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# Cosmopolitanism Against the Grain: Literary Translation as a Disrupting Practice in Latin American Periodicals (*Nosotros*, 1907–1943)

It is well-known that periodicals played an important role in cultural transfer in early-twentieth-century Ibero-America, as many important literary works were first published in journals. For instance, the first Spanish translation of certain extracts of James Joyce's *Ulysses* and Virginia Woolf's *A Room of One's Own* were published in Argentine journals. New movements and trends, intellectual debates, and the national and international recognition of certain authors and literary genres were also discussed in this media. At the same time, journals proved an essential means by which literary and artistic groups staged public appearances, as the connections among them reinforced their mediation between the international, the regional, and the national (Fóllica, Roig-Sanz and, Caristia 2020). Because of journals' simultaneous local and transnational configuration, complicated by international exchange with other periodicals as well as the exile or emigration of their collaborators, a sociological nation-based approach would be reductionist for this object of study (Jeanpierre 2006; Padró Nieto 2021). Though this object may be considered a "world form," that is, a product produced under local conditions, often by the intellectual elite, we must not reduce it to "a single country or continent" as it "was never contained by geopolitical borders, no matter how they were configured" (Bulson 2016, 13).

Aiming to map the international circulation of foreign literature in Hispanic journals through translation, this chapter studies the way in which translation – which, at first glance, would seem marginal in nationalistic Latin American periodicals that aimed at reinforcing the national literary field – disrupted these journals' goals by eliciting unexpected connections with foreign literatures (Thièsse 1999; Wilfert 2002). By describing the translated literatures and authors, reviews thereof, and the network of international relations among journals, I claim that

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translation allows us to place local publications within “international nationalism” and helps conceptualise Latin American national literatures within a network of national, regional, and international relations, struggles, and tensions.

Based on the concepts of “connectivity” – understood here in two senses, firstly as the network that a given magazine would aim to weave with other local, regional, and international magazines, and, secondly, regarding translation as a relational practice linking two or more cultures, authors, and languages – the aim of this chapter is to study the cosmopolitanism present in magazines that started off being more inclined toward national issues. I propose to analyse these magazines in order to gain a better understanding of “cosmopolitanism” as a concept (which is often reductionistically understood as the harmonious exchange with the foreign) through a critical perspective. Gerard Delanty proposes “critical cosmopolitanism” as emerging “out to the logic of the encounter, exchange and dialogue” (2012, 42), informed by a certain optimistic and universalistic approach to World Literature (Loy 2019). Delanty claims that cosmopolitanism is “a matter of degree” in a “given social phenomenon” (Delanty 2012, 44) and highlights that cosmopolitanism, as a dialogic condition, may also be critical and transformative (41). For instance, the postcolonial critique of the Eurocentric idea of cosmopolitanism put forward by Mignolo (2007) follows this approach. In this sense, cosmopolitanism is not a universalistic category but a notion that always needs to be contextualised as “rooted cosmopolitanism” (45). Furthermore, from an ethical point of view, Apiah (2007) points to the importance of “local values” in discussing the general assumption that to be cosmopolitan is “to have obligations to others” (xiii) and exercise tolerance. He proposes rethinking “counter-cosmopolitanism” with local variations. In this sense, cosmopolitanism adopts peculiar features when situated in Latin America. This cosmopolitanism is disruptive and irreverent toward the centres, as described by Sánchez Prado (2006) and Moraña (2006). Meanwhile, Gramuglio (2013b) prefers that we stop idealising this force and analyse it within the context of a network of mediation practices. She defines the term “cosmopolitan” as that which Latin American intellectual elites sought out as a way of growing national literatures and situating them in the global literary map of the early twentieth century, which can also be tied to the elites’ “desire for modernity” (Siskin 2014). In fact, the literature associated with national identity, which was thus tied to the political, would prove key to the modernising projects of Latin American countries throughout the early twentieth century. From the periphery, they grew critical of the effectiveness of binary models, such as those that would place cosmopolitanism and nationalism in opposition.

Based on this situated approach, in this chapter, I aim to explore the way in which “cosmopolitanism” was shaped in Latin American national magazines – which prioritised cultural nationalism based on the national literary tradition (Delgado 2006, 319). I view cosmopolitanism as a dynamic and critical concept entangled with national issues, especially through literary translations and international connections. To explore the idea of an “international nationalism” – that is, of nationalism that is necessarily constituted in relation to the foreign – in periodical publications, I will analyse the function of literary translation in *Nosotros* (1907–1943) (which would translate to “Us”), a long-lasting Argentine journal that was crucial to the modernization of the Argentine literary tradition as well as to the constitution of the national literary field, promoting the professionalisation of the writer in the first half of the twentieth century. Furthermore, because of its long life span, *Nosotros* built an important network of periodical publications on the national, regional, and international levels.

## 1 Periodicals in Argentina During the First Half of the Twentieth Century

In the Argentine periodical realm of the first half of the twentieth century, the “literary magazine” model, inspired by European examples such as *Mercurio de France* (1890–1965), *La Revue Blanche* (1889–1903), and *The Studio* (1893–1964), gave way to the creation of similar, literature-centred experiences that were closer to a restrictive conception of “culture” (Rivera 1998). In this sense, two well-known magazines are generally mentioned: *Proa* (in two periods, namely 1922–1923 and 1924–1926) and *Sur* (1931–1992), both of which place the translation of contemporary foreign literature at the core of their cosmopolitan interests (Willson 2004, Sarlo 1997a, Gargatagli 2013) and were sometimes criticised for their focus on the foreign.<sup>1</sup> In these publications, literary translation was not only a way to introduce contemporary foreign authors associated with the topic of “new literature,” but translation was presented as a literary problem whose

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<sup>1</sup> In the 1950s, the writers that contributed to the magazine *Contorno* (David and Ismael Viñas, Adolfo Prieto, and Noé Jitrik) put forward this critique. They also shifted the axis from Jorge Luis Borges to Roberto Arlt, a working-class writer of the Boedo literary circle. He was the epitome of the professional writer, as opposed to the “gentleman writer” that was closer to the oligarchy. The *Contorno* writers argued that writing well was not enough; the critical operation that their time required was to read the interference between the writer and his environment (Prieto 2011, 286).

formal features would be discussed from an aesthetic and textual approach. For instance, James Joyce, the epitome of the “contemporary writer,” was published in both periodicals (among others) much before his book publication, including an excerpt of *Ulysses* (“La última página del Ulises,” translated by Jorge Luis Borges for *Proa*, 1925) and an excerpt of the play *Desterrados* (*Exiles*) (translated by Alberto Jiménez Fraud for *Sur*, 1931). But the international reception of Joyce doesn’t take into account this corpus of fragmented and earlier translations beyond European journals, as Argentine researcher Marieta Gargatagli states: “reception in Spanish (including fragmentary translations) isn’t cited regarding Joyce’s European or global reception, nor did it come to comprise part of the complex web of international editions that were tolerated, banned, adulterated, or illegal, cultivating the Irish writer’s most essential biographical elements” (2013, 1).

While translation in these well-known magazines is more studied and, therefore, better known, *Nosotros* remains unexplored from this point of view, possibly because it was considered a “nationalistic” organ (Delgado 2006). In fact, this journal was active in the debate around national – and Latin-American – identity throughout the first half of the twentieth century. The Argentine researcher Verónica Delgado points to an initial Latin Americanist moment in the magazine, which would soon adopt a “nationalist inclination” as the magazine focused on highlighting national, realist literature, especially national theatre. This interest in national matters may lead us to mistakenly believe that this magazine housed little foreign literature and translation. In this chapter, my goal is to study the translations in the magazine and analyse how contact with foreign literature in *Nosotros* through translations undermined the publication’s alleged apolitical principles while contributing to both the national and regional debate around the modernization of literature as well as to the constitution of the national literary field.

## 2 Boosting the Constitution of a National Literary Field through *Nosotros*

By revisiting the notion of the “literary field” as defined by Bourdieu – that is, as a relatively autonomous space within the nation (France in his example) – and deploying it for the Argentine case, we must reconceive of the concept within the logic of peripheral Latin American nations. On the one hand, we must add nuance to the idea of literary autonomy given certain heteronomous factors, such as the economy and politics, which Bourdieu points to as central to the French field and to the “disinterested” defence of art for art’s sake (Bourdieu 1992; Jurt 1999). In the constitution of Latin American literary fields, we may glean a certain,

progressive though ever-flailing autonomization regarding the literary practice as well as the literary object (Gramuglio 2013a), given the imbrications between the aesthetic and the political (Ramos 1989), as well as the often dependent or tense relationship between the literary field and the State (Altamirano and Sarlo 1993). We may also note the existence of canonising agencies beyond the strictly national geography, as with “central” capitals like early-twentieth-century Paris (Colombi 2008) and former metropolises against which spaces define themselves as “counter-fields” (Jurt 1999), as with Madrid, for example.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile, it has been said that, in Latin American nations, popular classes participate in defining the literary through their creative powers (García Canclini 1990; Morafía 2014) even though, to Bourdieu, these classes would be in the pole of mass production and thus have less legitimacy and symbolic capital, as opposed to the custodians of literary purity in the pole of restricted production. It is worth noting that, in Argentina, as in many young nations in Latin America, the publishing market’s constitution was still recent at the start of the century (whereas, in France, it was already more consolidated) due to a variety of factors including the high rate of illiteracy, a lack of technological or publishing know-how, the high costs of production, and the fact that publishing still relied on the former metropolises, among other factors. As such, publishing in magazines was a more feasible enterprise for authors, and magazines constituted a central organ for the forging of the national literary field (Sarlo 1992; Delgado 2006). While, in France, magazines ensured consecration “among peers” and strengthened the processes that unfolded in an already consolidated publishing market, in Argentina, these organs not only proved key to the circulation of national literature among peers but also to circulation more

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2 We may observe this when studying the controversies around “Madrid, cultural meridian of Hispano-America.” This intellectual debate, which mostly unfolded in the pages of magazines, surged after Guillermo de Torre published an article in *La Gaceta Literaria* (no. 8, on 15 April 1927). In the face of the “captivation” and “attraction” Paris exerted over young, Spanish-speaking writers, De Torre proposed situating Madrid as the “truest meridian point, as the most authentic line of intersection between America and Spain,” by which America would be the “prolongation” of the Spanish intellectual realm; Spain would not exert domination but enjoy a purely fraternal relationship among speakers of the same tongue. In his argument, De Torre situated Spanish and French influence over America as equal, which the “criollo” writers in the magazine *Martin Fierro* rejected on 10 July 1927, in “Un llamado a la realidad” (“A call to reality”) [AA.VV. 1995: 356–357]. They responded by attacking the idea of alleged Spanish-language unity among sister nations and defended their own polyglot character, especially because they spoke French (Sarlo 1997b, 269–288). Behind this response, many others followed, some in Latin America (Montevideo’s *La Pluma*, *Revista de avance* and *Orto* from Cuba, *Variedades* from Peru, *Ulises* in Mexico, and *Nosotros* in Argentina), and others in Spain (in *El Sol* and *La Gaceta*) and Italy (in *La Fiera Letteraria*). For a detailed study of the debate, see Croce (2006, 55–132) and Alemany Bay (1998).

broadly. As Miceli states (2017, 37), in Buenos Aires, “collaborating in one of the more coveted magazines, like *Martín Fierro* or *Nosotros*, was in and of itself a triumph of identity, the mark of a certain authorial or aesthetic form, the auspicious pre-announcement of a robust intellectual project.” For instance, the emergence of the first Argentine literary field, from 1896 to 1913, can be traced around the magazines *La Biblioteca*, *El Mercurio de America*, *La Montaña*, *Ideas* and *Nosotros* (Delgado 2006). All of these publications were preoccupied with forging a national literature, broadening the reading public, professionalising the industrious writer (Rivera 1998), and building a more specialised form of criticism (Ramos 1989).

Considering the peculiarities of the notion of the field in Latin America, *Nosotros* is key to understanding how the Argentine literary field consolidated itself at the beginning of the twentieth century, sparking the emergence of the “artists’ ideology” (Altamirano and Sarlo 1997, 167) and the “new kind of writer” (Rama 1984, 60–63), whose identity was deeply tied to the writing practice and often linked to journalism, though detached from the political and religious domains in which the previous generation, from the 1880s, participated. Those writers of the past were known as “gentlemen writers,” that is, as politicians and diplomats whose practices included writing and translation, among other cultural activities (Viñas 1964). It is worth noting that, beyond a certain “spiritual” need – to use the term of the time – that generally inspired the organisation of magazine projects, *Nosotros* espoused another peculiar characteristic, which perhaps allowed the magazine to persist over time: the magazine displayed a clear “*designio de organicidad*” (plan for organicism) (Lafleur 1962, 41), that is, a perceived need to forge a national literature that would distance itself from the experimental or the avant-garde and be far more ephemeral. Thus, the publication provided a privileged vantage point for debates on the constitution of the national literary field.

In what follows, we will briefly describe 1) the national literary project of the magazine, 2) its attempt at coming in contact with other national and international publications, and 3) the translation of foreign literature that was published in its pages, all with the goal of studying how, through this intertextual network as well as through translation, the magazine connected to the foreign, undercutting its original exclusively literary tenets.

## 2.1 Promoting an Inclusive, Secular, and Apolitical National Literary Magazine

The magazine *Nosotros* was founded in 1907 and faced economic hardship throughout the first four years of its existence, until, in 1912, a Cooperative Society (presided by writer Rafael Obligado) was created to support the magazine.

This allowed the magazine to acquire sufficient funds to subsist until 1943 (only interrupted in 1935 and 1936) (Lida 2015). *Nosotros* was founded and directed by two young friends, Roberto Giusti and Alfredo Bianchi, both born in Italy, who were students at the Faculty of Literature and Philosophy in Buenos Aires.

In terms of aesthetic and literary currents, the magazine was characterised by tolerance, promoting the presence of young, local talents, alongside renowned authors, among its ranks, as stated in the first issue's editor's note: "This magazine will not exclude [. . .]. The directors' goal is none other than to allow older, consecrated writers to commune with new and already recognized writers, as well as with writers who are emerging or have yet to emerge" (no. 1, 1907). In this sense, it tied new writers to modernist and *Centenario*<sup>3</sup> writers, as well as to authors from the 1920s who were more concerned with the avant-garde (Rivera 1998, 59–62). *Nosotros* considered itself a tolerant magazine that espoused a variety of aesthetic contents. In fact, from the perspective of the sociology of literature, Bourdieu (1990; 1992) notes that, in the consolidation of a field, the battles between agents aiming to appropriate the specific capital at play are not excessively visceral. Since no agent (regardless of the degree of opposition between their positions) seeks to attack the constitution of the field itself, a more tolerant atmosphere takes hold.<sup>4</sup>

Inclusive and eclectic, the magazine defended the right to free speech and intellectual manifestations, as long as texts were "well thought out and elegantly written" (no. 1, 1907). Indeed, the magazine disseminated "fine literature" and "high culture," in a gesture that could be read as "inclusive elitism," as noted by Shunway (1999, 165–180). This aesthetic tolerance was locked inside non-negotiable boundaries: the magazine did not allow literature to mix with politics and religion. This limitation might also be viewed as a consequence of the magazine's desire to autotomize the intellectual field. In its statutes (established in 1912), the magazine defined itself as "apolitical" and "impartial." Politics were not to enter its pages, but the political events of the beginning of the twentieth century (the First World War, the Russian Revolution, and, in Argentina, the University Reform and the surge of the Radical Party, which represented the middle class, in government), raised questions around this principle, leading to discussions, controversies, and even resignations. For instance, an article

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<sup>3</sup> Around the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the revolution that liberated Argentina from Spain (1810).

<sup>4</sup> However, within the field, we may observe a certain polarisation articulated around two opposing aesthetic groups, Boedo and Florida, the first being more realist and the latter, more experimental. This polarisation manifested itself around the introduction of Ultraism, which was on the decline in Spain but still developing in Argentina's (Padró Nieto 2019) avant-garde journals, including *Proa* and especially *Martín Fierro* (Sarlo 1969; 1982, 1988).

written as an homage to the socialist Jean Jaurès (no. 65, 1914) was heavily criticised by the magazine's more conservative wing, whose most conspicuous representative was the writer Manuel Gálvez, who believed that defending Jaurès would undermine the publication's impartiality. One of the directors, R. Giusti, who, in 1920, stated that he needed to "take sides" and stop concealing his sympathy for the Russian Revolution and his affiliation with the Socialist Party, ultimately resigned:

As a man of defined political ideas and as a socialist militant, I can only speak within *Nosotros* in one way, in the way that concerns my feelings and ideals, which, even if the statutes did not prohibit me from engaging in politics, would clearly impose an abusive form of partisanship on the magazine. Since I can no longer bear the events taking place throughout the world, and in Argentina, without issuing a word of criticism, indignation, protest, hope, and faith in the pages of my magazine, I am renouncing my responsibilities. (no. 136, 1920)

Religion is not promoted in its pages either. The magazine was considered a secular organ, as evinced by the controversies in terms of the critiques of "La madre de Jesús" ("The mother of Jesus") by Carlos Alberto Leumann (no. 215–216, 1927) and the conflict at the PEN Club (no. 272, 1932) around the Argentine PEN Club's vote at the International Congress in Amsterdam regarding the "humane treatment of political and religious prisoners," to which nationalist and conservative writers, including Manuel Gálvez and Atilio Chiappori, were opposed.

Another significant feature of *Nosotros* is its aim to capture the "intellectual environment" of the time and become its natural interpreter. *Nosotros* essentially proved a space for intellectual socialisation through the magazine itself, but also through a variety of events and the network of Latin American and Western periodical publications with which the magazine interacted, thus pushing the consolidation of an intellectual community (Pasquaré 2012, 26).

In terms of events, *Nosotros* organised gatherings at cafés as well as banquets and homages (to national or Latin American authors, such as Rodó and Darío, but also to foreigners, such as Anatole France in 1924). It also held conferences with distinguished speakers, including the Italian poet Marinetti, who, in 1926, was introduced not "as a propagandist for fascism" but as the "founder and chief of Futurism" (no. 205, 1926) and the American novelist Waldo Frank, who, like the magazine, criticised "Yankee capitalist expansion" (nos. 243–244, 1929). Indeed, Marinetti was considered from an aesthetic position in order to include him in the magazine (via the translation of some of his poems, for instance).<sup>5</sup> However, the

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<sup>5</sup> The disagreement on whether to consider Marinetti a mere poet or a supporter of fascism is also present in the pages of the avant-garde journal *Martín Fierro* and the Boedo's publications.



magazine's alleged "apoliticism" comes off as more problematic with Waldo Frank, whose text poses a challenge to the apolitical tenet by directly criticising US American capitalist expansion.

Finally, *Nosotros* introduced the modern "survey" format in its pages, inspired by the French cultural surveys conducted by Huret, Le Cardonnel, and Picard (Riviera 1998, 61) to gauge its surroundings and understand certain questions and issues, for instance, these surveys ask, "Are women more cultured than men?" and put "Italian influence on Argentine culture" on the table. Likewise, they ask, "What makes authentic Argentine literature?," and "What is the value of *Martín Fierro*?" These questions point to the consolidation of a national literary tradition, with a gaucho poem printed as an opening epic that could serve as an initial approach to national literature.

## 2.2 Promoting a National, Regional, and International Network of Periodicals

Both in the responses to these surveys and in other collaborations, we may observe how *Nosotros* consolidated a regional and international network of Argentine, Latin American, and Spanish writers (such as Rafael Obligado, Rodolfo Rivarola, Carlos Ibarguren, Ernesto Quesada, Alfredo Palacios, Carlos Octavio Bunge, José Ingenieros, Alejandro Korn, Manuel Gálvez, Diego Luis Molinari, Emilio Ravignani, Manuel Ugarte, among others, from Argentina specifically; Alfonso Reyes, Pedro Henríquez Ureña, José Vasconcelos, Víctor Haya de la Torre, Gabriela Mistral, Mariano Picón Salas, Enrique José Varona, Francisco García Calderón, from Latin America more broadly; and Unamuno and Eugenio Díaz Romero from Spain).

This interest in building an exchange network is also clear in the publications mentioned in *Nosotros* – which in fact included sections called "Nuevas revistas" (1922–1928), "Revistas literarias" (1923–1928), "Las revistas" (with reviews by Antonio Aita) (1929–1930), "Revistas" (1931–1933), and "Espejo de revistas" (with reviews by Tristan Fernández) (1942–1943). These sections mentioned European magazines, such as *La Lectura* and *Revista de Occidente* (from Madrid), *La*

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The position of *Nosotros* is the same here as that of *Martín Fierro*, which held a banquet in his honour (Saítta 2014). In *Martín Fierro*'s special issue on Marinetti's visit to Buenos Aires (no. 29–30, 8 June 1926), the editors state that "it has been said that Marinetti is coming to these American territories for a certain politically oriented aim. *Martín Fierro*, given its spirit and orientation, would repudiate any intromission of the kind, and its activities have been clearly established. And perhaps we might declare, to avoid any bothersome suspicion, that Marinetti, a political man, has nothing to do with our publication" (3).

*Crítica* (directed by Benedetto Croce), *La Revue de Deux Mondes*, *Le Mercure de France*, and *La Nouvelle Revue Française*, as well as Latin American ones. Notably, the magazine received and sold a number of magazines from the region in its offices, including *El Convivio* (San Jose de Costa Rica) and *La Cultura* (Mexico) (Prislei 2008).

With a quantitative exploration of the term “*Publicaciones periódicas*” (Periodical Publications) in *Índice* (Ardisonne-Salvador 1971, 72–84), we can confirm the broad network of mentioned magazines<sup>6</sup> in *Nosotros* (243 in total), with most comprising publications from Argentina, Spain, France, and Italy (Fig. 1). It is worth noting that when we focus the search on specific cities, the ranking changes. The top five cities of publication for these mentioned magazines are Buenos Aires, Paris, Madrid, Mexico, and La Plata, while Italian cities held a lower position given their more scattered sites of publication (Milan and Genoa) (Fig. 2). This would allow us to reflect upon the sway of European cities, like Paris and Madrid, on *Nosotros*, a magazine that positioned itself as nationalist (Delgado 2006), backing the idea that “there is nothing more international than the formation of national identities” (Thièse 1999, 11), an idea we will confirm later on when exploring translations in the magazine (see section 2.3).

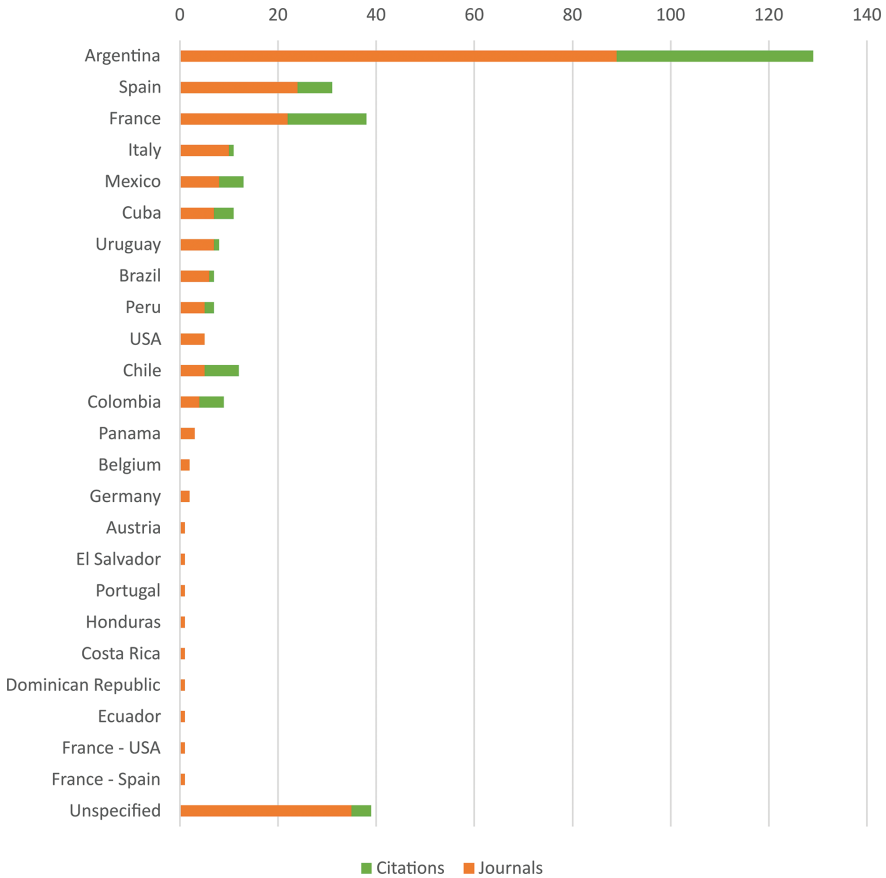
In terms of Argentine magazines, the most cited hail from Buenos Aires (with *Sur*, *Síntesis*, *Megáfono*, *Verbum*, and *Revista Nacional* in the top 5, also boasting the most citations, two to nine mentions per magazine), but magazines from other important cities are cited, too, such as those from La Plata, Córdoba, Tucumán, and Rosario, confirming an interest in capturing the Argentine intellectual environment of the moment.<sup>7</sup> Meanwhile, in Latin America, the

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<sup>6</sup> In this section, we tally the mentions (and frequency) of other magazines in *Nosotros*. We are aware that this cannot be equated to an effective exchange with the cited magazines and that this study would need to be complemented by measuring the number of times that *Nosotros* appeared in other publications in turn, thus corroborating whether their attentions were reciprocal or solely telling of their desire to come into contact with their peers. Furthermore, this quantitative study could be supplemented by analysing shared collaborations, their joint participation in controversies, and the viralization of certain texts, among other matters. Nonetheless, the quantitative study of *Nosotros*’ mentions of other magazines presented here is a preliminary quantification of the intertextuality between publications, so that we might later systematise a network of exchange.

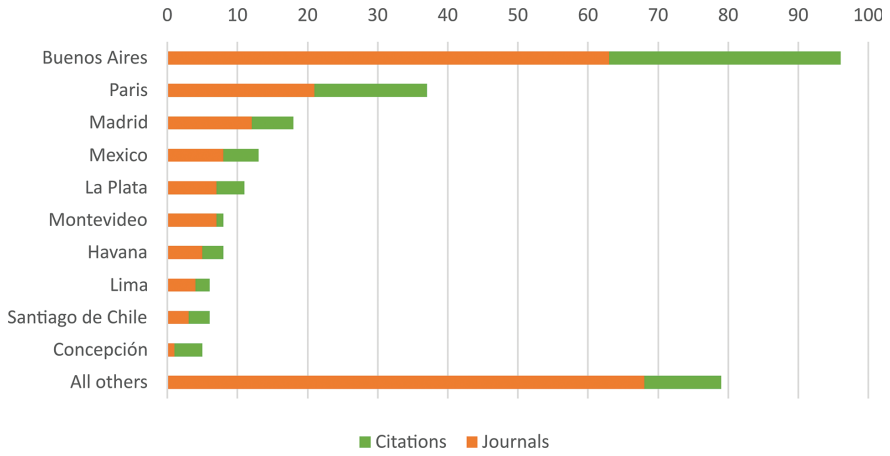
<sup>7</sup> For this quantitative systematisation of magazines mentioned in *Nosotros*, we will proceed by counting the mentions of other magazines diachronically (rather than synchronically) throughout the years of *Nosotros*’ publication. Nonetheless, these mentions may also be revisited in future studies in order to detect which years registered more mentions of publications. This information could also be considered in terms of the contents of each issue, using a qualitative analysis. For example, a synchronic cut could be made in the year 1913, the year when the magazine acquired great visibility (Delgado 2006), or in 1927, when the controversy around

countries with the most mentioned publications are Mexico, Uruguay, Cuba, Brazil, and Chile (Fig. 3). In this figure, we may glean no strong network (as the number of mentions in the magazines is low, ranging between one and eight mentions per magazine), but this scattered connectivity points to an attempt to look to a vast portion of Latin America in order to sketch a panorama of its magazines, or at least recognize their existence, by registering them in *Nosotros*.

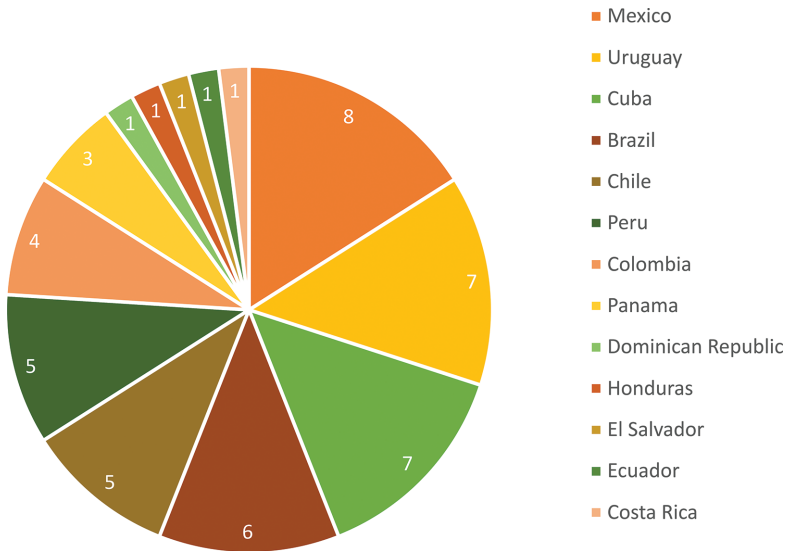


**Fig. 1:** Number of magazines mentioned (in orange) and citations (frequency of mentions, in green) in *Nosotros*, organised by country.

the Hispano-American meridian took place (see note 2), which may be read in terms of the magazine network in turn.



**Fig. 2:** Number of magazines mentioned (in orange), and citations (frequency of mentions, in green) in *Nosotros*, organised by city.



**Fig. 3:** Number of Latin American magazines mentioned in *Nosotros*, organised by country.

Regarding non-Latin American, western publications, we may observe (Fig. 4) the prevalence of “Latin Europe,” comprising Spain, France, and Italy. Spain holds first place in terms of the sheer number of magazines mentioned, but France is in first place regarding the actual frequency with which its (fewer) magazines

are mentioned (from two to seven mentions per magazine) *Mercure de France*, *Revue de l'Amérique Latine*, *Les Nouvelles littéraires*, *Latinité*, and *La Revue Sud-Américaine*). Among the five magazines with the most mentions, the interest in Parisian magazines focusing on Latin America stands out, such as *Revue de L'Amérique Latine*, *Latinité*, and *La Revue Sud-Américaine*. This allows us to consider the key role Paris played at the time in terms of the consecration of minor or peripheral literatures (Colombi 2008), even within its national and regional space. Indeed, contact with *Mercure de France* would certify one's existence (and legitimacy) in the international, literary space. In fact, *Nosotros* was inspired by *Mercure de France*, though not in terms of its content, given that *Nosotros* aimed to provide a more local perspective. Meanwhile, thanks to *Nosotros*' international dissemination network built upon exchanges with foreign magazines, in 1914, *Mercure de France* complemented *Nosotros* on its ability to sustain autonomous and independent literary and aesthetic criteria (Lida 2015). A counterexample would be *Revue Sudaméricaine*, founded by the Argentine poet Leopoldo Lugones in Paris, which printed seven issues. *Nosotros* criticised this publication due to its Eurocentric character, as it appeared to be “disguised as French,” without intending to change the “intellectual environment that we literary persons lack” at the local level (no. 63, 1914) – which, as noted previously, was one of *Nosotros*' goals. This would imply that the mere mention of another magazine would not necessarily signify affinity or that it was a “friend magazine.” In each case, one would have to qualitatively observe what *Nosotros* printed regarding the mentioned magazine, how it was presented, and how closely the magazines were related.

Country	# of magazines	# of total mentions
Spain	24	31
France	22	38
Italy	10	11
USA	5	5
Belgium	2	2
Germany	2	2
Portugal	1	1
Austria	1	1
France - Spain	1	1
France - USA	1	1

**Fig. 4:** Number of referenced non-Latin American magazines and number of references to magazines from non-Latin American countries mentioned in *Nosotros*.

In Europe, Spain holds second place in terms of mentions, validating its referential position – for instance, when it came to pro-Hispanic discourse in Argentina’s *Centenario* years. Paradoxically, this discourse tied Latin America to Spain, which was seen as the motherland, with Spain still holding the reins: “Nonetheless, a defined spirit animated it from the start: its frankly American spirit, founded on broad and well-understood nationalism. All of its propaganda has aimed to deepen the ties between Latin American nations, and between these nations and the mother country” (no. 13–14, 1908). Indeed, *Nosotros* “does not aim to rival European centres” (nos. 13–14, 1908), but to use them as models for gaining autonomy (Delgado 2010). Nonetheless, we may also observe national intellectuals’ attempts at distinguishing themselves from Madrid, the Spanish exmetropolis, as made manifest in the 1920s, with the debate around where to situate the Latin American cultural meridian (see note 2).

In terms of Spain, the most cited magazines (two to four mentions per magazine) are the Madrid-based *Cosmópolis*, *Revista de Occidente*, *La Revista de las Españas*, and *La Gaceta literaria*, as well as the Galician-Uruguayan *Alfar*. It is worth noting that *Nosotros*, like other Argentine, avant-garde publications including *Proa* and *Martín Fierro*, was interested in the Ultraist movement, which was imported from Spain by Jorge Luis Borges and adapted to the Argentine criollo variation of Spanish. In fact, Borges published his “Manifiesto ultraísta” in *Nosotros* in 1921.<sup>8</sup>

Lastly, the third country with the most periodical-publication mentions is Italy (with one to two mentions per magazine), with publications including *L’Italia letteraria*, *Rivista di scienza*, *Rassegna italiana*, *Panorama*, and *L’Argentina*. There are a few scattered citations (one mention) of other magazines in Europe (Belgium, Germany, Austria, and Portugal) and the United States. In terms of the latter, most of these magazines specialise in Hispanic America, as with *Inter-América*, *Hispania*, and *Chile Pan-Am*.

It is worth noting that, by observing the magazine *Nosotros*’ connections to other publications, we may construct an interesting corpus of magazines that we could characterise as “regional-international.” Many are multilingual and show an interest in Latin America or Ibero-America, with Spanish and Latin American actors heavily present in their editorial committees (including Hispanicists and Latin Americanists) despite their sites of publication being located outside the

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<sup>8</sup> For a study of Spain’s presence in *Nosotros*, see Delgado (2010). For a study on the reception and redefinition of Ultraism in Latin American magazines at a time when the movement was on the decline in Spain but on the rise in the Southern Cone, see Padró Nieto (2019), who studies the connections between Uruguayan and Argentine avant-garde magazines – as well as Alemany Bay (1998) who notes that, in the 1927 controversy around the “Hispano-American intellectual meridian” what was actually at play was the authorship of Ultraism.

region. This is the case with *Hispania* (Paris), *L'Argentina* (Genoa), *La Gaceta de América* (Paris), *La Nouvelle revue mondiale* (Vienna), *La Revista de América* (Paris), *La Revue hispanique* (Paris/New York), *La Revue Sud-Américaine* (Paris), *Les Nouvelles italiennes* (Paris), *Prisma* (Paris/Barcelona), *Revue de l'Amérique Latine* (Paris), *Latinité* (Paris), and *Hojas libres* (Hendaye). We can also find mentions of magazines published by immigrant communities in Argentina, as is the case with Buenos Aires's Italian publication *Almanacco dell'italiano nell'Argentina*.

### 2.3 Criticism and Translation in *Nosotros*: Modernising the Literary Field

*Nosotros* was interested in creating a broad reading public, rather than merely relying on a writer-public for legitimacy (as a “little magazine” would). In contrast to *Nosotros*, “high literature” magazine projects sought legitimacy through the approval of other writers. In this sense, we might call *Nosotros* an “inclusive elitist” magazine (Shunway 1999, 165–180) that believed in the democratic and disseminating effects of culture. This magazine targeted the middle (and immigrant) class, and, in fact, many of its collaborators were part of this class and wrote for an educated audience that included students, professors, and middle-class intellectuals in order to take on a “broader and more complex cultural operation: the founding of the modern Argentina,” as Rivera notes (1998, 61).

Given that this magazine was not financed by other agents, such as state subsidies or private sponsorship, the magazine promoted the professionalisation of the writer as a condition for the constitution of the modern literary field. Professionalization implied that the writer's profession required material sustenance (Rivera 1998, 61), which was often found in university positions (Delgado 2006, 262). This concern can be traced back to the topics addressed in the magazine, such as the challenges of being published by local publishing houses, royalty collecting (the first intellectual property law was passed in 1910), payments for journalists in the press, the creation of the Argentine Literature Chair in the Department of Literature and Philosophy under Ricardo Rojas in 1912, the project that aimed to create a Society of Writers in 1908, the discussion around the Institute of Philology's path, and national prizes (for instance, a proposed rule so that only works that had made a legal deposit could participate), among others.

In fact, literary criticism was central to the writer's professionalisation in *Nosotros*, and it was also key to consolidating the “national literature.” For instance, we may recall the aforementioned debate about “Martín Fierro”'s place as a national epic poem, as compared to France's “La chanson de Roland”. The poem set the basis for a History of Argentine Literature, whose foundational myth lies in

Gaucha literature. Indeed, the practice of literary criticism was considered exclusive to the lettered man (“*hombre de letras*”) as we may read in the complaint that *Nosotros*’ editors issued regarding the jury in charge of awarding national literary prizes, which included public servants and lawyers. The editors stated that, to *Nosotros*:

literary works can only be judged, with authority and command, by literary professionals. No one would ever think to place a criminal judge, merely based on the fact that he is a judge, among the jury for an architecture contest, let alone for a wheat or heifer contest; so, by what lapse in good judgement would he be placed in a literary competition? (no. 187, 1924)

In *Nosotros*, criticism and reviews of national works abound (with authors such as Gálvez, Lugones, Güiraldes, and Borges, among others) with the goal of consolidating “Argentine literature.” In fact, the magazine defends “[Latin] American nationalism.”<sup>9</sup> To understand this concept that seems like an oxymoron at first glance, it is worth clarifying that the magazine was interested in defending Argentine literature, but not in isolating this literature from its regional and continental context. Instead, Argentine literature was to be read in relation to the whole of Latin American literature. This becomes explicit in the statement that *Nosotros* aimed to “be more than an Argentine magazine: an [Latin] American magazine” (no. 57, 1914): “There is nothing we need more urgently than to create solid ties between South America’s isolated cultural centres”; (no. 1, 1907); which is why other Latin American literatures, such as Brazilian, Chilean, and Colombian literatures, are also included. Furthermore, as seen above, *Nosotros* boasted relationships to “Europe’s Latin countries” (no. 13–14, 1908): France, Spain and Italy. Many reviews of foreign works were also published, including critiques of French publications of the time.<sup>10</sup>

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**9** We should also mention the impact of “Arielism” in the early twentieth century. The movement brought together intellectual youths around José Enrique Rodó’s book *Ariel*, which outlined a new, Latin American spirituality as opposed to the Caliban, which Rodó saw as incarnated in the United States. Arielism impregnated the University Reform, beginning in Córdoba, Argentina, in 1917, with its principles spreading all across Latin America. This is also present in *Nosotros*; in fact, Rodó is one of the most recognized authors in *Nosotros*, as he reviewed Latin American authors including Ruben Darío, Guido Spano, and José María Gutiérrez, and European authors such as Goethe and Montalvo. In fact, the magazine published a special issue as an homage to Rodó on the occasion of his death (no. 97, May 1917), recounting his life, works, and thought across some thirty contributions, including writing by Pedro Henríquez Ureña, Alberto Gerchunoff, Baldomero Fernández Moreno, and Evar Méndez, among others.

**10** According to data on reviews of foreign literature (in the categories “*Crítica sobre un autor (Literaturas clásicas y modernas)*,” “*Idem.*,” as well as criticism on theatre, in the index created by Ardisonne and Salvador (1971), for the 1907–1943 period, the author boasting the most



Criticism in *Nosotros* boasted a central and highly specialised role, but what role did the translation of foreign literature play?<sup>11</sup> At first blush, *Nosotros* appears to include few translations, as opposed to the more cosmopolitan magazine *Sur*. As Lafleur and Provenzano (1962, 61) explain, *Sur* ascended when *Nosotros* began to fail: “Readers felt the urge to look out toward the world, which dictated the norm, and shirked our small circle of affairs, which only received its impact. This explains *Sur*’s ascendant flight: the magazine was founded when *Nosotros* began to languish.” If we consider that, between 1907 and 1943, we have a provisional registry of 125 translations (adding those which have been effectively declared to those that are likely) (Fig. 5), the figure seems small, especially when bearing in mind that the monthly magazine included forty to fifty articles (registries) per issue, among which approximately half were strictly related to literature.

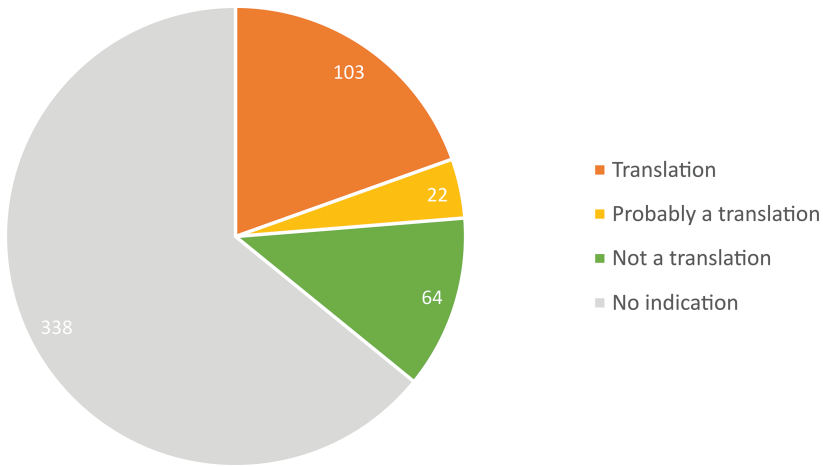
Nonetheless, a more attentive study of these translations could provide interesting information on the relationship between the magazine and foreign literature. My goal here is to trace how, through foreign literature, *Nosotros* was able to position itself ideologically and politically, both nationally and internationally, despite their statutes forbidding writers from taking sides in politics. In this sense, Bourdieu (2002) argues that, in the international circulation of ideas, there are “structural misunderstandings” given that texts circulate out of context and are reinterpreted according to the conditions of their fields of reception. This “structural

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reviews (6) is Henri Barbusse, followed by Leticia Boschi Huber, Henri Béraud, and José María de Acosta, with two reviews each. The following authors, among others, enjoyed one review each: Baudelaire, Ricardo Baccheli, Nicolás Beauvain, Claudio Basto, Apollinaire, Doménec de Bellmunt, Mario Appellius, Fortuné Andrieu, Proust, George Borrow, Beauvain, A. G. de Araujo Jorge, León Bocquet, André Baillon, Louis Antoine Fauvelet Bourriene, Honoré de Balzac, Maurice Barrés, Jean Richard Bloch, Paolo Albatrelli, Rudolf G. Binding, Raul Brandao, Rufino Blanco Fombona, Roberto Bracco, Schalom Asch, Ugo Betti, Ruy Bloem, Joseph Aynard, Sherwood Anderson, Joseph Bédier, Víctor Auburtin, Jules Bertaut, and Leon Bloy.

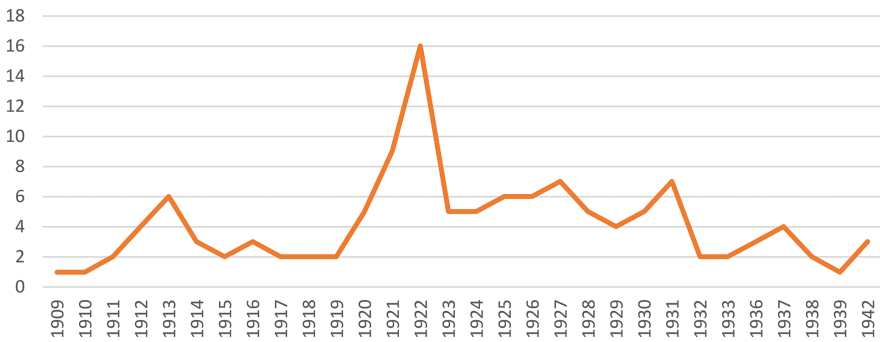
11 To visualise data on translation, I am working on a relational database for social-network analysis based on the digital environment Nodegoat. The sources include the summary *Bibliografía argentina de Artes y Letras* by Elena Ardisonne and Nélica Salvador, (Fondo Nacional de las Artes, 1971), as well as the *Nosotros* collection digitised by the Ibero-American Institute of Berlin, and the useful Portal of cultural magazines (Revistas Culturales 2.0), created by Professor Hanno Ehrlicher. The data on literary translations has been entered manually, having selected some specific “fields” from the Ardisonne-Salvador index, such as *literary genre* (essay, story, novel, poetry, narrative prose, theatre, chronicles, interviews, etc.) in the entries related to what the index labels “Classic and Modern Literatures” (as opposed to “Argentine Literature”). That is, these translation searches have not thoroughly scanned the entire collection, but only the materials in which we believe the publication of literary texts is most feasible. I should clarify that the study of these materials is in the exploratory phase. Thus, this chapter shows preliminary results.

misunderstanding” opened a field of possibilities for *Nosotros*, which gave way to politics through translations.



**Fig. 5:** Number of translations in *Nosotros* related to publications of foreign literature.

If we view these translations in time, we may observe that translations spiked in the 1920s (Fig. 6).



**Fig. 6:** Number of translations per year in *Nosotros*.

Interestingly, in 1920, R. Giusti quit his position as director. At the time of his resignation, which stemmed from political issues surrounding his affiliation with the Socialist Party, he noted that the magazine was experiencing years of opening and should thus position itself as a publication of the avant-garde

(around these years, several more cosmopolitan magazine projects emerged, such as *Proa* and *Martín Fierro*). Giusti noted the following:

for the magazine to continue being what it always has been, the rightful pride of Argentine intellectuals, the thinkers, writers, and artists who are noteworthy in the world today must be duly published in its pages, so that Argentine intelligence, and Argentine letters, may find in *Nosotros* an organ to illustrate and stimulate them, that is, a magazine of the avant-garde. (no. 136, 1920)

In terms of the source languages of translated texts, we may observe a wide variety of origins (Fig. 7), with French leading by far (in orange), followed by English (in yellow), Italian (in green), German (in dark brown), and Catalan (in light brown). In fact, the magazine boasted sections dedicated to French, Portuguese, Italian, Catalan, and Latin American literature (Lida 2015, 5), in which the latest publications were reviewed, while translations, to a lesser degree, were also showcased.

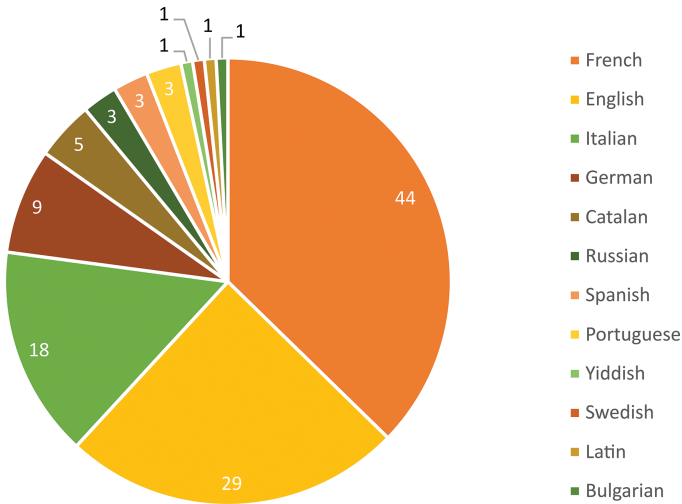
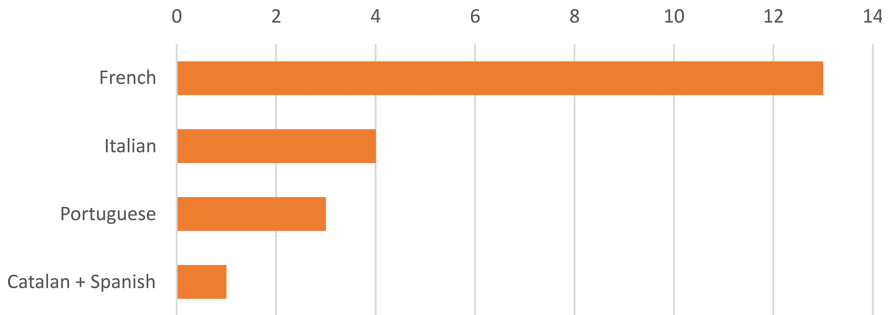


Fig. 7: Number of translations according to source language in *Nosotros*.

In Fig. 8, one piece of information stands out: Spanish appears as a source language three times, implying that the target language must have been something other than Spanish. Besides including Spanish as a target language, other languages also appear, especially Italian and French.



**Fig. 8:** Number of translations according to the original language of publication in *Nosotros*.

First, I would like to consider the peculiar case of texts published in Italian: these were not publications of texts by Italian authors, as one might suspect (although some Italian authors were published in translation),<sup>12</sup> but of Latin American authors translated into Italian. The translator, Comunardo Braccialarghe, also went by the pseudonym “Folco Testena” in, for example, his translation of *Martín Fierro* for the magazine’s publishing house, which was also called *Nosotros*. In the magazine, Braccialarghe translated poetry by Rubén Darío (to “Notturmo” and “La chiocciola”) and Rafael Obligado (to “Il nido di boyeros”) to Italian. He also wrote homages to Latin American authors, such as José Ingenieros and Amado Nervo, in Italian verse. Likewise, he published criticism of contemporary Italian literature, commenting on the now-forgotten, best-selling author of the time, Virgilio Brocchi, and on texts by Polo Albatrelli and Levi Ezro (specifically on his speech upon receiving the Romance languages chair at the University of Naples). He also published the article “La literatura italiana, su influencia en la literatura argentina de este primer cuarto de siglo” (“Italian literature: its influence on Argentine literature during the first quarter of the century”) (9–1927).

The fact that Italian was not only present in reviews, but also in translations of Latin American literature, can be explained by the importance of immigration for the middle class at the beginning of the century. As noted above, this was the magazine’s target audience. In fact, its directors, Giusti and Bianchi, were of Italian origin. In this sense, the magazine sought the integration of foreigners, in opposition to more conservative ideas stemming from the creole “nationalist reaction” led by figures such as writer Manuel Gálvez, who demonised foreigners as a force that corrupted traditional values. Thus, Giusti affirmed the following:

<sup>12</sup> *Nosotros* includes translated texts by Dante, G. Prezzolini, G. Leopardi, G. Carducci, L. Sorrentino, G. Pascoli, G. Papini, G. Senes and Leticia Boschi, among others.

“our history” will be constructed upon the enormous mass of foreigners who will lay out their new nationality here. As expected, this nationality will be inspired by the ideals of justice, fraternity, and economic equality that the downtrodden dream of today. And one day, perhaps [. . .] Buenos Aires will be proud to see not only Moreno, Rivadavia, and San Martín in its plazas (the respectable leaders of an old time), not only the symbolic Dante that Rojas admits, not only the Garibaldi and Mazzini that he would have us chuck away in the attic, but also – and why not? – Karl Marx, Émile Zola, and Leo Tolstoy, the champions of new ideals.

In this magazine, the influence of foreign literature would also contribute to forging the identity and cultural history of the Argentine nation.

Keen on tracing the presence of Italian in Argentine culture, *Nosotros* published a survey in three of its 1928 issues (from February to July) with the goal of ascertaining the scope of “Italian influence in our culture.” The surveys posed questions to nineteen key intellectuals of the time (including academics, journalists, and writers like Leopoldo Lugones, Ricardo Rojas, and Enrique Méndez Calzada). Following researcher Celina Manzoni’s (2019) analysis of their responses, we might highlight a certain consensus in terms of recognizing the “Italic element” (an expression that Lugones used) in the composition of the Argentina of the time, but, among the consulted intellectuals, there was less recognition of Italy’s impact on culture (Manzoni 2019, 245).

As we have observed, another of the publication languages in Fig. 8 is French. Above all, the magazine published French poetry by the following authors: Charles de Soussens (1865–1927) (a Swiss author living in Argentina, who actively collaborated with the magazine); Nicolas Beauvuin (1880–1960; founder of “paroxysm,” a poetic doctrine of renewal); Marcelle Auclair (1899–1983), a French female writer who was living in Chile in 1922–1923; and Raimundo Manigot (unknown dates).

To date, we have found forty-four registries of translations from French to Spanish, with abundant criticism of the post-war French literature of the time, such as criticism by François Felicien Durand (a pseudonym for Francis de Miomandre) (1880–1959), who also published works in *La Gaceta Literaria* and led the “Crónica de la vida intelectual francesa” (“Chronicles of French intellectual life”) section from 1921 to 1923, though Miomandre may have written his articles in Spanish. The magazine also contains reviews and translations of works by the writer group *Clarté*, which fought to push intellectuals to commit to pacifism during the post-war years and was drawn to the ideals of the Russian Revolution. *Nosotros* published and reviewed works by the following: 1) Henri Barbusse (1873–1935) (in fact, the magazine published the first *Clarté* manifesto, along with translated texts by the author, such as “El cuchillo entre los dientes,” and “Russie,” and articles about Barbusse, including “Una visita a Barbusse,” and “Henri Barbusse,” etc.); 2) Romain Rolland (1866–1944), who was also published

(M. Gálvez and R. Giusti translated “Páginas de Clerambault” (1920), with commentary by Giusti, whose translation followed the book *Clerambault. Historia de una conciencia libre* (Buenos Aires, Ediciones Pax, 1921); and 3) other notable authors (in fact, some were paid a special homage edition given their visit to Buenos Aires) including Anatole France (1844–1924). In January of 1922, Anatole France’s Nobel prize acceptance speech was published: a translation of the article was printed in *Le Temps* on 12 December 1921, and was subsequently published by *Justicia* in Montevideo, on 20 January 1922. Given his death in 1924, a number of critical articles on his philosophy and works were authored by several *Nosotros* writers, such as Ángel Battistessa, Roberto Giusti, Francis de Miomandre, Luis Reissig, and Carlos Ibarguren, among others. However, France was not always well received. In 1917, a person who went by “C.V.D.” criticised France’s visit in “Las lisonjas de A. France a la Argentina” (“A. France’s Flattery in Argentina”) (July 1917), given his lack of knowledge of Latin American affairs. The visitation speech “Anatole France en Buenos Aires; el banquete de la juventud” (“Anatole France in Buenos Aires; A Banquet of Youth”) was published in October of 1924. Furthermore, the magazine published translations of France’s texts, such as “si no se quiere parecer . . .” (February 1922), an article France wrote about the League of Nations, which was published in *Clarté* and subsequently printed in *Repertorio Americano* (San José de Puerto Rico) in January 1922; the text “A los intelectuales y estudiantes de la América Latina” (“To the intellectuals and students of Latin America”) (February 1921), which the author wrote with Barbusse; and a translated letter from France to the director of *L’Humanité* (September 1922). In fact, the magazine’s close relationship with *Clarté*’s authors caused altercations with *Nosotros*’ more conservative writers, who accused the directors of supporting a group of “communists,” despite the fact that, according to its statutes, the magazine was to remain apolitical (Lida 2015).

In terms of French translations, it is also worth noting that the magazine published poems as well, by French authors like André Chenier, Leconte de Lisle, Hé-gessipe Moreau, Alfred de Musset, Marcel Proust, Arthur Rimbaud, Albert Samain, Francis Vielé-Griffin, Paul Valéry, Paul Verlaine, Alfred de Vigny, the Belgian Maeterlinck (theatre) and Emile Verhaeren, the Italian Filippo Marinetti, and the Franco-Argentine Paul Groussac. One of the directors, A. Bianchi, also translated literature: he translated poetry by Marinetti (written in French in 1911 and printed upon his arrival in Buenos Aires) and Oscar Wilde (*De Profundis*, which had not been published before), as well as critical articles by Nicolas Beauduin and Pierre Abraham. We may also note that France was seen as a model – we may recall the phrase “and France, the eternal teacher of liberty” in Pasquaré (2012, 154) –, as seen in section 2.2 regarding the prevalence of contact with French magazines in the periodical-publication network.

Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that *Nosotros* also published Russian texts, given the magazine's penchant for the Revolution and the novelty of the Soviet model in the 1920s and 1930s. While the magazine was to be apolitical, given its very statutes, translation allowed for deference, as texts could be published without the magazine having to explicitly subscribe to any given idea. The contemporary critics and poets that the magazine published included the following: 1) G. Ustinov (unknown dates): "Opiniones de un crítico bolchevique" ("Opinions of a Bolshevik Critic"), "Sobre la revolución rusa y la revolución" ("On the Russian Revolution and Revolution") (no. 158, July 1922); 2) D. Merejkowski (1866–1941), a Russian-symbolism ideologist and critic of the Revolution: "El pueblo crucificado; el mesianismo polaco y Rusia" ("The Crucified People: Polish Messianism and Russia"), (no.144, May 1921) and Merejkowski's indirect translation, through the French, of "Le roman de Leonard Da Vinci" ("The Novel of Leonardo Da Vinci") (no. 207, 1926); "Dostoievski, precursor de la Revolución Rusa" ("Dostoyevsky, Precursor of the Russian Revolution") (no. 149, Nov. 1921); 3) N. Evreinoff (1879–1953), "Los bastidores del alma" ("The Soul's Stretchers") (monodrama), translated by Llinás Vilanova (no. 249, February 1930); 4) M. Iarochewsky (unknown dates): "La Revolución en Rusia" ("The Russian Revolution"), (no. 95, March 1917); "Escenas de la Revolución Rusa en provincial" ("Provincial Scenes of the Russian Revolution"), on the occasion of the revolution's first anniversary, (no. 108, April 1918), and "A propósito de la ley de colonización" ("On the Law of Colonization)," (no. 93, January 1917). The magazine's editors published an homage to the poet Vladimir Maiacovski on the occasion of his suicide (no. 253, 1939), studying the Soviet case from a far more critical and less laudatory perspective:

Having exited the chaos of revolution, [Russia] is going through a feverish period of reconstruction; this has created a new economy, new politics, new art, and a new society. In a word, Russia is gestating the new world and, consequently, is going through painful times, times in which sentimentalism seems but a joke. [. . .] Sentimental men have no place in Russia.

Lastly, besides the contemporary European literature we have outlined here, which allowed the magazine to indirectly take on political positions, we may find translations of what was then called "universal literature," but was actually just a European cannon of acclaimed authors: Shakespeare, Goethe, Dante, Byron, Shelley, and even Roman classics like Virgil (Shunway 1999, 173).

Even at the beginning of the twentieth century, the directors considered translation an act of literary creation (and not just an unfaithful copy that would evoke the common notion of "treason"). This belief is manifest in the statements

*Nosotros* published regarding the need to prize translations alongside original Argentine literature:

While there may be many opinions on this point, there is no discussion when it comes to properly judging aesthetics, regardless of what the law states in terms of translation being unable to compete, as the jury resolved regarding Augusto Bunge's *Faust*, without considering its value. A translation can be a master work of re-creation (this has been stated, demonstrated, and exemplified to death), and, by the way, the translations of the *Iliad* by Monti and Plutarco Amyot are not worth less, but more, than many other original works they wrote. *La Vulgata*, as we know, is a translation. (no. 227, 1928)

One final interesting point worth exploring is that *Nosotros*' translators were mostly men<sup>13</sup> who also wrote criticism, reviews, and their own works. For instance, the two directors, Giusti and Bianchi, also translated, as noted above. Translation was not seen as a specific profession, but as yet another editorial (and creative) task that collaborators who spoke more than one language would take on sporadically. Often, these publications were accompanied by the *translator's comments*: the translator did not hide as a mediator, but, on the contrary, would issue opinions on the translated text.

Nevertheless, one woman, Luisa Sara S. [Spangenberg] de Barreda, appears in the list of translators as having translated two works by Oscar Wilde "El gigante egoísta" (September 1914) and "Decadencia de la mentira" (December 1911). Unfortunately, we were unable to find biographical information about Barreda, but we assume she was the wife of Ernesto Mario Barreda, a writer and member of the magazine's editorial committee. As such, a personal relationship to a man might emerge as the key to women being introduced to the public domain of letters. It is possible to mention another example of the misrepresentation of women regarding reviews of female writers. We found only two names in a list of sixty: Giulia Cavallari Cantalamesa (a feminist and pedagogue from Italy), and Emily Brontë, both in reviews written by men. We also found an entry under "Maria Bartolini," who in fact was a man called "Gioseffo Maria Bartolini" (an Italian painter of the late-Baroque period), which shows the risk of using supposedly female names, such as Maria, in search fields, given that "Maria" is a relatively common middle name among men, which is problematic when conducting automatic queries from a big-data perspective.

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**13** The list of translators includes Obligado, Carlos (7), Braccialarghe, Comunardo (5), Bianchi, Alfredo A. (5), Cárdenas, Jacinto (5), Díaz Carvalho, Luis María (4), Riso, Domingo (4), de Vedia y Mitre, Mariano (4), Más y Pí, Juan (2), S. de Barreda, Luisa Sara (2), Resnick, S. (2), Suárez Calimano, Emilio (2), Llorens, Gracia (2), Banchs, Enrique (2), Bufano, Alfredo R. (2), Díaz, Luis María (2), Bunge, Augusto (2), F. Giusti, Roberto (2), Beruti, Antonio Luis (2), Barreda, Ernesto Mario (2), Gálvez, Manuel (2), and Battistessa, Ángel J. (1).



### 3 Conclusion

In this chapter, we started with the premise that the forging of national literatures should not be understood in isolation, but in relation to the international system of literary circulation (Thièse 1999; Bulson 2016). Regarding peripheral literature from more recently consolidated nations than those in Europe, as is the case with the formation of Latin American literatures, we should situate national formation amid the tensions between the forces of nationalism and those of cosmopolitanism. Argentine literature specifically was bound between four sites of reference: Argentina, Latin America, Europe (especially France and Spain), and the United States (Gramuglio 2013a). As such, following Delanty (2012), I propose considering literary nationalism in terms of critical cosmopolitanism, given that the latter concept can activate a less polarised and more dialogical dimension between “us” and “them” in a specific territory, while remaining connected to the outside. This allows for an active transformation process regarding the reception of foreign literatures. We might thus consider texts such as Oswald de Andrade’s “Manifiesto antropofágico” (1928), or Borges’s “El escritor argentino y la tradición” (1953), in which Western tradition is genuinely and irreverently appropriated from the margins.

Thus, the goal of this chapter has been to study how the national and the cosmopolitan were articulated in the Latin American periodical press of the early twentieth century by considering the emblematic case of the Argentine magazine *Nosotros*. As mentioned above, and in contrast to what unfolded in France, magazines in Argentina and in many other Latin American countries served as central organs – and often as the only organs, given these countries’ less developed publishing industries – to build a national literature and an intellectual field.

We have studied this constitution through multiple features of the Argentine magazine *Nosotros* (an ideal site of observation given its long duration and its aim to operate organically). Firstly, we have studied the moderate and tolerant character of the national field under construction, welcoming authors of diverse aesthetics to the magazine, but barring political and religious subject matters in favour of literature proper (though the political would inevitably make its way in) as crafted by writers (often men) who professionalised their labour, either in the press or the university, in stark opposition to the “lettered politician” model (in which writers tended to be diplomats) that had persisted through the end of the nineteenth century. Second, we have analysed the mentions of periodical publications, with which we may trace *Nosotros*’ relationships of affinity, interest, or controversy. In fact, connectivity with other magazines is a key feature of periodical publications – many included sections titled “*revista de revistas*” (magazine of magazines) or “*canjes*” (exchanges) –, along with their periodicity, collective

authorship, and embodiment of spaces of socialisation, as proposed by their editorial committees. Nonetheless, thanks to the long duration of *Nosotros*, we have been able to observe – in more detail – how these relationships between magazines organised (across countries, cities, and publications) and which spaces were most emphasised in their mentions. Using a quantitative study of *Nosotros*' relationship to 243 magazines, we have been able to highlight the heavy presence of the international (especially of France, Spain, and Italy) in this nationalist publication. Lastly, we have focused on the new tasks of the professional writer of the time: literary criticism and translation. Though the former was far more present than the latter in *Nosotros*, we might consider translation as a form of implicit, positive criticism on behalf of the professional writer, given the implied selection of the foreign text, even when publications did not include explicit arguments justifying a translation's inclusion in the magazine. Though translation is less obvious regarding its textual features (for instance, the name of translators) and the quantity of texts, we believe it embodies an interesting space from which to observe the tensions between literary nationalism (which was more organic and explicit in the magazine's editorial policies) and cosmopolitanism, which was less systematic and occasionally shone through in what we might call the “micropolitics of translation,” adding tension to more nationalist tenets.

In short, in this chapter, I have sought to show how the translation of foreign literature can influence the debates about the modernization of the national literary field and around national literary revindication. Paradoxically, but not inconsistently, the magazine analysed here, *Nosotros*, sought to portray “international nationalism”: it defended the institutionalisation of national literature while creating a network of international – especially Latin American and European – connections, earning the magazine international acclaim (above all, its exchanges with France were held in high esteem, as we saw in the analysis of *Nosotros*' periodical-publication network). Furthermore, while the magazine emphasises literary criticism as the proper task for the new professional writer of the early twentieth century, the translation of foreign, contemporary works indirectly allowed these writers to take political sides, going against the prohibitions in the magazine's statutes. *Nosotros* was to be an impartial and apolitical magazine, as per the literary field it sought to forge. Nonetheless, its translations of contemporary authors, especially of the group *Clarté* and of Russian literature, as well as the translations to the Italian published in its pages, suggest that this magazine was situated in its time, showing interest in political events, whether international (such as the Russian Revolution) or national (such as the inclusion of immigrants in the forging of a national identity). Furthermore, it casts light on the specificity of peripheral literary fields, such as the Latin American one, in which politics are inextricable from literature (Ramos 1989, Altamirano and Sarlo 1993,

Jurt 1999). Thus, it is my belief that *Nosotros* is an excellent example of how, when it comes to Latin American literature, the matter of the national cannot be divorced from the regional and the international.

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