Total Individual Authors by Gender			
Gender	With Lit Critics	Without Lit Critics	Only Critics
Male	75	77	67
Female	25	23	33

#### 4. Representation of Hispanic Literature: Texts

For the texts themselves, measuring canonical status is more straightforward, as most universities (with a few exceptions) list individual works only once. In comparison to the results from Brown and Johnson's study in 1998, there has been a good amount of movement among canonical texts as measured according to an appearance on at least 50% of the graduate reading lists. What follows below is a series of tables that list the works of Peninsular Spanish literature that lay claim to canonical status by virtue of appearing on at least 50 percent of the reading lists examined in the study. I have broken the lists into three categories that correspond to the canonical tiers established by Joan Brown's *Confronting Our Canons*, her 2010 revisiting of the original 1998 study she conducted with

Crista Johnson. In Brown's language, the first group, consisting of texts that appear on between 90 and 100 percent of the studied reading lists, is the Core Hispanic Canon; the second group, with works that appear on between 75 and 89 percent of the lists, is the Nearly Core Hispanic Canon; and the third group of texts, claiming between 50 and 74 percent representation, is the Marginal Hispanic Canon (Brown 2010: 89-101). I have followed Brown's tiers in terms of organizing the lists of canonical texts for the sake of convenience and to facilitate easier comparison with Brown and Johnson's 1998 data.

#### *Canonical Peninsular Spanish Texts*

In terms of Peninsular Literature, there were 55 texts that qualified as canonical based on the 50% criterion. 20 of these texts fell below the 50% threshold between 1998 and 2016, while Alonso de Ercilla's 16<sup>th</sup> century epic *La Araucana* switched almost entirely from Peninsular to Colonial Latin American lists. Only six new texts have grown in stature enough to make the canon by virtue of appearing on at least half of the 49 Peninsular reading lists examined. In total, the current Peninsular canon consists of 40 primary texts, or 15 fewer texts than Brown and Johnson's study.

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In what is perhaps a surprising result, there is only one work of Peninsular Spanish literature that emerged as a unanimous choice for canonical status: the anonymous picaresque novel *Lazarillo de Tormes*. Cervantes's classic novel *Don Quijote de la Mancha* was not included on one of the 49 Peninsular lists, and so

the *Lazarillo* stands as the only universally canonical Peninsular work. *La Celestina* also found inclusion on 48 of the 49 Peninsular lists, putting in on a par with Cervantes’s masterwork. Both Don Juan Manuel’s *El Conde Lucanor*, perhaps the best example of Spanish moralistic prose, and Luis Martín-Santos’s novel *Tiempo de silencio*, a harrowing account of the realities of urban life in post-Franco Madrid, have grown in stature enough to join the other texts listed on at least 90% of the reading lists.

**Table 25.** Representation of Spanish Peninsular Texts in the Core Hispanic Canon by 2016 Percent of Inclusion.

Work	Cent	Author	Brown%	2016%	Change
<i>Lazarillo de Tormes</i>	16	Anonymous	100	100	0
<i>Don Quijote</i>	17	Miguel de Cervantes	100	98	-2
<i>La Celestina</i>	16	Fernando de Rojas	96	98	2
<i>Cantar de Mío Cid</i>	12	Anonymous	98	94	-4
<i>La vida es sueño</i>	17	Pedro Calderón de la Barca	96	94	-2
<i>Libro de buen amor</i>	14	Juan Ruiz	95	94	-1
<i>El Conde Lucanor</i>	14	Don Juan Manuel	89	94	5
<i>Tiempo de silencio</i>	20	Luis Martín-Santos	80	90	10

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The next grouping of Peninsular works includes several that have fallen significantly over the last 18 years, most notably Mariano José de Larra’s 19<sup>th</sup> century *Artículos de costumbres* and Gonzalo de Berceo’s Marian poetic cycle from the 13<sup>th</sup> Century *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*. Two new texts also join the canon at this level, effectively the first two canonical Peninsular works written by women: Carmen Martín Gaité’s *El cuarto de atrás* and Carmen Laforet’s *Nada*.

Ramón del-Valle-Inclán drama *Luces de Bohemia* is notable for its 16 percent growth in rate of inclusion.

**Table 26.** Representation of Spanish Peninsular Texts in the Nearly Core Spanish Canon by 2016 Percent of Inclusion.

Work	Cent	Author	Brown%	2016%	Change
<i>El burlador de Sevilla</i>	17	Tirso de Molina	96	88	-8
<i>Don Juan Tenorio</i>	19	José Zorrilla	89	88	-1
<i>Luces de bohemia</i>	20	Ramón del Valle-Inclán	70	86	16
<i>Niebla</i>	20	Miguel de Unamuno	84	84	0
<i>Fuenteovejuna</i>	17	Lope de Vega	84	82	-2
<i>El cuarto de atrás</i>	20	Carmen Martín Gaité	-	82	New
<i>Artículos</i>	19	Mariano José de Larra	93	78	-15
<i>Milagros de Nstra Sra</i>	13	Gonzalo de Berceo	91	78	-13
<i>La regenta</i>	19	Clarín (Leopoldo Alas)	84	78	-6
<i>El sí de las niñas</i>	19	Leandro Fernández de Moratín	77	78	1
<i>Nada</i>	20	Carmen Laforet	-	78	New

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The third, fourth and fifth works written by a woman author find their places in this third tier of the Peninsular Spanish canon: Emilia Pardo Bazán's 19<sup>th</sup>-century novel *Los pazos de Ulloa*, Santa Teresa de Ávila's autobiographical *Libro de la vida*, and María de Zayas's *Desengaños amorosos*, a collection of short novels from the 17<sup>th</sup> Century. This latter text is new to the canon, not being present in the 1998 study, and it is joined by three additional texts making their canonical debut: Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer's *Rimas*, Antonio Machado's *Campos de Castilla*, and the traditional *Romancero Viejo*. These texts may be new entries due to the fact that Brown and Johnson's study does not fully include poetry, given the difficulties of classification and selection associated with the genre. In terms of

the current study, it is certain that the representation of Bécquer's *Rimas*, for example, is lessened by the existence of *Rimas y Leyendas*, a hybrid volume of poems and short stories, which is included on a good number of lists. Finally, several texts listed at this level were ranked considerably higher in 1998: Francisco de Quevedo's *Buscón* (which had over 90 percent representation in 1998), Ángel de Saavedra, the Third Duke of Rivas' 19<sup>th</sup>-century play *Don Álvaro*, and Juan Valera's 19<sup>th</sup>-century novel *Pepita Jiménez*, which has fallen by an immense 24 percent.

**Table 27.** Representation of Spanish Peninsular Texts in the Marginal Hispanic Canon by 2016 Percent of Inclusion.

Work	Cent	Author	Brown%	2016%	Change
<i>Los pazos de Ulloa</i>	19	Emilia Pardo Bazán	71	73	2
<i>La familia Pascual Duarte</i>	20	Camilo José Cela	70	73	3
<i>Novelas ejemplares</i>	17	Miguel de Cervantes	77	71	-6
<i>El árbol de la ciencia</i>	20	Pío Baroja	70	71	1
<i>La vida del Buscón</i>	17	Francisco de Quevedo	91	69	-22
<i>Deshumanización del arte</i>	20	José Ortega y Gasset	59	69	10
<i>Cartas marruecas</i>	18	José Cadalso	70	67	-3
<i>Rimas</i>	19	Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer	N/A	67	New
<i>Casa Bernarda Alba</i>	20	Federico García Lorca	71	65	-6
<i>Bodas de sangre</i>	20	Federico García Lorca	66	65	-1
<i>Don Álvaro</i>	19	Duque de Rivas	84	63	-21
<i>La araucana</i>	16	Alonso de Ercilla	71	62	-9
<i>Coplas por la muerte</i>	15	Jorge Manrique	80	61	-19
<i>Romancero/Romancero viejo</i>	15	Tradicional	N/A	57	New
<i>Libro de la vida</i>	16	Santa Teresa de Ávila	57	55	-2
<i>Fortunata y Jacinta</i>	19	Benito Pérez Galdós	66	53	-13
<i>Cárcel de amor</i>	15	Diego de San Pedro	52	53	1
<i>Campos de Castilla</i>	20	Antonio Machado	N/A	53	New
<i>Pepita Jiménez</i>	19	Juan Valera	75	51	-24
<i>La colmena</i>	20	Camilo José Cela	70	51	-19
<i>Desengaños amorosos</i>	17	María de Zayas	-	51	New

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A massive 19 texts that found a place in the 1998 canon have fallen below 50 percent representation in 2016. More than half of these works were written before the 18<sup>th</sup> Century, suggesting that historical priorities might also be an important factor in canonical change. Interestingly, two Lope de Vega plays (*El caballero de Olmedo* and *Peribáñez y el Comendador de Ocaña*) find themselves on this list of formerly canonical works. Novohispanic dramatist Juan Ruiz de Alarcón's *La verdad sospechosa* presents an interesting case, due to the fact that it is included exclusively as Peninsular work in Brown and Johnson's study. By 2016, this author and his most representative text were also included in Colonial Latin American reading lists, providing evidence of both the growth and the uncertain borders of colonial studies in U.S. Spanish departments in the last two decades. *La verdad sospechosa* was included in 16 Peninsular Spanish reading lists and eight additional Latin American lists, adding up to 24 total appearances, or a 48% rate of inclusion.

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**Table 28.** Representation of Spanish Peninsular Texts below canonical status by 2016  
Percent of Inclusion.

Work	Cent	Author	Brown%	2016%	Change
<i>La verdad sospechosa</i>	17	Juan Ruiz de Alarcón	80	48 <sup>6</sup>	-32
<i>Caballero de Olmedo</i>	17	Lope de Vega	73	47	-26
<i>La Diana</i>	16	Jorge de Montemayor	71	45	-26
<i>Romancero Gitano</i>	20	Federico García Lorca	50	45	-5
<i>Estudiante de Salamanca</i>	19	José de Espronceda	57	43	-14
<i>San Manuel Bueno</i>	20	Miguel de Unamuno	57	43	-14

<sup>6</sup> Since *La verdad sospechosa* was included on both Peninsular and Latin American reading lists (as detailed above), the percent of inclusion is calculated out of 50 lists, unlike the rest of the Peninsular works whose percentages are taken from 49 total lists.



Work	Cent	Author	Brown%	2016%	Change
<i>Señas de identidad</i>	20	Juan Goytisolo	52	43	-9
<i>Auto de Reyes Magos</i>	13	Anonymous	54	37	-17
<i>Amadís de Gaula</i>	16	Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo	55	35	-20
<i>El gran teatro del mundo</i>	17	Calderón de la Barca	55	31	-24
<i>Misericordia</i>	19	Benito Pérez Galdós	55	31	-24
<i>Guzmán de Alfarache</i>	17	Mateo Alemán	59	29	-30
<i>Los intereses creados</i>	20	Jacinto Benavente	52	27	-25
<i>Entremeses</i>	17	Miguel de Cervantes	64	24	-40
<i>El Jarama</i>	20	Rafael Sánchez Ferlosio	52	24	-28
<i>El Criticón</i>	17	Baltasar Gracián	54	22	-32
<i>El alcalde de Zalamea</i>	17	Calderón de la Barca	55	20	-35
<i>Sueños</i>	17	Francisco de Quevedo	61	18	-43
<i>Peribáñez y el Comendador de Ocaña</i>	17	Lope de Vega	52	12	-40
<i>Tirano Banderas</i>	20	Ramón del Valle-Inclán	50	12	-38

### Canonical Latin American Texts

For Latin American literature, Brown and Johnson found 29 texts to be worthy of canonical status. In contrast, the 2016 Latin American canon as determined by this study consists of 38 works of Latin American literature, 16 of which do not appear on the 1998 list. Seven texts from 1998 have fallen from canonical status due to no longer appearing on more than 50 percent of the 50 Latin American reading lists.

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In 2016, the only universally canonical work, appearing on all 50 Latin American lists, is the *Comentarios reales* by El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, a 17<sup>th</sup>-century work that offers account of Inca life before the Spanish conquest and a description of the Spanish conquest from an Incan perspective. Gabriel García Márquez's *Cien años de soledad*, the most representative work of the 20<sup>th</sup>-

century boom of Latin American literature, and Domingo Faustino Sarmiento’s *Facundo*, a 19<sup>th</sup>-century biographical essay that establishes the binary between civilization and barbarism so fundamental to understanding Latin American identity, both claim inclusion on 48 lists. Sor Juana, arguably the most canonical author on this list, based on both representation on unique reading lists and total appearances, is included 46 times as the author of her famous *Respuesta a Sor Filotea*, a defense of women’s right to study and to write. What is most interesting at this highest level of canonical consensus is that all of these texts have grown in stature since Brown and Johnson’s original study. In fact, with the exception of *Cien años de soledad*, all of the texts have grown substantially in representation, reflecting fundamental changes in the notion of canonical consensus. In Brown’s terms each of these three texts has moved from a lower tier of canonicity to the highest level of Core Canon. Márquez’s novel was the only Latin American text in the Core Canon in 1998, but is now accompanied by three other texts, all written before the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

**Table 29.** Representation of Latin American Texts in the Core Hispanic Canon Grouped by 2016 Percent of Inclusion.

Work	Cent	Author	Brown%	2016%	Change
<i>Comentarios reales</i>	17	El Inca Garcilaso	70	100	30
<i>Cien años de soledad</i>	20	García Márquez	93	96	3
<i>Facundo</i>	19	Sarmiento	80	96	16
<i>Respuesta a Sor Filotea de la Cruz</i>	17	Sor Juana	64	92	28

The next set of texts reveals a relative stability between 80% and 90% inclusion, but introduces two new texts that were not canonical even at the 50% level in

1998: Bartolomé de las Casas *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*, a detailed account of the mistreatment of indigenous Americans at the hands of Spanish *encomenderos*, and Gertrudis Gómez de la Avellaneda’s 19<sup>th</sup>-century sentimental Cuban novel *Sab* about the titular hero whose talents and amorous longings are both rendered useless by the fact that he, as a mulatto, cannot be more than a plantation slave. These two works have a Caribbean focus, expanding perhaps the focus of Latin American literature from Mexico and the Southern Cone. What is more, both of these texts attempt to highlight, in very unique ways, the plight of people condemned to a life of slavery, a topic perhaps more salient in the wake of the “Culture Wars”.

**Table 30.** Representation of Latin American Texts in the Nearly Core Hispanic Canon Grouped by 2016 Percent of Inclusion.

Work	Cent	Author	Brown%	2016%	Change
<i>Pedro Páramo</i>	20	Juan Rulfo	84	88	4
<i>Ficciones</i>	20	Borges	89	86	-3
<i>Martín Fierro</i>	19	José Hernández	80	82	2
<i>Brevísima relación</i>	16	Las Casas	N/A	78	New
<i>Sab</i>	19	Gertrudis Gmz Avellaneda	N/A	76	New

The next set of texts reflects representation between 75 and 50 percent –what Brown referred to as the “marginal” canon. Whether or not one agrees with the marginality of being included on no less than half of the reading lists, it is notable how much change has occurred at this level. Almost half of the 29 works that follow are new to canonical status, a remarkable change over a span of less than two decades. Notable among these new entries in the canon are Álvaro Núñez

Cabeza de Vaca's *Naufragios* and Alonso de Ercilla's *La araucana*, Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala's *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, and Christopher Columbus's *Diario* in that they all represent the colonial era. The 19<sup>th</sup> Century is another epoch that is very well represented with five newly canonical works. Two works by José Martí now make the list: his influential book of rhymes *Versos sencillos* and *Nuestra América*, a political essay calling for union and solidarity among Latin American nations against the threat of the growing power and influence of the United States in the Western Hemisphere. Simón Bolívar's "Carta de Jamaica," something of a predecessor to *Nuestra América*, written before the Latin American countries had won their Independence from Spain, also makes the canon list. Clorinda Matto de Turner's novel *Aves sin nido* is another 19<sup>th</sup>-century text to qualify. In fact, both of the texts written by women on this canonical level, *Aves sin nido*, as well as Rigoberta Menchú's testimonial of indigenous life in 20<sup>th</sup>-century Guatemala, *Me llamo Rigoberta Menchú y así me nació la conciencia*, are new entries into the canon, reflecting the changes to the criteria for inclusion in university curricula that took effect in the wake of the aforementioned "Culture Wars".

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Some of the texts included as canonical despite a lower percentage of inclusion are works that have fallen since Brown and Johnson's original study. Interestingly, all of the texts that reached this level after a precipitous fall (of more than ten percent) are novels written by men from the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. The loss of prestige for the novels by Mariano Azuela, Rómulo Gallegos, and Miguel Ángel Asturias is

understandable given that they were written before the Latin American Literary Boom, but it is surprising that Cortázar’s *Rayuela* has fallen so far, until one remembers that Cortázar is also renowned as an author of short fiction. Undoubtedly, when faced with the decision between teaching the highly experimental and purposefully fragmented *Rayuela* and more digestible short stories, many professors have chosen to assign the latter. No collection of Cortázar short stories has yet achieved 50 percent inclusion, but it is not unlikely that this will occur in the future.<sup>7</sup>

**Table 31.** Representation of Latin American Texts in the Marginal Hispanic Canon Grouped by 2016 Percent of Inclusion.

Work	Cent	Author	Brown%	2016%	Change
<i>El matadero</i>	19	Esteban Echeverría	73	74	1
<i>Los ríos profundos</i>	20	José María Arguedas	55	74	19
<i>Nafragios</i>	16	Cabeza de Vaca	N/A	72	New
<i>Nuestra América</i>	19	José Martí	N/A	72	New
<i>La muerte de Artemio Cruz</i>	20	Carlos Fuentes	82	72	10
<i>Ariel</i>	20	José Enrique Rodó	75	72	-3
<i>María</i>	19	Jorge Isaacs	71	70	-1
<i>Los de abajo</i>	20	Mariano Azuela	80	68	-12
<i>El laberinto de la soledad</i>	20	Octavio Paz	71	68	-3
<i>Historia verdadera</i>	17	Bernal Díaz del Castillo	59	68	9

<sup>7</sup> *Rayuela*’s fall from canonical grace is quite possibility symptomatic of a larger trend away from assigning “difficult readings” on the part of humanities professors in the United States. In a culture where U.S. and university presidents are openly critical of humanistic endeavor and when there is an increasing scarcity of teaching jobs –tenure-track or otherwise– in the humanities, it stands to reason that professors would lighten students’ reading load in order to make their classes more “palatable” to student tastes. This might especially be the case in institutions that collect data on student evaluations of professors and use this information as part of internal reviews of professors. A cursory review of a website like [www.ratemyprofessors.com](http://www.ratemyprofessors.com) shows what appears to be a student bias in favor of professors who give “easier” assignments and higher grades. Again, unfortunately, a deeper look at this issue in U.S. Spanish departments must be consigned to a future, and more qualitative, work on the history of the literary canon.

Work	Cent	Author	Brown%	2016%	Change
<i>2a carta de relación</i>	16	Hernán Cortés	57	68	11
<i>La vorágine</i>	20	José Eustasio Rivera	71	64	-7
<i>La Araucana</i>	16	Alonso de Ercilla	N/A	62	New
<i>El reino de este mundo</i>	20	Alejo Carpentier	N/A	60	New
<i>Doña Bárbara</i>	20	Rómulo Gallegos	79	60	-19
<i>Nueva corónica y buen gobierno</i>	17	Guaman Poma	N/A	58	New
<i>Aves sin nido</i>	19	Clorinda Matto de Turner	N/A	56	New
<i>El señor presidente</i>	20	Miguel Ángel Asturias	71	56	-15
<i>Diario de a bordo</i>	15	Cristóbal Colón	N/A	54	New
<i>Carta de Jamaica</i>	19	Simón Bolívar	N/A	54	New
<i>Me llamo Rigoberta...</i>	20	Rigoberta Menchú	N/A	54	New
<i>Versos sencillos</i>	19	José Martí	N/A	52	New
<i>Azul</i>	19	Rubén Darío	N/A	52	New
<i>Rayuela</i>	20	Julio Cortázar	71	52	-19
<i>Cantos de vida y esperanza</i>	20	Rubén Darío	N/A	50	New
<i>Trilce</i>	20	César Vallejo	N/A	50	New
<i>El beso de la mujer araña</i>	20	Manuel Puig	N/A	50	New
<i>Tradiciones peruanas</i>	19	Ricardo Palma	54	50	-4
<i>Altazor</i>	20	Vicente Huidobro	54	50	-4

The works that follow are those texts that were canonical in 1998 but that just missed out on canonical status in 2016. All of these works have fallen considerably over the last 18 years, and curiously, all but one of them are from the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. Alejo Carpentier's novel *Los pasos perdidos* has been replaced by *El reino de este mundo*, a novel that will most likely continue to grow in status due to a number of factors, like its explicit connection to Magical Realism, its smaller size, and possibly the controversial depiction of women that burdened *Los pasos perdidos*. In fact, the famous prologue to *Reino*, where the notion of *lo real maravilloso* is first developed, appears by itself on several reading lists.

**Table 32.** Representation of Latin American Texts below canonical status Grouped by 2016 Percent of Inclusion.

Work	Cent	Author	Brown%	2016%	Change
<i>El periquillo sarniento</i>	19	Lizardi	66	46	-20
<i>Los pasos perdidos</i>	20	Alejo Carpentier	68	44	-24
<i>Don Segundo Sombra</i>	20	Ricardo Güiraldes	77	42	-35
<i>Cuentos de amor...</i>	20	Horacio Quiroga	57	40	-27
<i>El gesticulador</i>	20	Rodolfo Usigli	59	38	-21
<i>Tres tristes tigres</i>	20	Guillermo Cabrera Infante	52	28	-24
<i>Residencia en la tierra</i>	20	Pablo Neruda	50	20	-30

### *Nationality of Latin American Works*

It is also interesting to look at Latin American canonical works by country, and it turns out that Mexico, Peru and Argentina significantly outstrip other Spanish-American countries in terms of the production of texts that make the 50 percent canon. Spain, of course, is responsible for most of the authors of the Colonial Period, and this explains the high number of texts written by Spanish-born authors on the list. The following countries have no representation within the canon at present: Ecuador, Bolivia, Dominican Republic, Honduras, Paraguay, El Salvador, Costa Rica, Panama, and Puerto Rico.

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**Table 33.** Canonical Latin American Texts by Country.

Country	# of Texts in Canon
Mexico	8
Peru	8
Argentina	7
Spain	6
Colombia	4
Cuba	4
Chile	4
Venezuela	3
Uruguay	2
Guatemala	2
Nicaragua	1

When one expands beyond just the canonical primary works in order to consider frequencies of occurrence of the Spanish-American nationalities in the complete database (allowing for the repetition of works across lists), the view changes a bit, even if Mexico and Argentina retain their powerhouse status within the fields of literary production and readership. Cuba grows in stature when all Latin American texts are included, with Peru falling into the fourth position. The United States enters the equation on this list, due to the presence of Latino literature (usually written in English, but with some cases of original Spanish-language versions) on nine of the 50 Latin American reading lists, as well as to the occasional inclusion of historical or philosophical works with U.S. authors as primary readings. Historical and philosophical primary works also explain the presence of countries like India, Germany, Switzerland, Australia, France and the United Kingdom, among others. Brazilian texts appear 48 times across the reading lists, meaning that almost one Brazilian work appears per list –a minor number, but one that might very well increase in the coming decade. At the lower reaches of this table, we see several cases of two or more nationalities. This reflects either authors with dual citizenship or books that were written in collaboration between two or more authors with different nationalities. Countries like Bolivia, Paraguay and El Salvador have extremely limited representation on the reading lists, and Honduras appears only four times, always in combination with Guatemala, due to the four appearances of short fiction writer Augusto Monterroso, a Honduran-born Guatemalan who spent the last 47 years of his life in Mexico, in the database.



Costa Rica only appears twice, while it's Central American neighbor Panama fails to make a single appearance in the database.

**Table 34.** All Latin American Texts by Country.

Country	Number of Texts
Mexico	919
Argentina	736
Cuba	634
Peru	439
Chile	381
Spain	376
Uruguay	232
Colombia	217
USA	177
Puerto Rico	169
Venezuela	154
Nicaragua	139
Guatemala	104
Brazil	48
Ecuador	37
Cuba/USA	26
Bolivia	23
Puerto Rico/USA	23
Dominican Republic	23
UK	23
Mexico/USA	18
Dominican Republic/USA	18
France	17
Paraguay	12
El Salvador	10
Mexico, Peru	5
Honduras/Guatemala	4
Italy	4
Peru, France	4
Portugal	4
Germany	3
Australia	2
Austria, USA	2
Bulgaria, France	2
Costa Rica	2
Cuba, Puerto Rico	2
Spain, Mexico	2

Country	Number of Texts
Guatemala y Mexico	2
Romania	2
USA & UK	2
Argentina y Cuba (respectively)	1
Austria	1
Colombia, USA	1
Spain (Catalonia), Bolivia (naturalized)	1
Spain, Chile	1
Spain, Cuba	1
Spain (Galicia)	1
France, USA	1
India	1
Martinique/France	1
New Zealand	1
Peru, USA	1
Peru, Venezuela	1
Poland	1
Puerto Rico/Cuba	1
Sweden	1

### *U.S. Latino/a Literature*

Another field of interest within the realm of Hispanic literatures is that of Latinos in the United States. Consisting jointly of the literary production of Chicano/a writers from states like Texas, New Mexico, California, and also from Chicago, IL as well as that of Cuban-American writers, often from Miami, FL and authors of Puerto Rican and Dominican origin, usually hailing from New York City, U.S. Latino/a Literature has more frequently been the provenance of the more radical wings of English departments in American universities. And indeed, many of the texts produced by Hispanics in the United States are, at least initially, written and

published in English. Nevertheless, hispanicity remains an integral component of Latino/a literature in the United States, and it seems that Spanish departments in the U.S are beginning to take notice. Nine reading lists were included that contained a section dedicated to either Chicano/a Literature or U.S. Hispanic Literature in general, and while no text by Latino/a authors even came close to full canonical status, or a 50 percent rate of inclusion, the following authors and texts are of note and will likely only grow in stature as Spanish departments continue to incorporate Latino/a or Chicano/o Studies elements into their curricula.

The texts that follow would be canonical or near canonical if the number or reading lists were reduced to the nine lists included for Latino/a or Chicano/a Literature. Multifaceted Chicana author Sandra Cisneros far outstrips the group of authors in terms of total appearances and shares the lead for appearances on unique lists with the influential Chicana feminist poet and essayist Gloria Anzaldúa, whose seminal *Borderlands/La frontera: The New Mestiza* is the most included work by a U.S. Latino/a. Chicano author Tomás Rivera and Cuban-American journalist and novelist Cristina García can also claim a solid level of inclusion for their respective masterworks *...Y no se lo tragó la tierra* and *Dreaming in Cuban*. Both works play with narrative perspective, letting multiple characters tell the overall story from their individual perspective, something perhaps appropriate for literature written by bilinguals used to inhabiting the different mental spaces of English and Spanish on a daily basis. In fact Rivera's

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novel –or collection of short stories, depending on one’s perspective– was originally written in Spanish, making his work the only text included in this brief and unofficial “canon” of Latino/a literature that was originally in Spanish.

Finally, Dominican-American author Junot Díaz only made four unique lists, but it is almost certain that his canonical status will increase in the coming decades, both in English and Spanish departments. In fact, Díaz, author of the Pulitzer Prize winning novel *The Brief Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao* also appears on four Latin American literature reading lists, meaning that he appears on eight unique lists in total. In the coming years U.S. Díaz’s stature might become such that he is able to transcend the field of Latino/a Literature and become a canonical Latin American author, even if his primary language of literary production is English.

**Table 35.** Representation of Chicano/a Authors by Total Appearances and Unique Lists.

Name	Total Appearances	Unique Lists	Gender	Background
Sandra Cisneros	12	7	F	Chicano
Rolando Hinojosa	7	4	M	Chicano
Gloria Anzaldúa	7	7	F	Chicano
Dolores Prida	7	4	F	Cuban
Tomás Rivera	6	6	M	Chicano
Cristina García	6	6	F	Cuban
Alurista	6	6	F	Chicano
Luis Valdez	6	4	M	Chicano
Ana Castillo	5	3	F	Chicano
Richard Rodríguez	5	4	M	Chicano
Julia Alvarez	5	3	F	Dominican
Junot Díaz	5	4	M	Dominican
Tato Laviera	5	5	M	Puerto Rican
Rudolfo Anaya	4	4	M	Chicano
José Montoya	4	3	M	Chicano

**Table 36.** Representation of Texts by Chicano/a Authors by Total Appearances.

Work	Total Appearances	Genre	Author	Gender	Background
<i>Borderlands/La frontera: The New Mestiza</i>	7	Collection of poems	Gloria Anzaldúa	F	USA
<i>...Y no se lo tragó la tierra</i>	6	Collection of short stories	Tomás Rivera	M	USA
<i>Dreaming in Cuban</i>	6	Theater play	Cristina García	F	Cuba, USA
<i>Woman Hollering Creek</i>	5	Collection of poems	Sandra Cisneros	F	USA
<i>Bless me, Ultima</i>	4	Novel	Rudolfo Anaya	M	USA
<i>Hunger for Memory: An Autobiography</i>	4	Collection of poems	Richard Rodríguez	M	USA
<i>Coser y Cantar</i>	4	Novel	Dolores Prida	F	Cuba, USA

*Literary Critics and Editors of Critical Anthologies*

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This study also included any works of literary or cultural criticism that were listed as secondary, or suggested, readings on the reading lists analyzed. This is because of the importance of such texts in aiding students to understand and contextualize the large number of primary texts that they must read in a condensed time period. As a result, many of these works were critical anthologies –most commonly volumes from *Historia y crítica de la literatura española*, directed by Francisco Rico, on the Spanish Peninsular lists and *The Cambridge History of Latin American Literature*, co-edited by Roberto González Echevarría and Enrique Pupo-Walker on the Latin American side. Rico’s *Historia y crítica* series, was included a total of 62 times, with each of the 9 volumes and several supplemental texts to original volumes being included, making it undoubtedly a

canonical secondary source within the field of Peninsular Literature. On a much more reduced scale, Luis Íñigo Madrigal's *Historia de la literatura latinoamericana* was listed 12 times across the reading lists, either as a single volume or as a whole series.

### Works and Anthologies of Literary and Cultural Criticism

**Table 37.** Total Appearances of Volumes of *Historia y crítica de la literatura española* by Total Appearances.

Work	Author/Editor	Total Appearances
<i>Historia y crítica de la literatura española</i>	Dir. Francisco Rico - Various	12
<i>Historia y crítica de la literatura española. Vol. 1: La Edad Media</i>	Alan Deyermond – Dir. Francisco Rico	11
<i>Historia y crítica de la literatura española. Vol 6: Modernismo y 98</i>	José Carlos Mainer – Dir. Francisco Rico	6
<i>Historia y crítica de la literatura española. Vol 5: Romanticismo y Realismo</i>	Iris M. Zavala – Dir. Francisco Rico	5
<i>Historia y crítica de la literatura española. Vol 7: Época contemporánea (1914-1939)</i>	Víctor García de la Concha – Dir. Francisco Rico	5
<i>Historia y crítica de la literatura española. Vol 8: Época contemporánea (1939-1980)</i>	Domingo Ynduráin Muñoz – Dir. Francisco Rico	5
<i>Historia y crítica de la literatura española. Vol 4: Ilustración y neoclasicismo</i>	José M. Caso González – Dir. Francisco Rico	4
<i>Historia y crítica de la literatura española. Vol 9: Los nuevos nombres (1975-1990)</i>	Darío Villanueva, et al. – Dir. Francisco Rico	4
<i>Historia y crítica de la literatura española. Vol 2: Siglos de Oro, Renacimiento</i>	Francisco López Estrada – Dir. Francisco Rico	3
<i>Historia y crítica de la literatura española. Vol 3: Siglos de Oro, Barroco</i>	Varios: Bruce W. Wardropper/ Aurora Egido – Dir. Francisco Rico	3
<i>Historia y crítica de la literatura española. Vol 1: La Edad Media (primer suplemento)</i>	Alan Deyermond – Dir. Francisco Rico	3
<i>Historia y crítica de la literatura española. Vol 9: Los nuevos nombres (suplemento)</i>	Jordi García – Dir. Francisco Rico	1
Total		62

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**Table 38.** Total Appearances of Volumes of *Historia de la literatura hispanoamericana* by Total Appearances.

Work	Author/Editor	Total Appearances
<i>Historia de la literatura hispanoamericana. Tomo 1: Época colonial</i>	Ed. Luis Íñigo Madrigal	5
<i>Historia de la literatura hispanoamericana</i>	Ed. Luis Íñigo Madrigal	4
<i>Historia de la Literatura Hispanoamericana. Tomo 2: Del neoclasicismo al modernismo</i>	Ed. Luis Íñigo Madrigal	3
Total		12

Leaving aside critical series containing multiple volumes, the most canonical work of literary criticism is Doris Sommer's *Foundational Fictions: The National Romances of Latin America*, which appears 17 times, which is more than any other individual work or volume of criticism. The aforementioned *Cambridge History of Latin American Literature* is second with 16 inclusions, with Puerto Rican scholar Julio Ramos's *Desencuentros de la modernidad en América Latina* claiming 12 inclusions across the 50 reading lists.

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**Table 39.** Representation of Works of Criticism by Total Appearances.

Work	Author/Editor	Total Appearances
<i>Foundational Fictions</i>	Doris Sommer	17
<i>The Cambridge History of Latin American Literature</i>	Eds. Roberto González Echevarría & Enrique Pupo-Walker	16
<i>Historia y crítica de la literatura española</i>	Ed. Francisco Rico - Varios	12
<i>Desencuentros de la modernidad en América Latina: literatura y política en el siglo XIX</i>	Julio Ramos	11
<i>Historia y crítica de la literatura española. Vol. 1: La Edad Media</i>	Alan Deyermond – Ed. Francisco Rico	10
<i>Historia de la literatura hispanoamericana</i>	José Miguel Oviedo	8
<i>Transculturación narrativa en América Latina</i>	Ángel Rama	7
<i>Theatre in Spain, 1490-1700</i>	Melweena McKendrick	7

Work	Author/Editor	Total Appearances
<i>Spanish Cultural Studies</i>	Eds. Helen Graham and Jo Labanyi	7
<i>Myth and Archive: A Theory of Latin American Narrative</i>	Roberto González Echevarría	7
<i>Imperial Eyes</i>	Mary Louise Pratt	6
<i>The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality and Colonization</i>	Walter D. Mignolo	6
<i>Discursos narrativos de la conquista</i>	Beatriz Pastor	6
<i>Historia y crítica de la literatura española. Vol 6: Modernismo y 98</i>	José Carlos Mainer - Ed. Francisco Rico	6
<i>The Polemics of Possession in Spanish American Narrative</i>	Rolena Adorno	6
<i>Historia de la literatura española</i>	Juan Luis Alborg	5
<i>Historia de la literatura hispanoamericana. Tomo 1: Época colonial</i>	Ed. Luis Íñigo Madrigal	5
<i>The Decline and Fall of the Lettered City: Latin America in the Cold War</i>	Jean Franco	5
<i>The Cambridge History of Spanish Literature</i>	Ed. David T. Gies	5
<i>Historia y crítica de la literatura española. Vol 5: Romanticismo y Realismo</i>	Iris M. Zavala - Ed. Francisco Rico	5
<i>Historia y crítica de la literatura española. Vol 7: Época contemporánea (1914-1939)</i>	Víctor García de la Concha - Ed. Francisco Rico	5
<i>Historia y crítica de la literatura española. Vol 8: Época contemporánea (1939-1980)</i>	Domingo Ynduráin Muñoz - Ed. Francisco Rico	5
<i>La voz y su huella: escritura y conflicto étnico-social en América Latina, 1492- 1988</i>	Martin Lienhard	5
<i>Historia social de la literatura española (en lengua castellana)</i>	Eds. Carlos Blanco Aguinaga, Julio Rodríguez-Puértolas, Iris M. Zavala	5
<i>Historia de la literatura hispanoamericana</i>	Ed. Luis Íñigo Madrigal	4
<i>Las corrientes literarias en la América hispánica</i>	Pedro Henríquez Ureña	4
<i>Journeys through the Labyrinth: Latin American Fiction in the Twentieth Century</i>	Gerald Martin	4
<i>El género gauchesco. Un tratado sobre la patria</i>	Josefina Ludmer	4
<i>The Spanish American Regional Novel: Modernity and Autochtony</i>	Carlos J. Alonso	4
<i>The Untimely Present: Postdictatorial Latin American Fiction and the Task of Mourning</i>	Idelber Avelar	4
<i>The Ethics of Reading in Manuscript Culture: Glossing the Libro de buen amor</i>	John Dagenais	4
<i>Historia del teatro español del siglo XVII</i>	Ignacio Arellano	4
<i>Spanish Picaresque Fiction: A New Literary History</i>	Peter N. Dunn	4
<i>Gender and Modernization in the Spanish Realist Novel</i>	Jo Labanyi	4
<i>Historia del teatro español (desde sus orígenes hasta 1900)</i>	Francisco Ruiz Ramón	4
<i>Novela española de nuestro tiempo</i>	Gonzalo Sobejano	4
<i>Historia y crítica de la literatura española. Vol 4: Ilustración y neoclasicismo</i>	José M. Caso González - Ed. Francisco Rico	4



Work	Author/Editor	Total Appearances
<i>Historia y crítica de la literatura española. Vol 9: Los nuevos nombres (1975-1990)</i>	Darío Villanueva, et al - Ed. Francisco Rico	4
<i>Historia de la literatura hispanoamericana</i>	Jean Franco	3
<i>Historia de la literatura española</i>	Ángel del Río	3
<i>Plotting Women: Gender and Representation in Mexico</i>	Jean Franco	3
<i>The Blackwell Companion to Latin American Literature and Culture</i>	Ed. Sara Castro-Klaren	3
<i>La cultura moderna en América Latina</i>	Jean Franco	3
<i>Historia de la Literatura Hispanoamericana. Tomo 2: Del neoclasicismo al modernismo</i>	Ed. Luis Íñigo Madrigal	3
<i>Latin American Vanguards: the Art of Contentious Encounters</i>	Vicky Unruh	3
<i>Viaje al silencio: Exploraciones del discurso barroco</i>	Mabel Moraña	3
<i>The Voice of the Masters: Writing and Authority in Modern Latin American Literature</i>	Roberto González Echevarría	3
<i>European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages</i>	Ernst Robert Curtius	3
<i>Spanish Poetry of the Twentieth Century: Modernity and Beyond</i>	Andrew Debicki	3
<i>Introducción a la literatura medieval española</i>	Francisco López Estrada	3
<i>Orphans of Petrarch: Poetry and Theory in the Spanish Renaissance</i>	Ignacio Navarrete	3
<i>The Cambridge Companion to the Spanish Novel: From 1600 to the Present</i>	Eds. Harriet Turner & Adelaida López de Martínez	3
<i>Cultura herida: Literatura y cine en la España democrática</i>	Cristina Moreiras Menor	3
<i>Historia y crítica de la literatura española. Vol 2: Siglos de Oro, Renacimiento</i>	Francisco López Estrada - Ed. Francisco Rico	3
<i>Historia y crítica de la literatura española. Vol 3: Siglos de Oro, Barroco</i>	Varios: Bruce W. Wardropper/ Aurora Egido - Ed. Francisco Rico	3
<i>Historia y crítica de la literatura española. Vol 1: La Edad Media (primer suplemento)</i>	Alan Deyermond - Ed. Francisco Rico	3

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**Table 40.** Representation of Authors of Criticism by Total Appearances and Unique Lists.

Name	Total Appearances	Unique Lists	Sex	Country
Doris Sommer	18	17	F	USA
Jean Franco	21	16	F	UK
Eds. Roberto González Echevarría & Enrique Pupo-Walker	17	14		
Alan Deyermond	21	12	M	UK

Name	Total Appearances	Unique Lists	Sex	Country
Julio Ramos	14	12	M	Puerto Rico
Ángel Rama	14	11	M	Uruguay
José Miguel Oviedo	14	10	M	Peru
Roberto González Echevarría	12	10	M	Cuba, USA
Rolena Adorno	10	10	F	USA
Beatriz Pastor	8	7	F	Spain
Carlos J. Alonso	7	7	M	Puerto Rico, USA
Melveena McKendrick	7	7	F	UK
Eds. Helen Graham and Jo Labanyi	7	7		
José Carlos Mainer	9	7	M	Spain
Josefina Ludmer	7	6	F	Argentina
Walter D. Mignolo	8	6	M	Argentina
Pedro Henríquez Ureña	6	6	M	Dominican Republic
Mary Louise Pratt	6	6	F	USA
Juan Luis Alborg	6	6	M	Spain
Francisco Ruiz Ramón	6	6	M	Spain
Francisco López Estrada	6	6	M	Spain
R. O. Jones	6	6	M	UK
John Beverley	6	5	M	USA
John Dagenais	5	5	M	USA
Andrew Debicki	5	5	M	Poland/Cuba
Peter N. Dunn	5	5	M	UK
Eds. Carlos Blanco Aguinaga, Julio Rodríguez-Puértolas, Iris M. Zavala	5	5		
Ed. David T. Gies	6	4		
Margarita Zamora	5	4	F	USA
Martin Lienhard	5	4	M	Switzerland
Fernando Gómez Redondo	5	4	M	Spain
Jo Labanyi	5	4	F	UK
Donald L. Shaw	5	4	M	UK
Sylvia Molloy	4	4	F	Argentina
Gerald Martin	4	4	M	UK
Idelber Avelar	4	4	M	Brazil
Various	4	4		
Ángel del Río	4	4	M	Spain
Gonzalo Sobejano	4	4	M	Spain
Ed. Darío Villanueva, et al.	4	4		
Beatriz Sarlo	4	3	F	Argentina
Susan Kirkpatrick	4	3	F	USA
Paul Julian Smith	4	3	M	UK
Julian Weiss	4	3	M	UK
Julio Ortega	5	2	M	Peru
Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo	4	2	M	Spain

Name	Total Appearances	Unique Lists	Sex	Country
Robert Spires	4	2	M	USA
José Antonio Maravall	4	2	M	Spain

The table that follows contains information on the most frequently occurring nationalities of authors of works of criticism, allowing for repetitions across lists. Nationalities were not given for critical anthologies or other works of collected criticism that contained contributions from a variety of authors. Such texts were more numerous than any nationality. Perhaps unsurprisingly, given the location of the universities whose lists are included in this study, the most frequent nationality is that of the United States. Following closely behind are Spain and then critics from the United Kingdom. It is interesting that so few critics from Argentina and Mexico are cited, in light of the dominance that these two countries exert on the Latin American primary text reading lists. Double nationalities are written with a slash (/) in between, as in the case of “Cuba/USA,” which is used for authors that were born in Cuba but emigrated to the United States, during the regime of Fidel Castro.

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**Table 41.** Representation of Nationalities of Authors of Criticism.

Country	Number of Texts
N/A	168
USA	162
Spain	147
UK	118
Argentina	41
Peru	24
Puerto Rico	22
Uruguay	20
Cuba/USA	18

Country	Number of Texts
Cuba	12
Dominican Republic	8
Mexico	8
Germany	8
Brazil	8
Switzerland	7
Puerto Rico/USA	7
Spain (Catalonia)	7
Chile	5
Poland, Cuba	5
Venezuela	4
Spain (Basque Country)	3
Poland	2
Mexico/USA	2
France	2
Colombia	2
Ecuador	2
Italia	2

## 5. Conclusion

It is our hope that this study has shown that there are a considerable number of literary or cultural texts that are in frequent use across Spanish departments in U.S. universities. Of course, there is very little absolute consensus, but following the arguments of Mabel Moraña, Wadda Ríos-Font, and others, absolute consensus cannot be the primary criterion of canonical status because canons are not seen to be subjective and dialogical in nature. In combining reading lists from 50 universities, we have effectively put these differing, subjective visions for what the Hispanic canon is into dialog, and the results of our study point to 77 works of literature (39 Peninsular and 38 from Latin America) and 95 authors (46 Peninsular and 49 Latin American) that are actively present in this discussion,

with several other texts and authors hovering just below canonical status. Brown and Johnson's 1998 study found 83 works to be canonical above a 50 percent threshold. 55 of these were from Spain, with only 28 coming from Latin America. In 2016, the Spanish Peninsular canon has shrunk by a considerable 16 works, while the Latin American literary canon has grown by 10, meaning that the 1998 Hispanic literary canon only outstrips the current version by six texts, a relatively unremarkable decrease. What is remarkable, however, is the extent to which the 2016 canon corrects the immense imbalance between Peninsular and Latin American texts that was present in Brown and Johnson's results. This cannot be accidental, and must speak to collective, departmental efforts to create a better balance between the different fields of Hispanic Literature. That would seem to point to a more collaborative and dialogic process of canon formation in Hispanic literature programs in the United States, one that is more inclusive with respect to the full geographical scope of Hispanic literature. This is certainly progress, even if the number of overall texts suggested has decreased slightly.

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Encouraging, too, is the fact that the total number of women writers has increased since the 1998 study. As Joan Brown says in *Confronting our Canons*, "[a] total of 102 female authors were featured on U.S. graduate reading lists of the 1990s," with only six of these appearing on 50 percent or more of the lists (Brown 105). In 2016, the total number of female primary authors – that is, not including criticism – included in the 50 reading lists examined has risen to 237 (99 Peninsular, 138 Latin American), with 14 (6 Peninsular, 8 Latin American)

appearing on at least 50 percent of the reading lists. Both figures are more than double the corresponding numbers from Brown and Johnson's 1998 study, even though six fewer reading lists were included in our 2016 study. It must also be repeated that Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz has risen to 100 percent inclusion on the 50 Latin American reading lists examined, up five percent from 1998.

Of course, as was spelled out above, the gender gap that Brown and Johnson signal in 1998 and that Brown alone reiterates in 2010 remains massive, despite the clear progress that has been made in terms of incorporating women writers within graduate reading lists in the last two decades. Other major gaps pointed out by Brown in 2010 with respect to geographical distribution and ethnicity (both in Spain and in Latin America) seem to still have held across the reading lists, but the overall trend is towards more inclusion, with some bridging of these gaps that will likely accelerate in the coming decades. Indeed, the new texts that have risen to canonical status often serve to address these very gaps.

In conclusion, then, the 18 years since Brown and Johnson's study have shown the canon makers of Hispanic Literature in U.S. universities to be aware of the limitations and prejudices of their predecessors and of the curricular changes forced by the "Culture Wars" of the 1980s and 1990s, even if a far-reaching change has not yet been realized. Nevertheless, positive changes towards greater inclusion and breadth of study are certainly evident. One would expect such inclusivity to continue increasing across all Spanish programs in U.S. universities,

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and if anyone is to conduct a similar study in 20 years, it is almost certain that any notions of Hispanic canonicity will be considerably more balanced than they were at the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. As always, the work of canon formation is a work in progress, but it is encouraging that this progress has become tangible and visible across Hispanic literature programs in the United States.

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