Introduction

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About This Book

The focus of this book is the Spanish language and Spanish-language culture (spoken, written, visual and material) outside the framework of the nation-state. In other words, there should be no neat conflation of Spanish solely with Spain or any other nation-state. The nation-state is a nineteenth-century invention and postdates other state formations, such as Empire, and other concepts of 'nation', such as an extended family unit or clan derived from Latin '*nationem*' (meaning birth, origin, breed or stock). Nations and states long predate the nation-state, and it is in this broader sense that 'transnational' is used in this book. Transnational approaches are nothing new; they are the norm in classical, medieval and early modern studies: the Silk Road connecting China to southern Europe dates from the second century BCE. Nevertheless, the label and concept of transnational lend coherence to what initially may seem a very disparate area of study and allow for scholarly recovery of the past from a new, shared perspective that aims to make connections across time and space.

Precisely for this reason, the title of the book is not 'Transnational Hispanic Studies'. 'Hispanic' means 'pertaining to Spain or its people', which is problematic on two counts: the Spanish language is not limited to Spain, and Spanish is only one of Spain's official languages. 'Hispanic Studies', however, was (and still is) an institutionally recognised discipline, the core subject of which was the languages and literatures of (Roman) 'Hispania', today's Iberian Peninsula (Portugal and Spain), and the former Spanish and Portuguese Empires. The modern nation-states we refer to as Spain and Portugal were not considered as such until the nineteenth century;

previously they were kingdoms forming parts of larger empires, sometimes ruled by the same monarch (between 1580 and 1640). Portuguese, however, is a global language and the complex global, colonial and postcolonial cultures of the Lusophone world cannot be contained under the rubrics 'Hispanic' or 'Iberian'. A separate volume in this Transnational series is therefore dedicated to the vast and dynamic area of Portuguese/Lusophone studies.

Furthermore, the Eurocentric label 'Hispanic' can hardly account for the many languages and cultures of the Americas, least of all – despite its name – 'Latin' America. The term 'Latin America' was coined in the nineteenth century to take account of the small French presence in South and Central America (Haiti, Guyana). Spanish America (*Hispanoamérica*) more properly denotes the 19 countries in South and Central America and the Caribbean where the majority or (co-)official language is Spanish, distinctive from Portuguese-speaking Brazil. But the imperial connotations of 'Spanish America', if thought to refer to Spain, are still strong (the equivalent of referring to the USA and Canada as English America). Spanish is not the only language spoken in 'Spanish' America by any means. In Paraguay Guarani has long been a co-official language. Quechua and Aymara are also recognised as co-official languages in the Andean region. In fact, the 2009 Bolivian Constitution recognises 32 living indigenous languages. The challenge then is how to refer to the multifarious discipline studying the geographical and historical areas where the Spanish language has been influential and has co-existed with, threatened or even eradicated other languages and cultures. The terms 'Hispanic', 'Latin American', 'Iberian' and 'Spanish American' have all been challenged by scholars, but what might be seen as a problematic disciplinary fuzziness indicates instead an acute awareness of the inadequacy of current labels and an acknowledgement of the need to question in-grained traditional assumptions. Hispanic/Spanish/Iberian and Spanish/Latin American studies are excitingly rich, complex and diverse and will not be contained within one disciplinary label. 'Transnational' is not perfect either, but in its broader sense goes some way towards capturing a sense of coherence and common purpose across vast areas through time.

This Introduction is divided into two parts. The first part is a brief transnational history of the development of the Spanish language, inseparable from the political, social and cultural histories to which it is attached. The second part outlines some of the recent debates in transnational studies relevant to the Spanish-language world. As with the other books in this series, the chapters are divided into four sections that focus on language and transnational temporalities, spatialities and subjectivities. Each author presents a particular view of what 'transnational Spanish' might entail, providing a

case study relating to their own interests and written in their own style. The bibliography on all these subjects is copious and may be followed through in general further reading, as indicated below, and in the works cited in the separate chapters.

In the last 20 years numerous introductory 'Companions' have been published to assist students in their first approximation to the Spanish-language world. These include the broad-based *The Companion to Hispanic Studies*, ed. by Catherine Davies (London: Arnold, 2002) and *The Companion to Latin American Studies*, ed. by Philip Swanson (London and New York: Routledge, 2003). All these 'Companions' are transnational in focus while some discuss transnational approaches explicitly, for example, the chapter entitled 'Transnational Frameworks' (by Gerard Dapena, Marvin D'Lugo and Alberto Elena) in *A Companion to Spanish Cinema*, ed. by Jo Labanyi and Tatjana Pavlovic (Malden, MA and Oxford: Blackwell, 2012), pp. 15–49. Cinema is an especially rich field for the study of transnational practices and methodologies.[1]

Like the accompanying volumes in the Transnational Modern Languages series, *Transnational Spanish Studies* aims to recast the disciplinary framework of Modern Languages, arguing that it should be seen as an expert mode of enquiry whose founding research question is how languages and cultures operate and interact across diverse axes of connection.[2] *Transnational Spanish Studies* should therefore be read in conjunction with the *Transnational Modern Languages Handbook*, which will be made available on-line. The *Handbook* clarifies key words and concepts, many of which are still shifting and under discussion. It thus complements insights and understandings of the 'transnational' as suggested by the authors in this book. As has been noted, too often contemporary discourses on the

[1] For further reading see: *A Companion to Spanish-American Literature*, ed. by Stephen M. Hart (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Tamesis, 1999); *A Companion to Latin American Film*, ed. by Stephen M. Hart (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Tamesis, 2004); *A Companion to Latin American Literature and Culture*, ed. by Sara Castro-Klaren (Malden, MA and Oxford: Blackwell, 2008); *A Companion to Latin American History*, ed. by Thomas Holloway (Malden, MA and Oxford: Blackwell, 2010); *Decolonial Approaches to Latin American Literatures and Cultures*, ed. by Juan G. Ramos and Tara Daly (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); *A Companion to Latin America Cinema*, ed. by Maria M. Delgado, Stephen M. Hart and Randal Johnson (Malden, MA and Oxford: John Wiley, 2017), and *The Routledge Companion to Latin American Cinema*, ed. by Marvin D'Lugo, Ana M. López and Laura Podalsky (London and New York: Routledge, 2017).

[2] *Transnational Modern Languages Handbook*, ed. by Jennifer Burns and Derek Duncan (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2019).

global, transcultural, postcolonial and decolonial fail to take account of the specificity of the Spanish and Latin American experience and the associated insights emerging from the global south. Sadly, too many researchers outside Modern Languages lack the necessary language skills to do so. This book aims to help remedy this situation and to encourage Modern Languages students and scholars to set the agenda in future transnational research. By taking a transnational approach we can decolonise and denationalise the curriculum.

Part One

As stated, the focus of this book is the language commonly referred to as Spanish or *castellano* (Castilian), a language that is the cumulative outcome of millions of people communicating by the spoken and written word across vast mutating territories for almost two thousand years. This focus will serve as a means to explore the expansive spread and hybridisation over time of the heterogeneous Hispanophone world. The fashionable term 'transnational' falls short of describing the long-term, cross-cultural interaction of Spanish language practice and its continuing development today, particularly when used as a transhistorical descriptor of the language's unification of Hispanophone territories. Spanish has been shaped by the clash of cultures, languages and religions within and between great empires – the Roman, the Islamic and the Hispano-Catholic – each with imperial expansionist policies leading to wars, huge territorial gains and population movements.[3]

A language recognisably Spanish predates the formation of the modern nation-state Spain by more than 400 years. More accurate for the purposes of this volume are the terms 'supranational'[4] or 'trans-imperial' to refer to the sustained, everyday encounters between peoples of different languages and cultures communicating with one another in peaceful or conflictive circumstances over many generations. Needless to say, language is here understood not merely as a system of communication but primarily as a means of interpreting the world according to the distinctive cultural assumptions and values both shared and disputed by a language-community. A common language creates allegiances and identities but may also mask radical

[3] An empire is a sovereign state that includes many nations and/or peoples ruled by one monarch or emperor. The empire seeks to impose its values and beliefs on the territories it rules. Imperial language policies are designed to reinforce imperial control, to unite diverse peoples speaking different languages under one central authority.

[4] Having the power to transcend national boundaries and governments.

diversity and inequalities. Above all, language is an instrument of power and a means of enforcing or resisting political and religious supremacy. The Spanish language has co-existed with, threatened and even eradicated other languages. As J. M. Y. Simpson reminds us, whether a language is a minority one or a majority one 'has nothing to do with the language but everything to do with the situation in which it finds itself'.[5]

Transnational is a term first used in a language context. German philologist Georg Curtius referred to transnational language families in the 1860s; in 1868 he correctly noted 'every language is fundamentally transnational'.[6] Since the 1980s it has been used to refer to global finance and powerful multinational corporations operating across the borders of nation-states,[7] and increasingly since the 1990s in migration studies to describe populations that move and settle across borders yet maintain strong ties with their home communities. Long-distance human migration across political boundaries and spheres of influence is as old as humanity itself and is often in the form of forced displacement caused by war, poverty, invasion and persecution. People move and when they settle, they bring with them their languages and cultures. Migrations have contributed to language change with significant consequences for the communities of origin (which may lose their young men yet benefit from remittances) and destination (transformed by the newcomers), and for the migrants themselves (often constituting an ethnolinguistic minority).[8] There is nothing new in this.[9] What is new about today's 'new transnationalism', however, is the facility and speed of communication between relocated migrants and their home communities.

G. E. Fouron and N. Glick-Schiller define transnational migration as 'the process of movement and settlement across international borders in which individuals maintain or build multiple networks of connection to

[5] J. M. Y. Simpson et al, *Minority Languages Today* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981), p. 236.

[6] Pierre-Yves Saunier, 'Transnational', in *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History*, ed. by Akira Iriye and Pierre-Yves Saunier (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 1047–1055.

[7] See Constance Devereaux and Martin Griffin, 'International, global, transnational: Just a matter of words?', *Eurozine*, 11 October 2006.

[8] Paul Kerswill, 'Migration and language', in *Sociolinguistics/Soziolinguistik. An International Handbook of the Science of Language and Society*, ed. by Klaus Mattheier, Ulrich Ammon and Peter Trudgill, 2nd edn, vol. 3 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006). Citeseerx.ist.psu.edu

[9] A. Portes, L. E. Guarnizo and P. Landolt, 'The study of transnationalism: Pitfalls and promise of an emergent research field', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22.2 (1999), 217–237.

their country of origin while at the same time settling into a new country'.[10] Historically, long-distance communication between literate individuals was possible only by means of the written word, letters sent across land and sea by various forms of transportation – especially after the introduction of the modern postal services in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (packet boat, train, telegraph, telegram, airmail and so on). Communication via the spoken word was possible face to face with individuals (recent arrivals, travellers, seamen) or, more recently, via the telephone. Even modern means of communication, dependent on technological innovation and local infrastructure, involved delays and were inaccessible to most people. A telephone call could only be made where there was a telephone, and a call was expensive. In the twenty-first-century network society, however, verbal and visual long-distance communication between migrants and their communities of origin is not only widely available but typically instantaneous, albeit not universally so.[11] New on-line communication channels (smart phones, social media) make it possible for migrants to interact simultaneously in two places. International money transfers support these transnational circuits. Transnational immigrants (transmigrants) are able to 'forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement […] [building] social fields that cross geographic, cultural and political borders'.[12] They do so using visuals and, above all, language.

The Transnational 'Turn' in (Latin) American Studies

Many influential texts shaping the field of transnational migrant studies focus on the United States and, in particular, the influx since the 1970s of Spanish-speaking American and Caribbean populations.[13] This is hardly surprising. The impact of these communities in the United States is immense

[10] G. E. Fouron and N. Glick-Schiller, 'The generation of identity: Redefining the second generation within a transnational social field', in *Migration, Transnationalization & Race in a Changing New York*, ed. by H. Cordero-Guzman, R. C. Smith and R. Grosfoguel (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2001), pp. 58–86, p. 60.

[11] *The Guardian* reports urban 'internet deserts' in major global cities like São Paulo: <https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2019/jan/11/a-game-of-patience-and-persistence-life-in-sao-paulo-internet-deserts>.

[12] Linda Basch, Nina Glick-Schiller and Cristina Szanton Blanc, *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments and Deterritorialized Nation-States* (Basel: Gordon and Breach, 1994), p. 7.

[13] Juan Poblete, 'The transnational turn', in *New Approaches to Latin American Studies: Culture and Power*, ed. by Juan Poblete (London and New York: Routledge, 2017), pp. 32–49, p. 34.

with migrant numbers soaring from less than one million in 1960 to almost 19 million in 2010.[14] According to Ruben G. Rumbaut, in 2019 there were more than 60 million Spanish speakers in the USA, 64 million if Puerto Rico is included. This makes the USA the second largest Spanish-speaking country in the world after Mexico.[15] The networks and spaces created by Latino diasporas (mainly from Mexico, Central America, Cuba and the Dominican Republic) are not only transnational and transcultural (relating to more than one culture) but also translingual, a term coined in the context of Global Englishes to describe practices in which users switch between languages in their speech and writing to communicate effectively.[16] In translingual communities, users negotiate between available languages in dynamic and creative ways. Communication takes place across languages in a single speech or writing act, unlike within multilingual communities where users choose between one language or another. This type of translanguaging is often associated with bilinguals who access features of two or more 'standard' languages to maximise communication.

A new hybrid language, formed from English and Spanish, referred to disparagingly as Spanglish, has emerged in the USA featuring different dialects according to migrants' place of origin and settlement. Speakers switch between English and Spanish (codeswitching) according to their requirements (see Pountain, Chapter 1). Written forms are captured in literary texts of dual-identity authors such as the Mexican-American Gloria Anzaldúa, Dominican-American Junot Diaz and Cuban-American Gustavo Pérez Firmat, the latter of whose memoir is tellingly entitled *Life on the Hyphen: The Cuban American Way*.[17] The study of the languages used currently by Latinos (Latin Americans in the US), Chicanos (Mexican-Americans), Nuyoricans (Puerto Ricans in New York) and Dominican Americans, pertains wholly to transnational studies as outlined above (see James, Chapter 16). Spanglish is currently a grassroots language; it has not been imposed by authority, has no official status, has not yet been standardised and is far from laying the

[14] Marta Tienda and Susana Sanchez, 'Latin American immigration to the United States', *Daedalus*, 142.3 (2013), 48–64. The authors distinguish between three sources of immigrants: legal permanent residents, refugees and asylees, and unauthorised migrants granted legal status.

[15] See 'The Hispanic legacy in American history', special issue of *History Now*, 53 (Winter 2019), 1. Also, C. Gibson, *El Norte. The Epic and Forgotten Story of Hispanic North America* (New York: Grove Atlantic, 2019).

[16] Suresh Canagarajah, *Translingual Practice: Global Englishes and Cosmopolitan Relations* (London and New York: Routledge, 2012).

[17] Gustavo Pérez Firmat, *Life on the Hyphen: The Cuban American Way* (Austin: Texas University Press, 1994).

basis for any kind of new nation-state. Nevertheless, it is an effective tool for consolidating Hispano-American identities in a global, hegemonically Anglo-American society (see Swanson, Chapter 9). This is a recent example of how Spanish language practice crosses nation-state borders. The major obstacle to studying pre-twentieth-century everyday conversation is the lack of recorded speech, although written representations of speech and song are available (see Harvey, Chapter 2 and Monroe, Chapter 3 for early examples). Despite this difficulty, this book aims to reach beyond the narrow confines of the 'transnational' as defined in recent migration studies and extend its chronological and geographical framework from present-day USA. Historians, many of whom have adopted the term since the 1990s, are well aware of the potential opportunities but also drawbacks of transnational approaches. Transnationalism used loosely and anachronistically can de-historicize nations and nation-states, making them appear 'natural', and underplay the power of nationalism and national identities.[18] The following historical overview of the Hispanophone world aims to avoid presentism and argues, following Curtius, that the Spanish language is and always has been 'transnational' and for this reason should not be identified wholly or solely within the framework of any one nation or nation-state.[19]

[18] 'Transnational history' is concerned with cross-national processes and influences. It focuses on the movements of people, cultures, ideas, institutions and technologies across political boundaries (state, nation, empire), mainly from the nineteenth century on. The aim is to 'put national developments in context and to explain the nation in terms of its cross-national influences'. See Ian Tyrell, 'What is transnational history' (2007), <https://Iantyrrell.wordpress.com/what-is-transnational-history>, accessed 14 January 2019. Historians refer to the 'spatial' and 'international' turn in history; 'the international turn has revived interest in conceptions of space by attending to arenas that were larger than nations, unconfined by political boundaries of states, and connected by transnational linkages and circulations', see David Armitage, 'The international turn in intellectual history', in *Rethinking Modern European Intellectual History*, ed. by Darrin M. McMahon and Samuel Moyn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 232–252, p. 239. Examples relevant to this book include *Nationalism and Transnationalism in Spain and Latin America, 1808–1923*, ed. by Paul Garner and Angel Smith (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2017) and *America Imagined: Explaining the United States in Nineteenth-Century Europe and Latin America*, ed. by Axel Körner, Nicola Miller and Adam Smith (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmilllan, 2012). For an excellent overview see Simon Macdonald, 'Transnational history: A review of past and present scholarship' (2012), <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/centre-transnational-history/sites/centre-transnational-history/files/simon_macdonald_tns_review.pdf>, accessed 5 January 2019.

[19] Jeroen Duindam challenges transnationalism's tendency to focus on the modern and contemporary periods, that is, after the nineteenth-century invention of the nation-state. See Jeroen Duindam, 'Early modern Europe: Beyond strictures of

Studying Spanish language practice from its origins until today entails a transnational perspective and a transnational approach.[20]

The Trans-imperial Development of Spanish Language Culture: The Long View

1. *Latin*. The Empire that created the conditions for the development of Spanish was the multi-ethnic, multi-lingual Roman Empire, the endurance and extension of which, encompassing all the territories around the Mediterranean Sea, from Britain to Egypt, was of momentous consequence for European culture, thought, law and government. The Romans invaded the Iberian Peninsula in 206 BCE and Emperor Augustus incorporated it into the western Roman Empire in 19 BCE. The province was named Hispania and subdivided into three regions corresponding loosely to today's Andalusia, Portugal and the rest of Spain. Roman civilisation lasted approximately 700 years, until Hispania was overrun by the Germanic peoples (the Goths/Visigoths) in the fifth century. The foundation of today's Spanish is one variety (Castilian) of the conversational Latin (vernacular or Vulgar Latin) spoken in the Peninsula in the northern region of Cantabria. Peoples from across the Empire moved to and settled in Hispania and whole new towns were founded, such as Caesaraugusta (Zaragoza) and Lucus Augusti (Lugo). Christianity became Hispania's official religion, declared as such across the Empire by Constantin in 323. Power passed from the Roman Empire to Visigoth kingdoms between the fifth and the eighth centuries, but the population was already Romanised and Christian, speaking dialects of Latin. Spanish (like Portuguese, French, Italian) is a Romance (or neo-Latin) language evolving from spoken Latin after the collapse of the Roman Empire.

In 'transnational' terms, this long-term process was driven by migrant populations (mainly men) from across the Empire, speaking varieties of conversational Latin, governed from Rome and later Constantinople by imperial institutions and laws. They settled in the Peninsula, displacing pre-Roman languages (such as Celtic, but not Basque), cultures and religions, thereby creating the foundation for shared identities and allegiances that would endure over many generations. Over time, freed from imperial control and immobilised by a crumbling infrastructure, the everyday practices of local

modernization and national historiography', *European Historical Quarterly*, 40.4 (2010), 606–623.

[20] The bibliography on the topics discussed in the following section is huge and dates mainly from the beginning of the twentieth century. Indications of further reading are given in the notes.

communities gave rise to cultural and linguistic differentiation. Indeed, the various 'nations' of the present-day Peninsula were formed during the Roman/Christian millennium that began in 206 BCE. The Romance languages that developed alongside Castilian, notably the languages we refer to today as Portuguese, Catalan, Galician, Asturian and Valencian, still underpin strong regional and national identities. Portugal became an independent kingdom in the twelfth century and is now a sovereign nation-state. Catalan, Galician and Basque are officially recognised languages and nations in today's pluri-nation state, Spain. Some three-quarters of the current Spanish vocabulary is derived from Latin.[21]

2. *Arabic*. The foundational Roman/Christian millennium came to a sudden end in 711 when Hispania was overrun by the conquering armies of Islam and renamed al-Andalus. The *jihadists*, commanded by the Berber Tariq ibn Ziyad, crossed the straits of Gibraltar (the rock bearing his name) reaching the Pyrenees five years later. Islam was thus established on the Iberian Peninsula and remained a force to contend with for the next 900 years. In the words of Efraim Karsh, 'Few events have transformed the course of human history more swiftly and profoundly than the expansion of early Islam and its conquest of much of the ancient world.'[22] Within five years the Iberian Peninsula (Hispania) was removed from Western European Christendom and incorporated into the multi-ethnic transnational Umayyad Caliphate, which extended from today's Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan, to Arabia and North Africa, with its capital in Damascus. It was the world's most extensive empire at the time, covering more than five million square miles (13 million square kilometres). Hispania was the only Western European (Roman/Christian) territory to be integrated into the first Caliphate;[23] from then on religious faith and ethno-religious purity became a predominant factor in the Peninsula's history.[24]

The Syrian Umayyad dynasty lost the Caliphate to the Abbasids, whose new capital was Baghdad, but one Umayyad survivor, Abd al Rahman,

[21] Simon Keay, *Roman Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988); Rafael Lapesa, *Historia de la Lengua Española*, 3rd edn (Madrid: Escelicer, 1955), pp. 39–77.

[22] Efraim Karsh, *Islamic Imperialism. A History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 21.

[23] Apart from Sicily and Malta and part of southern Italy.

[24] Among the many studies of medieval Iberia see Richard Hitchcock, *Muslim Spain Reconsidered. From 711 to 1502* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014) and *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain. Identities and Influences* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal. A Political History of al-Andalus* (Harlow, London and New York: Longman, 1996).

escaped to al-Andalus and established the Caliphate of Cordoba (929–1031). Over time, the Christian kingdoms of the north (Asturias, Leon, Navarre, Galicia, Portugal, Castile, Aragon) consolidated their forces and stage by stage pushed back the frontiers of Islamic Iberia.[25] This *Reconquista* lasted hundreds of years and was equated with the eastern crusades.[26] By the twelfth century the Peninsula was divided roughly in two halves, the fault line between Christendom and Islam running through its centre from roughly Lisbon in the west to Tortosa in the east. The political configuration of al-Andalus and its geopolitical allegiances shifted in response to local and imperial rivalries and Christian pressure from the north. The Caliphate of Cordoba gave way to some 30 *taifas*, small Islamic (mainly Berber) principalities (the *taifas* of Toledo, Zaragoza, Badajoz, etc.) that often invited Christian armies to fight on their behalf. But after the fall of Toledo (captured by Alfonso VI of Leon in 1085) and Lisbon (captured by crusaders in 1147) the *taifas* sought military assistance from their more militant co-religionaries in North Africa. Between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries al-Andalus was incorporated into the Moroccan-Berber Caliphates of the Almoravids and the Almohads. The final Muslim stronghold, the Kingdom of Granada, established in 1230 by the Nasrid dynasty, extended across today's Andalusia (Granada, Malaga, Almeria) and was forced to pay tribute to the Crown of Castile. In 1492, the last Nasrid emirate, Muhammad XII, relinquished Granada to Castile and fled to Morocco. Thus ended almost 800 years of Islamic rule in Iberia. Many Muslims remained in the land of their birth, but were forced to convert, and by 1614 were finally expelled. As Harvey explains, from 1500 on 'there began in earnest the process whereby Spain's Muslims were to be eliminated from Spanish society'.[27] In that same year, some 250,000 Jews, whose descendants had lived in Hispania and al-Andalus since Roman times, were forced to convert or forced into exile (between 40,000 to 100,000 were exiled).

[25] The Eastern orthodox schism dates from 1054 and was due to disputes over doctrine and the authority of the Pope.

[26] Thomas F. Madden, *A Concise History of the Crusades* (Lanham, MD, Boulder, CO, New York, Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999), p. 123. The Christian kingdoms actively participated in the second crusade (1146–1148) and won a decisive victory over the Muslims at the battle of Las Navas de Tortosa (Battle of Al-Uqab) in 1212. For a strong refutation of the 'Conquest–Reconquest' narrative (used to consolidate the Franco regime in twentieth-century Spain) see Alejandro García Sanjuán, *La conquista islámica de la península ibérica y la tergiversación del pasado* (Barcelona: Marcial Pons, 2013).

[27] L. P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500–1614* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2005), p. vii.

The cultural, scholarly and scientific achievements of al-Andalus are legendary and are continuing to attract a wealth of scholarship.[28] Recent attention has been given to the lives of ordinary people, their everyday social relations and hybrid identities in a culturally complex, translingual society. Although the Christians and Jews were subjected to Islamic authority, the distinctions between the three religions of al-Andalus (Islam, Judaism, Christianity) and their spoken languages were gradually blurred.[29] Romance was spoken by the rural classes and Arabic by the middle and upper classes, regardless of faith. Arabic, spoken and written, was common among Christians as it was required for certain professions. Muslim men might marry Christian women but their children (whose mother-tongue was Romance) had to be brought up as Arabic-speaking Muslims to recite the Qu'ran. By the eleventh century many Christians had acculturated to an Islamic way of life in clothes, food and furniture, giving rise to a new hybridized Mozarabic identity (from the Arabic *must'arab* – would-be-Arab) (Catlos, pp. 104–105). Some indication of the multiple translingual identities formed in al-Andalus and later may be gauged from the newly coined terms: Mozarab (Christians who assimilate Islamic culture); Mozarabic (or Andalusi, the Romance dialects spoken in al-Andalus often written using Arabic or Hebrew script); *mudéjar* (Arabic *al-mudajjan*), a Muslim living under Christian rule (for example in Navarre); *morisco* (Arabic *moriskiyyun*), a Muslim living under Christian rule forced to convert to Christianity, and their descendants; *converso* (a convert to Christianity, usually from Judaism, and their descendants); *ladino* (literary Judeo-Spanish); *aljamiado* (a sixteenth-century literary language in which Romance is written in Andalusi Arabic script); and *muladi* (Arabic *muwallad*), a child of a non-Muslim mother. Harvey prefers the term crypto-Muslim to refer to Muslims subjected to the militant Catholicism and crusader mentality of Christian monarchs during the sixteenth century. These bilingual *moriscos*, or New Christians, had legally converted but practised Islam secretly and were therefore subject to the Inquisition, founded in 1478 (see *Muslims in Spain*, pp. 2–3 for problems with the word *morisco*).[30]

[28] Notably in astronomy, astrology, algebra, medicine, agriculture, architecture, ceramics and philosophy.

[29] Brian A. Catlos, *Kingdoms of Faith. A New History of Islamic Spain* (London: Hurst and Company, 2018), pp. 104–105.

[30] See also L. P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain 1250 to 1500* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1990); Richard Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Identities and Influences* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); and S. J. Pearce, 'The problem of terminology in Medieval Iberian Studies', *Modern Language Notes*, 134 (2019), 463–474.

In al-Andalus classical Arabic replaced Latin as the written language, while Romance was relegated to everyday use among the poor. By the tenth century classical Latin had almost disappeared other than among clerics. Literature flourished (mainly in Arabic and Hebrew).[31] The phonology of spoken Arabic shifted towards the more softly spoken Romance sounds and Arabic greetings and blessings became part of common speech. The greatest contribution of Arabic to Romance/*castellano* was a large vocabulary, many words identifying new concepts and objects. Arabic, after Latin, is the most important source of words in Spanish (4000 words, roughly 8 per cent) (*Historia de la Lengua Española*, p. 95).[32] The words pertain to distinctive semantic fields: war (*alférez*, *jinete*); agriculture, flowers (*aljibe*, *aceituna*, *azúcar*, *algodón*, *azucena*, *azahar*, *mejorana*); crafts (*tarea*, *alfarero*, *taza*, *jarra*, *marfil*); trade and measures (*arancel*, *aduana*, *almacén*, *zoco*); buildings (*arrabal*, *zaguán*, *alcoba*, *azotea*, *albañil*, *alcantarilla*); furniture, food (*almohada*, *alfombra*, *albóndiga*, *almíbar*); pastimes (*ajedrez*, *jaque mate* [check mate, as in chess], *azar*); mathematics (*algoritmo*, *sifr>cifra*, *álgebra*, *zero*); medicine (*alcohol*, *jarabe*); astronomy (*cenit*, *nadir*, *auge*); colour (*azul*, *añil*, *carmesí*); exclamations (*ojalá*); government (*alcalde*, *alguacil*), and place names: Algarve (the west), Alcalá (castle), Calatayud (Ayub's castle), Medina (town), *wadi* (river) as in Guadalajara (river of stones), Guadalquivir (big river or *río grande*) (Lapesa, pp. 95–103). Unlike Latin, neither Arabic nor Andalusi survived in the monoconfessional Iberian Peninsula due to the forced removal of the large *morisco* population who spoke it.

However, this was not the end of Islam or Arabic in Spain. Four hundred years after the *morisco* expulsions Islam has made a remarkable comeback due to mass immigration and increasing numbers of Spanish converts. The Muslim population in 2018 was approximately two million, up from 100,000 in 1990.[33] The huge Islamic Cultural Centre, inspired by the Alhambra, in

[31] *The Literature of Al-Andalus*, ed. by Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindin and Michael Sells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). On language use see Yasime Beale-Rivaya, 'The written record as witness. Language shift from Arabic to Romance in the documents of the Mozarabs of Toledo in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', *La Corónica*, 40.2 (2012), 2–50, and María Angeles Gallego, 'The languages of medieval Iberia and their religious dimension', *Medieval Encounters*, 9.1 (2003), 107–139. The 'Golden Age' of Jewish learning and Hebrew letters in al-Andalus was during the time of the *taifa* kingdoms; see José Martínez Delgado, 'Secularization through Arabicization: The revival of the Hebrew language in al-Andalus', *Simon Dubnow Institute Yearbook*, 12 (2013), 299–317.

[32] Other examples: *atalaya*, *acequia*, *alumbre*, *azogue*, *alhóndiga*, *fanega*, *laúd*, *alborozo*, Guadiana (river Anna).

[33] According to the Instituto Nacional de Estadística there are some 618,000

Granada, was opened in Madrid in 1992. Since then thousands of mosques (*mezquitas*) and prayer centres have been established across Spain, including in Granada and Cordoba, many funded by Saudi Arabia in order, some claim, to promote the Wahhabi version of Islam.[34] Sadly, one root motive for the Madrid terrorist attacks of 2004 was revenge for the loss of Andalusia (*Islamic Imperialism*, p. 231).

3. *Castellano*. In the fifteenth century, alongside the emirate of Granada, the Iberian Peninsula was divided into Christian kingdom-states ruled by dynasties originating in the north: to the west Portugal (independent since 1139), in the centre Castile-Leon (united in 1217, including Asturias since 924, and later Galicia), in the east the Crown of Aragon (including Catalonia and Valencia, the Balearic islands, Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia, Malta and the kingdom of Naples) and Navarre in the Basque region. In each, a broad spectrum of dialects of Romance were spoken and in the written form had evolved into early versions of the Romance languages we recognise today. Castilian, Catalan and Galician-Portuguese already had major literary works to their credit. During the *Reconquista* the kingdoms acquired lands previously ruled by Islam whose Arabic, Mozarabic and Hebrew-speaking populations were incorporated into their own. At times, the peoples of different religions, languages and ethnicities lived together more or less harmoniously in much-celebrated (and much-challenged) *convivencia*.[35] The language of the cultured elite was still classical Latin, especially in the Church, but Latin was increasingly rivalled by the vernaculars. In thirteenth-century Castile-Leon *castellano* was recognised as official for legal documents and royal diplomas, and Jewish and Arabic-speaking translators at the famous School of Translators in Toledo translated classical Arabic works not only into Latin but also *castellano*. In the reign of Alfonso X the Wise (1252–1284) *castellano* became the target written language rather than Latin. The libraries seceded to the Christians by the Arabs encapsulated all world knowledge of the period. These Arabic texts (such as the writings of Averroes and Avicenna)

speakers of Arabic in Spain today (twice as many as Basque speakers). See Ine.es-jaxi-tabl accessed August 2019. Arabic is the majority language in Ceuta and Melilla, the Spanish 'autonomous cities' of north Africa.

[34] Soeren Kern, 'Spain goes on mosque-building spree: Churches forced to close', Gatestone Institute, 30 December 2010; Isambard Wilkinson, 'After 500 years Granada's Muslims get their mosque', *The Telegraph*, 8 July 2003.

[35] See Maya Soifer, 'Beyond *convivencia*: Critical reflections on the historiography of interfaith relations in Christian Spain', *Journal of Medieval Studies*, 1.1 (2009), 19–35 and Anna Akasoy '*Convivencia* and its discontents: Interfaith life in al-Andalus', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 42.3 (2010), 489–499.

proved to be foundational for European thought and science. Many were Arabic translations of Ancient Greek and Hebrew philosophers and scientists, Aristotle, Ptolemy, Archimedes, Euclid, Maimonides and Hippocrates, whose original works were lost. Castile's bi- and tri-lingual population and access to Arabic texts made it the most important centre of learning in Europe, thus strengthening the authority and status of *castellano*.[36]

4. *Spanish*. By the time Isabel I came to the throne in 1474 the kingdom of Castile was prosperous, encompassing the larger part of the Iberian Peninsula.[37] Castile's hegemony was strengthened by its judicious alliance with the Crown of Aragon, cemented in the marriage between Isabel and Ferdinand II of Aragon in 1469, the Catholic Monarchs (both descended from John of Castile). This alliance proved sufficiently powerful to conquer Granada (1492) and benefit from its lands, peoples and immense wealth. From their point of view, after a crusade of almost 800 years, Christian Hispania had been restored, compensating in some way for the fall of the Byzantine Empire and capture of Constantinople by the Islamic Ottomans forty years earlier. To expand their dominions even further, the Catholic Monarchs had to look west. Emir Muhammad handed over the keys of Granada in January 1492; nine months later Christopher Columbus, the Genoese navigator hired by the Catholic Monarchs to find a western passage to India, landed in the Bahamas. By the end of the year he had taken possession of Hispaniola (Insula Hispana or La Isla Española) for the Crown of Castile.[38] Columbus died believing he had reached India, and named the islands the Indies (las indias), leading to confusion about the East and West Indies, Indians in India and the indigenous peoples of America, ever since. This was how *castellano,* the language of the dual Monarchy (*monarquía hispánica*) reached the Americas. It is no coincidence that the first grammar of the *lengua castellana*, written by Antonio de Nebrija, dedicated to Isabel, was published in August of 1492 as an instrument of empire (see Perriam, Chapter 1; Thurner, Chapter 5).

As this brief survey demonstrates, *castellano* (referred to as *hespañol* or *español* from the sixteenth century), was never the only language spoken

[36] The kingdom of Portugal remained independent from Castile-Aragon and the Galego-Portuguese vernacular of Galicia in the north-west of the Peninsula developed into the Portuguese language with its own written texts and literary canon. In 1580 Philip II of Spain was crowned Philip I of Portugal (the Iberian Union), but although ruled by the same monarch until 1640 the two kingdoms were governed as separate entities. Portugal was a monarchy until 1910 and then a Republic.

[37] Isabel de Castilla's full title was Queen of Castile, Queen Consort of Aragon, Valencia, Mallorca, Naples, Sicily and Sardinia and Countess Consort of Barcelona.

[38] Today the island is divided into two states: Haiti and the Dominican Republic.

and written in Hispania/España. The state that conferred its power was not 'Spain' but the Crown of Castile and Aragon. Despite enormous efforts to impose *castellano* as the exclusive language of the lands controlled by the *monarquía hispánica* throughout the modern period, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries and later, *castellano* cannot be identified with one people, one nation or one nation-state. Whether as a kingdom in its own right or as part of the vast empires of the Austrian Hapsburgs (in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) and French Bourbons (from the eighteenth century), whether (barring brief interludes) governed by absolutist or constitutional monarchs, Hispania/España/Spain has always been translingual, transcultural and multi-ethnic, in which *castellano*/Spanish has coexisted, happily or unhappily, with other languages including Arabic and Hebrew. Other Hispanic languages are recognised today by the pluri-national state Spain as co-official (Catalan-Valencian, Galician, Basque or Euskera) or simply 'recognised' (Asturian, Leonese and Aragonese).[39] The country we call Spain is inherently transnational and translingual and studies of Spanish language cultures necessarily elicit a transnational perspective.

5. *Quechua, Guarani, Aymara, Mapuche and others*. Following Columbus's transoceanic voyages, throughout the 1500s lands hitherto unknown to Christendom were discovered and conquered on an unprecedented scale. Inter-imperial rivalry extended to the oceans. With the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494), the Pope apportioned the New World (as then known) to the *monarquía hispánica* (to the west) and the *Império Portugues* (to the east) divided by a meridian equidistant between the Caribbean and the Cape Verde Islands. The line ran through eastern present-day Brazil where the colonising language was Portuguese. California was claimed for Spain in 1542.

This was a clash of Empires (Hapsburgs versus Aztec and Inca), driven by European technological innovation, territorial ambition and crusading zeal. The conquistadors were fiercely opposed by the indigenous peoples, themselves migrants from Siberia and Asia who had settled on the continent many thousands of years previously. But the Europeans brought with them advanced military technology as well as diseases such as smallpox that wiped out huge swathes of the native population. Hernán Cortés (born in Medellín, Extremadura) conquered the Aztec Empire of city-states, capturing Mexico-Tenochtitlan in 1521. The subjugation of Mayan Yucatan was completed in

[39] According to the Instituto Nacional de Estadística, in 2016 98.9 per cent of the population of Spain spoke *castellano* (mother tongue and non-mother tongue), 17.5 per cent Catalan, 6.2 per cent Galician, 5.8 per cent Valencian, and 3 per cent Basque or Euskera. In other words, almost one-third of the population is bilingual.

the seventeenth century. Francisco Pizarro (born in Trujillo, Castile) defeated the Inca Empire, capturing and killing Emperor Atahualpa in 1542. In today's Colombia, the Muisca people were overwhelmed in the early 1540s. The Basque Juan de Garay founded the settlement of Buenos Aires in 1580. Each of the native peoples had their own religions, practices, cultures, social organization, and languages (more than 400, including Nahuatl, Maya, Quechua, Aymara and Guaraní, some with writing systems based on glyphs). Many new words extended the *castellano* vocabulary: *cacique*, *bohío*, *maíz*, *batata*, *tabaco*, *caníbal*, *enaguas* (from the Caribbean area); *cacao*, *chocolate*, *hule*, *jícara* from Nahuatl; and *condor*, *pampa*, *alpaca* from Quechua. Castilian, imposed from above, was the language of authority, governance and law, and Christianity (Roman Catholicism) the only permitted religion. The 'indies' were divided into Vice-royalties with Viceroys appointed to rule on behalf of the monarch: the Vice-royalties of New Spain (most of today's USA, Mexico, Central America and the Philippines) founded in 1535; Peru (most of South America excepting Brazil) in 1542; New Granada (today's Colombia, Ecuador, Panama and Venezuela) in 1717 and River Plate (Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia) in 1776.[40] From 1524 the Vice-royalties were governed by the Council of the Indies, eventually located in Madrid. The interaction between Spanish and the indigenous languages of the Americas, from the sixteenth century until today, constitutes a vast arena of translingual practice (see Howard, Chapter 4) marked by oppression, resistance and survival.[41] With the New World discoveries, *castellano*/Spanish went global.

6. *Spanish goes global*. The Catholic Monarchs' daughter, Juana, married Philip of the Hapsburg House of Austria, son of Maximilian I, the Holy Roman Emperor. Their grandson, born in Ghent, was crowned Charles I of Spain in 1516 and Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor soon after. Charles's son, Philip II, born in Valladolid and buried in El Escorial, was King of Spain (1556–1598), King of Naples, Sicily, Duke of Milan, Lord of the Netherlands and for a time King of Portugal; he was also King of England and Ireland when married to Mary I. His son, Philip III (1578–1621), born in Madrid,

[40] The term 'America' was coined in 1507 by Martin Waldseemuller whose world map named the newly discovered lands 'America' after the Italian explorer Americo Vespucci (1454–1512), a subject of the Crown of Castile. Following voyages in 1502 and 1503 Vespucci proved that the Indies were not a part of Asia but a 'New World'.

[41] See Anna Maria Escobar, 'Spanish in contact with Quechua', and Clare Mar-Molinero and Darren Paffey, 'Linguistic imperialism: Who owns global Spanish?', in *The Handbook of Hispanic Sociolinguistics*, ed. by Manuel Díaz-Campos (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), pp. 323–352, pp. 747–764.

inherited most of these titles as did Philip IV (1605–1665) and Charles II (1661–1700). The Hapsburg absolutist *Monarquía universal española* (also known as the Hispanic Monarchy, the Monarchy of the Austrias and the Catholic Monarchy) lasted almost two hundred years. It was an imperial, transoceanic state, controlling vast territories that extended some 1.5 million square miles across Europe, the New World, the East Indies, North Africa and at times the Portuguese Empire. This was the original 'empire on which the sun never sets' (see Thurner, Chapter 5).[42] Its population was multi-ethnic, multicultural, multilingual (more than 20 major languages), and pluri-national. David Armitage suggests that empires project 'various kinds of universalism in order to suspend differences without striving for unification' ('The international turn', p. 239). In the Hispanic Monarchy the subjects of the Crown were held together by the Spanish language and above all the Catholic Church, militant Catholicism – transnational, intolerant and intent on eradicating all other religions whether they be Islam in the east, Protestantism in the north,[43] Judaism, or the religions of the New World. In Iberoamerica the Catholic Church was successful; the most recent Pope, Francis I, is from Argentina.[44]

At the centre of the vast Empire, Castile was powerful and its port, Seville, held the exclusive right to trade with the Indies. *Castellano*, therefore, flourished across Europe and the Americas. Although the other Hispanic kingdoms retained their identities and laws, their languages (notably Catalan), rapidly declined. Even authors born outside Castile wrote in what was now known as Spanish. This was the Spanish 'Golden Age' marked by the publication of Miguel de Cervantes's *Don Quixote* in 1605 and 1615.

Enlarging the mix of peoples and languages was the importation of African slaves. The Portuguese began purchasing slaves from West Africa in the fifteenth century; the first voyage in what was to become the infamous Atlantic slave trade was in 1526 to supply labour to the Portuguese (Brazil) plantations. The slaves, mainly from West and Central Africa, were acquired from powerful sub-Sahara kingdoms.[45] Some 12.5 million slaves were transported to the Americas over

[42] See *Historia de España, Siglos XVI y XVII*, ed. by Ricardo García Cárcel (Cátedra: Madrid, 2003).

[43] Martin Luther published his 95 Theses in 1517; the Protestant Reformation lasted until 1648, resulting in a schism in Western Christianity. Meanwhile, the Ottoman-Hapsburg wars were waged between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries in Eastern and Central Europe.

[44] See Ivan Vallier, 'The Roman Catholic Church: A transnational actor', *International Organization*, special issue 'Transnational Relations and World Politics', 25.3 (1971), 479–502.

[45] Herman L. Bennett, *African Kings and Black Slaves. Sovereignty and Dispossession*

the next 300 years by mainly Portuguese, British, French and Spanish traders; about 10.5 million survived the traumatic crossing. Columbus brought a small number of *negros* to Hispaniola in 1502, as did Pánfilo de Narváez in his disastrous 1527 expedition to La Florida narrated by Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca in the *Comentarios* of 1555 (later *Naufragios*).[46] The Spanish trade began in earnest in the sixteenth century. It peaked in the nineteenth century, mainly due to the British abolition of slavery in the West Indies in 1833 and the subsequent relocation of sugar production to Cuba, where until 1886 slavery was still permitted (although not the trade). Cuba traded slaves with the United States unofficially until 1865 and with Brazil where slavery was not abolished until 1888. In Cuba the language of the Yoruba peoples (present-day Nigeria and Benin), and its liturgical version, Lucumi (used in Santeria), survives today largely due to the black co-fraternities established on the island in the nineteenth century (see Melling, Chapter 15). And in Africa, Spanish is an official language in Equatorial Guinea. The translingual practice of people speaking African languages forced to move to a region where *castellano* was the majority language, as well as Galician, French and English, is an important area of research.

With such mixed populations, the Hapsburg Empire was a complex translingual space. Europeans transacted business in Spain and the Americas on a daily basis. Spanish immigration to the Americas totalled some half a million in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, mainly from Andalusia, Castile and Extremadura (joined in the eighteenth century by Basques, Galicians and Catalans).[47] The majority of migrants were in commerce, state administration and the Church. The highly educated missionaries of the Catholic orders (Franciscans, Dominicans and Jesuits) studied the languages and cultures of the indigenous peoples assiduously, pioneering linguistic and ethnographic research, translations and transliteration. Pedro de Gante (of Flemish descent) translated Nahuatl in New Spain; the linguist Francisco Pareja developed the first Timuca writing system in Florida; in the Caribbean, Dominicans Antonio de Montesinos and Bartolomé de las Casas denounced the enslavement of the indigenous peoples resulting in New Laws to protect them (1542). The Jesuits

in the early Modern Atlantic (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018).

[46] Recently retold by Laila Lalami from the point of view of a Moroccan slave survivor, the first Arabic-speaking African to land in what is now the USA. Laila Lalami, *The Moor's Account* (New York: Pantheon Press, 2014).

[47] Patricia Escandón, '"Esta tierra es la mejor que calienta el sol": La emigración española a América siglos XVI–XVII', in *Historia comparada de las migraciones en las Américas*, ed. by Patricia Galeana (Mexico, D.F: UNAM, 2016), pp. 19–31; Rosario Márquez Macías, *La emigración española a América 1765–1824* (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, 1995).

founded settlements in present-day Argentina, Brazil and Paraguay where they learned the indigenous languages and taught their converts Latin.

To make sense of this hyper-hybrid population a racial taxonomy was invented, the *castas*, which ranked people according to birth, colour, race, ethnicity and physiognomy. Like the categories operating in *morisco* Spain, these New World *castas* had important legal, economic and social implications; the lower the *casta*, the more tax was paid. Purity of blood (*limpieza de sangre*), as applied to descendants of Muslims and Jews in Spain, was the most important factor in genealogy; the slightest variation from white Christian stained the family through generations. Only those with 'pure blood' could emigrate to the Indies. The highest *casta* was *español* (European born in Spain, or *criollo* born in the Americas), followed by *castizo* (mainly European, partly indigenous), *mestizo* (mixed-race European/indigenous), *indio* (pure indigenous), *pardo* (mixed-race European/indigenous/African), *mulato* (European/African), *zambo* (African/indigenous), *negro* (black African). Paintings to illustrate this taxonomy were commissioned in the eighteenth century under the Bourbons. The translingual and transcultural implications of these hybrid identities are profound. Undermining the apparent commonality in the cultures of the Hispanophone world, the taxonomic inclusion of these orders of difference would lead paradoxically to the progressive erosion of *castizo* and *pureza* (purity).

7. *French.* Following the costly War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714), Philip V, born in Versailles, grandson of Louis XIV, ascended to the throne in 1700. The Spanish Crown thus passed from the Austrian Hapsburg dynasty to the French Bourbons, where it remains today.[48] The monarchs' domains extended to Naples, Sardinia, Sicily, Milan, Flanders and Luxembourg, as well as Spain and the Spanish Americas. The Bourbons tightened up and centralised imperial government and administration. The French language, culture and customs, considered by the elites to be superior to *castellano*, afforded high status. The influence of French on the languages and literatures of Spain was stifling, resulting in numerous one-way translations from French into Spanish and rule-bound translingual imitations. Throughout the eighteenth century and early nineteenth, whether ruled by Bourbon absolutism or Napoleon's First Empire, the Hispanic world was drawn into geopolitical strategies and disputes that favoured France (for example, Trafalgar in 1805 and the Peninsular War/Spanish War of Independence 1808–1814). Even the term 'Latin America' (rather than Hispano- or Ibero-America) was adopted

[48] Spain is a constitutional monarchy since 1833, apart from when it was a Republic in 1873 and 1931–1936/1939, and a military dictatorship (1939–1975).

in the 1860s to suggest the Indies were French-speaking and to erase the Hispanic colonial legacy.[49]

On the positive side, this being the Age of Enlightenment, the Bourbons, especially Charles III (1759–1788), cultivated learning and science (see Samson, Chapter 6; Ginger, Chapter 7). The Royal Academy of Spain was established in 1713 to standardise the Spanish language; the other Hispanic languages almost disappeared even from common speech. Scientific expeditions across the Americas culminated in the maps and scientific discoveries of Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa, cartographer Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco and the Prussian scientist Alexander von Humboldt. Juan and Ulloa joined the French Geodesic Mission (French Academy of Sciences) sailing to Quito where they set the Equator and proved Earth was oblate not round. Juan later established the Royal Astronomical Observatory in Madrid. To encourage trade and extract maximum revenue for the Crown, the administration of the Indies was overhauled; French ships could enter the ports; intendancies replaced Vice-royalties; taxation increased. In 1767 the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) was expelled but Franciscans, such as Junípero Serra, were permitted to establish 21 missions, including San Francisco (1776) and San Diego (1769) in California, and San Antonio in Texas (1781), thus further extending *castellano* in north America.[50]

The tightening of imperial control (the 'Bourbon reforms') led to the most significant indigenous and mestizo uprisings in the Americas to date, the Tupac Amaru rebellion of 1780–1784 in Peru, in which hundreds of thousands of Quechua and Aymara-speaking peoples were killed. The *cacique* (chief) José Gabriel Tupac Amarú, self-styled Emperor of the Incas, was bilingual (Quechua-Spanish), but his wife, Micaela Bastidas, and most of his followers were not. Neither were the Spanish officials. Interpreters were needed at their trial before the entire family was brutally executed or imprisoned. Ultimately, it was under Bourbon rule that the Indies gained independence from the Bourbon monarchs and hence from Spain, not only due to the incompetence of the last of their absolutist kings, Charles IV and Ferdinand VII (1808; 1813–1833), but also to the aggression of another Frenchman, the Corsican

[49] Areas in which French is the majority/official language are Guiana, Haiti, six Caribbean islands and Quebec. Quebec is apparently part of Latin America.

[50] California remained Spanish speaking until the end of the nineteenth century with bilingual newspapers published in San Francisco and Los Angeles. See Leonard Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios. A Social History of the Spanish-speaking Caifornians 1846–1890* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1966), and Rosaura Sanchez, *Telling Identities. The Californio testimonios* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1995).

Napoleon Bonaparte. Bonaparte's invasion of Portugal and Spain resulted in the creation of the modern nation-states of both the Iberian Peninsula and Latin America.

8. *Spanishes, states and nation-states*. The Napoleonic invasion of the Iberian Peninsula (1807–1808), unprecedented since the Islamic invasions a thousand years earlier, removed Spain from Bourbon control and incorporated it into the French First Empire (1805–1814). The Holy Roman Empire was abolished in 1806. But Napoleon had neither the strength nor time to extend his authority to the Indies. Until Napoleon was defeated in the Peninsular War/Spanish War of Independence, Spain did not exist as an independent national political entity. The French armies occupied all Hispania and it was a northern kingdom, Asturias, which finally declared war seeking arms from Britain. The spirited reaction against Napoleon across Europe was fuelled by a new and potentially dangerous political ideology, nationalism.

Nationalism argued for the political and economic self-determination of a 'nation', a 'natural' community sharing a language, race, culture and religion forged through 'blood ties' and a common history. For the Prussian J. G. Herder, who coined the term, the connection with the mother-tongue of the 'homeland' or 'fatherland' was paramount. In *Treatise on the Origins of Language* (1772) Herder argued that language, the 'organ of thought', shapes the way we think, and that each language community interprets the world accordingly. Language creates national identities: 'a poet is the creator of the nation around him'.[51] J. G. Fichte wrote, 'Wherever a separate language is found, there a separate nation exists.'[52] But political nationalism aimed not only to 'preserve' a 'national' or cultural identity; it aimed also to actively create this identity 'where it is felt to be inadequate or lacking'.[53] In this view, the Hispanic languages had resisted the imposition of French and survived in oral traditions, such as popular (folk)song and ballads, which demonstrated the existence of distinctive language-defined Hispanic 'races'. Herder himself translated into German (though from a French source) the fifteenth-century Castilian-Arabic border ballad 'Romance de Abenámar'. In the nineteenth century, the impact of German Romanticism and nationalism, and European

[51] Johann Gottfried Herder, *Shakespeare*, ed. and trans. by Gregory Moore (Princeton and London: Princeton University Press, 2008 [1773]), p. 38.

[52] Quoted in C. A. Macartney, *National States and National Minorities* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934), p. 99.

[53] Eugene Kamenka, 'Political nationalism. The evolution of the idea', in *Nationalism. The Nature and Evolution of an Idea*, ed. by Eugene Kamenka (London: Edward Arnold, 1976), p. 6.

interest in all things Hispanic (see Partzsch Chapter 14), prompted a revaluation of Hispano-Arabic cultures and medieval literatures, and a resurgence of the languages and identities of Galicia, Catalonia and the Basques.

In the Indies, the vacuum that followed the dissolution of imperial power allowed the Vice-royalties to establish their own governing bodies and, after some twenty years of civil war, to constitute themselves into 18 independent republics and sovereign nation-states. This process continued throughout the nineteenth century as borders were resolved. The Republic of Argentina, for example, was not invented with the name, capital and borders it has today until 1880. The federal Gran Colombia, established by Bolivar in 1819 comprising territories in present-day Colombia, Ecuador, Panama, Guyana and Venezuela, was dissolved in 1831. The United States of the Republic of Mexico ceded a third of its territory to the United States of America after US troops invaded in 1846. Not all the new states were sufficiently homogenous in cultures, languages and identities to be deemed 'nations' or nation-states. Paraguay, established in 1811 and consisting almost entirely of mestizo Guarani peoples, was an exception; Guarani, co-official with Spanish, is today widely spoken by the non-indigenous population and is an official language in Mercosur. Argentina, on the other hand, populated by waves of European immigrants (mainly Italians and Spanish), had to work hard to create a sense of national identity. Spanish has remained the official language in the former Spanish dominions, but the many other spoken languages have been standardised and given co-official status in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Since 2009, the Plurinational State of Bolivia officially recognises 32 living languages. Quechua, with its many dialects, has been transformed and is widely used in both rural and urban areas of the Andes (Howard, Chapter 4). Hispano-America is a multilingual, multiethnic, multiracial, multicultural society featuring local and supranational translingual practices within and across countries and communities, including the United States, and it is within this context that new forms of Spanish are emerging.

Without an Empire (although retaining overseas provinces Cuba and Puerto Rico until 1898, and a colonial presence in Morocco and Equatorial Guinea until 1968 and 1975, respectively), Spain reverted to the configuration of Visigoth Hispania. Since 1833 it has been an independent sovereign state, governed by a constitutional monarchy. But, as with the American republics, Spain has had to work hard to create a sense of Spanish national identity. The central government in Madrid (Castile) downgraded the 'historic nations' to provinces (on the French model) and repressed their languages, leading to two centuries of constant tension and war. Their political rights were acknowledged in the Federal Republic of 1873 and the Republic of 1931–1936/1939. They were finally granted political autonomy in the post-Franco Constitution

of 1978. The languages of Galicia, Catalonia and the Basque country are now co-official and thrive in spoken and written form.[54] Andalusia is also an autonomous 'historic community', and although its language, Andalusi, has not been revived its culture survives in music (although see Llano, Chapter 8). Spain's status as a pluri-nation-state is the result of, and not a precursor to, its imperial history.

In conclusion, this overview of the development of the Spanish language in its historical and political context underscores that the Spanish-speaking world is, and always has been, translingual, transcultural, trans-imperial and transcontinental, and has supplied much of the foundation of Western modernity and globalisation. For this reason 'Spanish' studies are necessarily 'Hispanic' Studies, encompassing the cultures and languages of Spain (including Catalonia, Galicia and the Basque Country, and sometimes Portugal), of Spanish America (*Hispanoamérica*) (the nation-states of North, Central and South America, parts of the USA, the Hispanophone Caribbean, or *antillas*), as well as of Roman and Islamic Spain, pre-Colombian America and the Spanish and Spanish-American global diasporas. The terms Hispanic/Spanish/Iberian, and Spanish/Latin America Studies, have all been used and queried by scholars but the blurred lines between them demonstrate the extent to which the study of the Hispanophone world defies easy labels and challenges accepted categories and disciplinary norms. This is something to celebrate. Students should not be afraid to cross borders, even if this means honing their language skills or working through translations. To do full justice to Hispanophone cultures a translingual framework, approach and methodology (where possible) should always be a priority.

Part Two
Transnational Approaches to the Hispanophone World: Recent Theories and Debates

Given the geographical breadth and historical complexity of its object of study, as indicated above, 'Hispanic Studies' has always been something of an atypical discipline within Modern Languages, variously housed under 'Iberian', 'Spanish and Spanish American', 'Spanish and Latin American' studies, and internally distributed between 'Peninsularists', 'Latin Americanists', 'Golden Age specialists' and so on. The recent transnational 'turn' has unsettled these divisions, prompting engagements with the 'supranational'

[54] Spain is divided into 17 autonomous communities with their own executive, legislative and judicial powers, and two autonomous cities in North Africa, Ceuta and Melilla.

and 'trans-imperial' dimensions of so many heterogeneous Hispanophone cultures. Such a 'turn' stems in large part from engagements with critical theory by Spanish specialists in modern languages in the 1980s,[55] and particularly with theoretical interrogations of nationhood and nationalism in vogue at the time. Reworking Herder's (and later Ernest Renan's) view of the nation as 'a soul' or 'spiritual' principle, Ernest Gellner had already stressed in 1964 the discontinuity of nationalism and nationhood. 'Nationalism', he argued, 'is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist'.[56] Benedict Anderson, more memorably, shifted Gellner's focus on 'invention' towards a definition of the nation as an 'imagined' political community. It was, he argued, '*imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them'; and imagined as a *community*, 'because regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship'.[57]

Linking the spread of nationalism to 'print capitalism' – to revolutions in print technology that would facilitate the creation of vernacular fields of communication and exchange – Anderson's work offered Hispanists new ways of approaching literary texts, and significantly drew its examples from Hispanophone works like *El periquillo sarniento* (1816) by the Mexican José

[55] Jean Franco's studies of Latin American literature and culture were pioneering in this regard, particularly in their engagement with feminist and Marxist theory. See, for example, *Critical Passions: Selected Essays*, ed. by Mary-Louise Pratt and Kathleen Newman (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 1999). Paul Julian Smith's *Writing in the Margin: Spanish Literature of the Golden Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988) was pathbreaking in bringing Golden Age Spanish literature into dialogue with post-structuralist critical theory, as were his comparative readings of Spanish and Latin American literature in *The Body Hispanic: Gender and Sexuality in Spanish and Latin American Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992) and *Representing the Other: 'Race', Text and Gender in Spanish and Spanish American Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). In the 1990s, British Latin Americanists such as William Rowe, John Kraniauskas, Catherine Boyle (founders, with David Treece, and Daniel Balderston, of the *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies* in 1992) and British Hispanists such as Jo Labanyi (founder in 1997 of the *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*) developed these theoretical interventions in the field, as did US-based scholars such as Alberto Moreiras, Mábel Moraña, John Beverley, George Yúdice, Brad Epps and others, who also contributed powerful critical reflections on the fields of Hispanism and Latin Americanism.

[56] Ernest Gellner, *Thought and Change* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1964), p. 168.

[57] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Rise and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991 [revised edition]), pp. 5–6; p. 7. Italics in original.

Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi and *Noli me tangere* (1887) by the Filipino José Rizal. Without fully subscribing to Marxist critique, it also underscored how the nineteenth-century spread of nationalism across Europe and the Americas was inseparable from the inherently transnational dimensions of capitalism. Indeed, in 1848, in a prescient account of what we now call 'globalisation', Marx and Engels had already noted that capitalism, nothing less than a *world-system*, had stamped a cosmopolitan character on all production and consumption: 'The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere.'[58] 'When money leaves the domestic sphere of circulation', Marx later wrote, 'it loses the local functions it has acquired there',[59] making talk of this or that 'national economy' sound curiously fetishistic. And as with material, so with intellectual production. Hence in the political sphere, Marx and Engels saw 'the executive of the modern state [as] but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie', and imagined, following Goethe, that in the sphere of culture 'national one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness' would soon give way to an emerging 'world literature' (*Communist Manifesto*, pp. 83–84).

Given the importance of the conquest and colonisation of the Americas to the emergence of capitalism, it is no surprise that the first critical engagements with nationalism in Hispanic studies should come from Latin American (literary) studies. Most memorable among these was Doris Sommer's *Foundational Fictions*, which cross-fertilised Anderson's work on nationalism with Foucault's history of sexuality in Europe to explore how the recurrent trope of inter-racial love (*mestizaje*) in nineteenth-century Latin American novels aimed to move readers with imaginary scenarios in which entrenched colonial hierarchies of regional, racial and political difference might be overcome.[60] In their citation and reworking of romantic works like Chateaubriand's *Atala* and Saint-Pierre's *Paul et Virginie*, she observed, these novelistic allegories of patriotism also sought to explore their nation's differences vis-à-vis their European and American intertexts. It would remain open to question, however, whether in reworking the tropes of this emerging 'world literature' these rewritings could shore up national differences in the

[58] Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, with an introduction by A. J. P. Taylor (London: Penguin, 1985), p. 83.

[59] Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, Vol. 1 (London: Penguin Books, 1976), p. 240.

[60] Doris Sommer, *Foundational Fictions: The National Romances of Latin America* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: California University Press, 1991), pp. 30–51.

face of the homogenising effects of the world-market, or whether, like Freud's 'narcissism of minor differences' – the feuding between neighbouring populations who share more in common than they normally admit – they betrayed more unsettling forms of emerging uniformity.[61]

If the novels analysed by Sommer presupposed the translatability of romantic into republican sentiments, they did so on distinctly unstable grounds. For allegory – romantic fiction's preferred form – inevitably petrified history in the form of a 'death mask', representing 'in the realm of ideas what ruins [were] in the realm of things'.[62] In the context in which Sommer's study was written – one marked by the aggressive (re)turn to free-market capitalism, the global dismantling of welfare states and the supplanting of literature by television and digital forms of communication as mediators of private sentiment and public opinion – the humanist 'pillars' around which the broader discipline of Modern Languages had historically been organised had also begun to crumble.[63] These included not only language – Spanish or *castellano*, understood as a unifying feature of Hispanophone culture – but also literature and history, its supplementary supports, whose principal aim had historically been to secure the link between literate populations and state power. It was as if, like Hegel's Owl of Minerva (which 'takes flight only when the shades of night are gathering'),[64] efforts such as Sommer's to explain the nation's cultural dimensions had grasped *in hindsight* a phenomenon now entering its historical twilight.

Raymond Williams once noted that the description and analysis of culture was 'expressed in an habitual past tense' that tended to reduce cultures to timeless 'fixed forms'.[65] It is from the rubble scattered around the remains of these seemingly immutable fixities – language, literature and history – that

[61] Sigmund Freud, *Civilization and its Discontents*. *Standard Edition,* Vol. 21 (London: Vintage, 2001), pp. 114–115.

[62] Walter Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama* (New York and London: Verso, 1977), p. 178.

[63] These terms are from Jon Beasley-Murray's 'Beyond Hispanic Studies? Interdisciplinary approaches to Spain and Latin America', in *The Companion to Hispanic Studies*, ed. by Catherine Davies (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 166. His acknowledgement that its geographical scope made Hispanic studies something of an 'anomaly' within Modern Languages does not always sit comfortably with his alignment of Hispanism, at other points, with the altogether more monolingual areas of the discipline like German or Italian studies.

[64] G. W. F. Hegel, Preface to *Elements of the Philosophy of Right,* ed. by Allen W. Wood (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 23.

[65] Raymond Williams, 'Structures of feeling', in *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, [1977] 2009), pp. 129–130.

engagements with new cultural formations have emerged, and with these, understandings of their lived transformations today. With these come new understandings not only of the dynamism of the post-national 'here and now', but also of the historic instability of the borders of the Hispanic world prior to and after the spread of nationalism. Globalisation, for example, may generate increased intermingling of languages, but this phenomenon forms part of the longer history of multilingualism and creolisation already mentioned, a history that unsettles chauvinistic and imperial histories of the Spanish language (see Pountain, Chapter 1). Likewise, expansion of the traditional 'Spanish' canon that began with studies of Latin American literature in the 1960s has now extended to include Chicano literature, Hispanophone African literature and myriad other forms of migrant, mass, minority and subaltern literacies. These new literacies in turn make us question whether literature – which has long since ceased to be the dominant cultural form – could ever bind populations to national state projects. With the global spread of digital communications, as Taylor and Pitman explore in Chapter 10, both the Hispanic world and Hispanic studies are being profoundly reshaped, and no longer only by lettered intellectuals.

This transnational turn in Hispanic studies both extends and invigorates what Jon Beasley-Murray, in his account of these changes, calls a 'post-Hispanism'. This is a Hispanism attentive to the 'traffic' circulating in and around the foundational 'pillars' of Modern Languages as a discipline. That 'traffic' is transnational, first and foremost, insofar as it indexes today's global flows of capital, commodities, information and people across permeable national borders. These flows have destabilized our imagination of the Hispanophone world as a static patchwork of sovereign nation-states, replacing the nation with the 'network' as the framework within which to understand cultural processes.[66] Circumventing the state's mediation of national identity, flows of culture and information now link producers and consumers, across national boundaries, to increasingly diasporic public spheres.[67] The upshot, as Arjun Appadurai argues, is that the reproduction of the nation as an 'imagined community' now confounds theories of identity that presuppose the nation-state as the key arbiter of national identity.[68] The availability, within such diasporic spheres, of a whole range of de-territorialized national narratives also allows national histories to be written in

[66] Manuel Castells, *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture*, Vol. 1 – *The Rise of the Network Society* (Oxford and London: Basil Blackwell, 1996).

[67] Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), pp. 21–22.

[68] Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*, p. 4.

and through *other* histories. Works by Jorge Volpi and Ignacio Padilla of the Mexican 'Crack' generation, for example, evidence how 'Mexicanness' is being re-imagined through novelistic reworkings of Nazi German history, and in ways that bypass the hallowed rules of certain post-Revolutionary forms of cultural nationalism. As Baker argues in Chapter 11, these 'post-national' works go beyond earlier forms of cosmopolitanism, Borges's assertion, for example, that '[o]ur [Argentine] patrimony is the universe',[69] to render nationalism and its myths inoperable.

In addition to weakening the continuity that formerly existed between nation and state, capital's constant commodification of difference further confounds assumptions about the location of regional identity. In the relentless branding of 'lo latino' as a cipher of sensuality and the exotic in the marketing of everything from fast food to classy booze, even Latin America, as Swanson writes in Chapter 9, is torn from its once bounded, geographical contours. As Latinity goes viral – thanks to Hollywood, Netflix, 'world music' and magical realism (now as much a mass-produced export as bananas were at the turn of the previous century) – Latin America no longer sits 'down there, south of the Río Grande', but also 'up here, over here, everywhere'. Flows of money, people, information and culture introduce a whole new order of instability into the world that confounds such locations of culture. But not everything is in flux. For today's flows of capital and information also produce new forms of exclusion and localization, sometimes passing *over* regions in ways that suspend their populations in situations of structural *superfluity*.[70] Sklodowksa contends in her study of post-Soviet material culture in Cuba (Chapter 12), for example, that there are 'worlds of difference' between former First-World, Third-World and emerging Second-World nations' experiences of the post-Cold War period. Globalisation thus remains as much an 'imagined' entity as the nation itself,[71] resting on as much 'actual inequality and exploitation' as the imagined national community.[72]

Where 'post-Hispanism' has perhaps made its most significant contribution to the critical interrogation of the global order is in its contribution to

[69] Jorge Luis Borges, 'El escritor argentino y la tradición', in *Discusión* (Madrid: Alianza, 1995 [1951]), pp. 188–203, p. 201.

[70] Zygmunt Bauman, *Globalization: The Human Consequences* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998); see Étienne Balibar's essay 'Violence, ideality and cruelty', in Étienne Balibar, *Politics and the Other Scene* (London: Verso, 2002), pp. 129–145; Achille Mbembe, 'Necropolitics', *Public Culture*, 15.1 (2003), 11–40.

[71] Néstor García Canclini, *La globalización imaginada* (México: Paidós, 1999).

[72] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 7.

post-colonial theorisations of modernity, and of modernity's emergence out of the imperial processes formative of trans-Atlantic capitalism.[73] The kinds of 'traffic' that Beasley-Murray traces in Steven Soderbergh's film *Traffic* (2000), for example – border-crossings by people and by the new liquidities of drugs and narco-capital – certainly blur essentialised differences between *hispanidad* and (in the film's case) Americanism ('Beyond Hispanic Studies', p. 165). They also evoke much earlier crossings that ended in shipwreck and in the shattering of religious and political worldviews. Cabeza de Vaca's *Naufragios*, for example, which is situated in and around the borderlands where Soderburgh's *Traffic* is filmed, narrates one such crossing as a series of calamities, with the noble Spanish adventurer shipwrecked, taken captive and enslaved by indigenous tribes. In short, it is a narrative about the quest to extend the possessions of Spanish empire that ends with the Spaniard dispossessed of his imperial power certainties.[74] By the twentieth century, the mutual transformation of coloniser and colonised in encounters like those narrated in the *Naufragios* – a process termed 'transculturation' by the Cuban ethnographer Fernando Ortiz – would become the stuff of countless fictions that query the stability of empire and nationhood and their foundations.

A key point of reference for understanding these post-colonial contributions to the transnational 'turn' in Hispanic studies is the work of the Latin American Subaltern Studies Group, founded in 1992 by Ileana Rodríguez and John Beverley. With their shared interest in interrogating (after Ranajit Guha) 'the logic of the distortions in the representation of the subaltern in official or elite culture; and uncovering the social semiotics of the strategies and cultural practices of peasant insurgencies',[75] its members explored the historic fragility of the creole or *criollo* Latin American intellectual's assumption of continuity between nation, state and 'people' ('Founding Statement', p. 112). They did so

[73] Works such as Helen Graham and Jo Labanyi, *Spanish Cultural Studies: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), Mabel Moraña, *Ideologies of Hispanism* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2005), Joan Ramon Resina, *Del hispanismo a los estudios ibéricos: una propuesta federativa para el ámbito cultural* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2009), and essays by Eduardo Subirats – see in particular 'Seven theses against Hispanism', in *Border Interrogations: Questioning Spanish Frontiers*, ed. by Benita Sampedro Vizcaya and Simon Doubleday (London and New York: Berghan Books 2008 [reprinted 2011]), pp. 246–259, offer critical reflections both on the history of Hispanism and on the fraught relationship between post-colonial studies and post-imperial Hispanic studies.

[74] Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, *Naufragios* ed. by Juan F. Maura (Madrid: Cátedra, 2013).

[75] Ranajit Guha, cited in 'Founding statement', *Boundary* 2: *The Postmodernism Debate in Latin America*, 20.3 (Autumn, 1993), 135–146, 111.

by recognising how state intellectuals in post-revolutionary Mexico, Cuba and Nicaragua (including the writers of the Boom) had occluded forms of subalternity, the lived experiences and knowledge of blacks, Indians, Chicanos, women and non-straight subjects, in their adherence to traditional Marxist understandings of class. With the crisis of Guevarism in Bolivia in the late 1960s, the rise of the student movements around the globe in 1968 (not just in France) and the development of the communications industries in the 1980s – the referents for an emergent field of Latin American Cultural Studies – the model of the revolutionary *criollo* intellectual had to be rethought, and particularly his role as the broker between people and state.

Yet if for the Latin American Subaltern Studies Group the nation remained haunted by its instrumentalisation as means to manage profoundly different ethnicities and subject them to the homogenising discourses of state power, the group's shared aim of epistemic *de-nationalisation* (the denationalisation of knowledge) – 'simultaneously a limit and a threshold of [their] project' ('Founding Statement', p. 118) – would generate very different approaches to the cultural field. Not all members of the Subaltern Studies Group, for one, understood the 'transnational' solely in terms of contemporary neo-liberal erosions of the nation-state by global flows of labour and capital. Such was the case in particular with proponents of the 'decolonial' turn. Walter Mignolo, for example, would insist with Aníbal Quijano that coloniality was *constitutive* of modernity: that the Western Renaissance or Enlightenment, could not be thought independently of colonialism, rather that they represented 'two sides of the same coin'.[76] The upshot would be a call to reorient critical thinking, from the point of view of this alignment of modernity and coloniality, towards epistemic and political decolonisation – to show that Eurocentric systems of knowledge constituted but one small part of a far larger, diverse array of epistemologies. 'Decoloniality', as much a political as an epistemic goal, represents a heuristic and an unfinished project aimed at rethinking the history of the former colonial 'periphery' from non-Western epistemologies (or systems of knowledge) developed outside of, yet simultaneously with, modern Eurocentricism.[77]

Building on the work of the Peruvian sociologist Aníbal Qujiano and the Argentine philosopher Enrique Dussell, decolonial approaches to Hispanic culture radically extend the call made by the Cuban Romantic José Martí,

[76] See Walter Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges and Border Thinking* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), and *The Idea of Latin America* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005).

[77] See Nelson Maldonado-Torres's hugely informative overview of the 'Decolonial turn' in Poblete, *New Approaches*, pp. 111–127.

in 'Our America' (1891), to embrace a *different* America that is not only multi-, but also *inter*-cultural. This involves recognising that *criollo* thought, the inherited baggage of leaders of European descent who wear 'epaulets and professors' gowns in countries that came into the world wearing hemp sandals and headbands', must learn 'to fit liberty to the body of those who rebelled and conquered for it'.[78] It approaches the history of the Americas (North, Central and South), following Martí, in a way that places 'the Incas on the same footing as the Greeks'. Like the work of another forerunner, José Carlos Mariátegui, whose *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality* (1928) envisioned an Andean form of Socialism that would evolve in an organic relationship with the collective structures of the Incan Ayllu ('community'), decolonial thinking parts company with the millenarian pessimism according to which neo-liberal globalisation is the *only* goal towards which world history might progress. Instead of *multi*-culturalism – which involves a European-style state's management and containment of differences within a hegemonic neo-liberal framework – it strives for *inter*-culturalism, or the state's construction along the lines of distinct yet equally valued epistemologies.[79] The works of Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui and Joanne Rappaport have significantly developed these ideas in their studies (and promotion) of indigenous and intercultural Andean literacies (also addressed by Howard in Chapter 4).

Also significant among efforts to explore the traffic between cosmologies and epistemologies (although less anthropological and more traditionally literary-critical in its approach) is the work of Peruvian author and scholar, Julio Ortega, whose *Transatlantic Translations* brings literature produced on both sides of the Atlantic into dialogue with each other. Its aim is to examine 'how the new was perceived in terms of the already conceived, the different constituted by what was already known and the unnamed seen through what had already been read'. Ortega's approach maps 'a new "geotextuality"', studying 'cultural practices of *hybridization* and *mestizaje*' as they open up uncharted histories of cultural 'intermixing'.[80] His approach to this dialogical interplay advantageously avoids the reduction of colonial history to a narrative of victimisation while also steering clear of the sometimes fetishistic subsumption of 'native' epistemologies under the banner of decolonial *resistance*. The disadvantage with this approach, however, lies in its potential

[78] José Martí, *Nuestra América* (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 2005), p. 10.

[79] See 'After "Latin" America', in Mignolo, *The Idea of Latin America*, pp. 95–148.

[80] Julio Ortega, *Transatlantic Translations: Dialogues in Latin American Literature*, trans. by Philip Derbyshire (London: Reaktion Books, 2006), p. 9. Emphases in original.

to overlook the violent origins and ongoing instrumentalizations of notions like *mestizaje* and *hybridity* by state power. For while signalling something like inclusivity, diversity and plurality 'from below', such notions remain tied to the 'top-down' incorporation of heterogeneous populations into national state processes, particularly under populism. As Gareth Williams argues, with Alberto Moreiras (both also members of the Subaltern Studies Group) fictions of *national* ethnicity constructed on the 'hybridity' thesis (most notoriously José Vasconcelos's interpellation of Mexicans as a *mestizo* 'raza cósmica' in 1925) often conceal and neutralise both the ethnic *and* class antagonisms generated by the nation-state's participation in global, neoliberal divisions of power and labour, no less so in today's Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia than in the context of post-revolutionary Mexico.[81]

As well as reminding us of the fragility and mutability of the Hispanic world's contours, works like the *Naufragios*, with its account of the years Cabeza de Vaca spent wandering around current-day Florida and Texas before crossing into modern-day Mexico, also underscore the tri-continental dimensions of the conquest and colonisation of the Americas: its entanglement of European, American and African subjects, and its transformation of the course of all three continents' histories. Numerous Africans also travelled on the disastrous Narváez expedition on which Cabeza de Vaca embarked, having been captured by Portuguese slave-traders and sold in Spain. Only one of them, 'Estevanico el negro', would survive. Although mentioned by Cabeza de Vaca, his story is eclipsed by Cabeza de Vaca in his alternately picaresque and messianic *relación*. Recent works such as Laila Lalami's *The Moor's Account*, which imaginatively retells Estevanico's story from the slave's point of view, remind us of the importance of black people within abstract narratives of the conquest as a defining moment in 'Western' modernity. Like Lalami's *The Moor's Account*, in which Estevanico (now identified as Mustafa ibn Muhammad ibn Abdussalam al-Zamori) is the first to set foot in what is now the USA,[82] they are reminders that the Atlantic world is also a *black* Atlantic built by those who endured the horrors of slavery and the middle-passage, and that trans-Atlantic capitalism has been, in Paul Gilroy's words, as 'rhizomorphic' and 'fractal' as it has been transcultural and international. Indeed, since Columbus's voyage (piloted by Pedro Nino, also an African),

[81] See Gareth Williams's discussion of these processes in *The Other Side of the Popular: Neoliberalism and Subalternity in Latin America* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), pp. 23–70. See also José Vasconcelos, *The Cosmic Race: A Bilingual Edition*, trans. and annotated by Didier T. Jaén (Los Angeles: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979).

[82] Lalami, *The Moor's Account*.

the Atlantic has been 'continually crisscrossed by the movements of black people', and not only as commodities, but as subjects 'engaged in various struggles towards emancipation, autonomy, and citizenship'. The stories of their voyages, and of their struggles for autonomy and citizenship, make nation-centred approaches to location, identity and historical memory look decidedly provincial.[83]

Awareness of the ways in which the *black* Atlantic 'crisscrosses' histories of colonialism and trans-Atlantic capitalism indeed precludes what Gilroy terms 'cultural insiderism'.[84] It guards against a kind of '*Hispanic* insiderism' that would limit critical scholarship of Spanish imperial history to the recovery of only a 'two-way' traffic between Europeans, on the one side, and Americans on the other. The spread of the Spanish Empire to encompass not only the Americas but also parts of Africa, Asia and the Pacific, demands much wider-eyed approaches to Hispanophone culture. Outlining their own efforts to push beyond such 'insiderist' mappings, Brad Epps and Luis Cifuentes observe the repeated omission of Africa and Asia in most Spanish literary histories, and call for a relocation of Spanish literary history 'beyond' Spain.[85] Benita Sampedro's work on Spanish colonialism in Africa and Latin America, corrects such omissions, particularly in her focus on Equatorial Guinea, whose history is 'crisscrossed' by the lines of Portuguese and Spanish imperial history in Africa and America, and problematises traditional definitions of region, periodicity and nationality in Hispanic studies.[86] More recently, Jerome Branche's *The Poetics and Politics of Diaspora* pursues the ways in which the modern African diaspora interrupts and dislocates trans-Atlantic histories through 'scatterations' of poetic, literary and musical works from Cuba, Equatorial Guinea, Spain, the UK and Colombia. These scattered formations produce *relocations* of diasporic subjects, and through a poetics of '*malungaje*' that bind exile to new forms of kinship. They also set up important dialogues between studies of the Hispanophone and Lusophone world.[87]

[83] Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic* (London: Verso, 1993), pp. 6, 7, 16.

[84] By 'insiderism' Gilroy refers to the blindspots of British Cultural Studies with its canonically English frames of reference, *The Black Atlantic*, p. 3.

[85] Brad Epps and Luis Fernández Cifuentes, *Spain Beyond Spain: Modernity, Literary History and National Identity* (Lewisberg: Bucknell University Press, 2005), p. 19.

[86] Benita Sampedro Vizcaya, 'Engaging the Atlantic: New routes, new responsibilities', *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 89 (2012), pp. 905–922, and *Border Interrogations: Questioning Spanish Frontiers*, ed. by Benita Sampedro Vizcaya and Simon Doubleday (London and New York: Berghan Books, 2008 [reprinted 2011]).

[87] Jerome C. Branche, *The Poetics and Politics of Diaspora: Transatlantic Musings*

Other border-crossings add complexity to these re-locations of culture and kinship, moving across borders not only linguistic, economic and geographical but also corporeal and psycho-sexual. Cabeza de Vaca had witnessed many such crossings during his captivity among the Hans and Capoque peoples, in his account of indigenous 'homosexuality', in his cross-identification as a 'female' slave and in his later identification as a faith healer or *chamán*. More sobering works such as Chilean-born Roberto Bolaño's posthumously published *2666* (2004) now dwell on the Mexican–US border as the site of different forms of 'capture', this time of working-class subjects by intersecting forms of structural-economic dehumanisation. Here racially marked migrant women perform underpaid jobs in multinational *maquilas* (assembly plants), and typically wind up dead in the desert, discarded like the cheap throwaway products they churn out daily. Yet works by Chicano writers such as Gloria Anzaldúa, Cherríe Moraga and Sandra Cisneros remind us, like Partzsch in Chapter 14, that transnational forms of collaboration between women writers have also historically mitigated the marginalisation they experienced within patriarchal national(ist) frameworks. In so doing, they explore the converging lines of race, class, gender and sexual difference as these structure everyday experiences of exclusion among migrant women in the United States.[88] Discourses on the Caribbean have for a long time explored the maritime area's historically de-centred, de-centring relation to modern Atlantic history, its poetic relationality, its transculturation of subjects and its erosion of national borders.[89] Only recently though, as James discusses in Chapter 16, have Caribbean writers begun to inspect the intersecting racial and sexual dimensions of Caribbean discourse. And the profusion of 'littoral' and island spaces in contemporary

(New York and London: Routledge, 2015). See in particular, 'Introduction. *Malungaje*: Towards a poetics of diaspora', pp. 1–26, where Branche explains the Bantu origins of the term 'malungo', its interconnected meanings of brotherhood and consanguinity, oceanic transport, and misfortune, before exploring its later elaboration as a concept in colonial Brazil.

[88] See Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (San Francisco: Anne Lute Books, 2007 [1987]) and *This Bridge Called by Back: Writings by Radical Women of Colour*, ed. by Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa (New York: State University of New York Press, 2015).

[89] See Antonio Benítez Rojo, *La isla que se repite* (Madrid: Editorial Plaza Nueva, 1989), Eduoard Glissant, *Poetics of Relation*, trans. by Betsy Wing (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1997) and Gustavo Pérez-Firmat, *The Cuban Condition: Translation and Identity in Modern Cuban Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

Latin American film, discussed by Hernández-Adrián in Chapter 13, further expands the geography of the Caribbean as we know it.

As they chart the expanding limits of the discipline and renew critical awareness of its occasional lapses into monolingualism, these critical 're-routings' of Hispanism add a second layer of meaning to the transnational 'traffic' explored within contemporary 'post-Hispanism', and one to which we have already alluded. This is concerned as much with questions of *spatial* mobility within the expanding territories of the Hispanic world – with the different degrees of freedom enjoyed by people of diverse origins, as underscored by stories of conquest and slavery, diaspora and exploitation – as it is with the interplay between the multiple forms of knowledge and subjectivity that converge at the crossroads of the Hispanophone world's multiple fractal histories. This 'traffic' is rarely if ever smooth, but subject to hitches and delays, jammings and collisions. As the work of post- and de-colonial scholars has shown (and as the rise of new forms of xenophobia daily remind us) some epistemologies do not travel at all. But scholarly engagement with the legacies of colonialism and imperialism, while giving the lie to oft-parroted discourses about Spain's exclusion from 'modernity' (a discourse engaged with critically in this volume by Thurner, Samson and Ginger), demand at the very least that we rethink the prejudicial view of modernity as a European project. It prompts us to explore what happens to modernity's core narratives when they enter the slippery 'contact zones' in which cultures come into contact with one another.[90] Explorations of colonial histories of contact also provide the basis on which to interrogate assumptions about the north–south travelling of identity-politics today, a topic explored by Quarshie in Chapter 17.

Exemplary of the ways in which Hispanic cultural studies have tried to bring together these different forms of 'traffic', two works stand out in particular. The first is Mario Santana's *Foreigners in the Homeland: The Spanish American New Novel in Spain, 1962–1974*, which redefines 'national' literature in a manner 'not restricted to the native production of citizens […] but that also takes into consideration the wider spectrum of literary objects, both autochthonous and imported, available within the national literary market'.[91] This definition allows Santana to show how 'national literatures are both bound and open: limited by the configuration of the nation as a relatively distinct cultural, political, and economic entity, but also permeable, receptive to the appropriation of extrinsic elements' (*Foreigners*, p. 19). Nowhere is this clearer than in his account of

[90] The term is Mary Louise-Pratt's from *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 2 and passim in 1992 edition.

[91] Mario Santana, *Foreigners in the Homeland: The Spanish American New Novel in Spain, 1962–1974* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2000), p. 18.

the multi-sited genesis of the Latin American 'Boom'. Developing Swanson's insight that the 'Boom' was largely the product of publishing houses in Spain, Santana shows how, with their 'nationalisation' as an object of Spanish literary history and criticism, 'Boom' texts also 'provided and legitimized models (and countermodels) for the renewal of fiction in Spain' (*Foreigners*, p. 156).

The second work that exemplifies what genuine transnational Spanish criticism might look like is Lisa Surwillo's *Monsters by Trade: Slave Traffickers in Modern Spanish Literature and Culture*. Surwillo complements Santana's 'defamiliarisation' of the national by inviting us to read key nineteenth-century 'Spanish' literary works from the point of view of empire. Taking Mignolo's 'no-modernity-without-coloniality' thesis as a point of departure, she argues that it was the slave trade in Cuba that proved most influential in shaping Spanish modernity, and long after the slave trade was declared illegal.[92] Indeed, after the second decade of the nineteenth century, the figure of the slave trader in Spanish literature became 'simultaneously a symbol of Spanish defiance of British maritime ascendency, a conduit of wealth for the empire, the occult force behind the government, and an outlaw, in many ways beyond the control of Cubans or the Spanish government' (*Monsters*, p. 9). The same ambiguity shaped the 'Spanish-ising' of works such as Harriet Beecher-Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1853), the book to appear in more editions than any other imported novel in Spain before that point in the century, which was adapted and reworked in such a way as to support striking opposed political agendas ranging for apologies of *mestizaje* as 'racial annihilation' to positions for and against slavery and the slave trade itself (*Monsters*, pp. 31–65).

Few of the essays in this volume share the view that the nation ceases to offer a meaningful framework through which to read works art and literature, cinema or music in Hispanic studies. Even fewer are of the conviction that nationalism is any time soon likely to become a thing of the past. Indeed, as many of them show, the nation (like modernity, the broader framework out of which nationalism emerges) remains in Appadurai's words, very much 'at large'. What together the essays gathered here *do* offer are important insights into the multilingual nature of the Hispanophone world, into the multiple histories that have shaped its component nations and regions, into the ways in which the histories of these nations and regions are being geographically re-*routed* and into the proliferation of ways of seeing and feeling that have emerged at the crossroads of these multiple re-routings. And what we have sought to underscore in our final appeal to the terms 'routes' and 'reroutings' is that the languages, identities and cultures of the Spanish-speaking world

[92] Lisa Surwillo, *Monsters by Trade: Slave Traffickers in Modern Spanish Literature and Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014), p. 2.

remain as much 'on the move' today as they were prior to the moment in which 'Spanish' itself went global.