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Medievalisms in the Postcolonial World

The Idea of "the Middle Ages" Outside Europe

Edited by

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Medievalisms in the Postcolonial World

CHAPTER SEVEN

Andrés Bello and the *Poem of the Cid*

Latin America, Occidentalism, and the Foundations of Spain's "National Philology"

NADIA ALTSCHUL

In 1810 the Latin American "intellectual founding father" Andrés Bello traveled from Caracas to London on a diplomatic mission with the better-known Latin American "Liberator" Simón Bolívar.[1] After the Napoleonic invasion of Spain in 1808, and with the overthrow of king Ferdinand VII in favor of Joseph Bonaparte, central areas of the Spanish American colonies began to declare their secession from the French Peninsular government. The Venezuelan diplomatic mission of 1810 sought to secure British neutrality and aid in the country's first stirrings of political independence. After a stalemate meeting with the British government, Bello was ordered by Bolívar to remain in London, where he lived for two decades despite constant attempts to return to Caracas. He was finally able to secure an appointment in 1829 in the remote republic of Chile and settled there until his death in 1865. A few years after Bello's arrival in London in 1810, he turned his attention toward the study of the origins of medieval languages and literatures. In particular, he started to work on a new edition of the *Poem of the Cid* (PMC), the medieval heroic verse narrative that later in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries would become Spain's "national epic" and thus the cornerstone of Spain's "national philology." What does it-mean for Bello to edit the *Poem of the Cid*? How does the "Spanish national epic" look from the perspective of a *criollo* subject? And does his *criollo* postcoloniality come into play in this "foundational" endeavor?[2]

Among the many points of entry into these questions, this chapter examines Bello's *criollo* medievalism through the prism of the narrative of foundation of the Spanish national philology. The unexpected existence of

a postcolonial subject as the first plausible founder of metropolitan national medievalism disturbs disciplinary history in a way that allows us to see the inner workings on which the foundation of a national philology relies. This postcolonial ripple also allows us to observe the "colonialized" situation of Spain in the panorama of European philology. This disruption also comes to the fore in the commonly held notion of Spain's critical "belatedness" regarding the incorporation of international philological standards, as well as in its positioning in Romanticism as a country still living in the Middle Ages. In turn, Bello's medievalism also allows us to examine particular *criollo* anxieties in his engagement with the nineteenth-century search for national origins. This chapter thus closes with remarks on the function of Bello's medievalism in Latin America and his desire to link the former Latin American colonies to the Occident through a double exclusion of Muslim and Amerindian presence from Castilian and Chilean "national epics."[3]

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were several culturally available stories on Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, better known as El Cid.[4] Tales of his heroic deeds had been continuously available in the Iberian Peninsula since the historical Middle Ages, starting soon after his documented life—he died as ruler of Muslim Valencia in 1099. Diverse aspects of the Cid's legend were sung during and since the Middle Ages in the form of ballads of heroic and love content—*romances* in Castilian—as well as circa 1300 in the clerical retelling of the hero's rebellious and love-stricken youth in the *Mocedades de Rodrigo*.[5] In 1618 the Valencian Guillén de Castro rewrote the clerical story for the stage as *Mocedades del Cid,* and this "Golden Age" piece was more famously refashioned in 1637 in Pierre Corneille's *Le Cid*. Heroic legends about Rodrigo Díaz were also chosen for different retellings during the nineteenth century.[6] When Bello took on the project of editing the PMC in the midst of what is generally known as Romanticism (1770–1830), the tales of the Cid were reentering the European mainstream through new sources. Johann Gottfried Herder's posthumous collection of romances was published in 1805 as *Der Cid* and reproduced in various republications, and the English poet laureate Robert Southey published in 1808 a prose *Chronicle of the Cid* blending three historical and literary sources. Within a general panorama of interest in the Spanish ballads and the Cid, the newest finding was the medieval verse narrative known today as the *Poem of the Cid*—or *Song of the Cid*—on which Bello started working soon after his arrival in London.

The first scholarly edition of the narrative that was to become Spain's national epic was published by Tomás Antonio Sánchez in 1779.[7] In terms of disciplinary historiography, considering the date of this first edition, Sánchez might seem to be temporally placed at the beginnings of the new Romantic paradigm of medieval studies.[8] This Romantic paradigm had started to break ground in the 1760s and 1770s: Herder published his *Völkslieder* or collection of popular ballads in 1778–79, Thomas Percy published a collection of *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* in 1765, and Walter Scott published ballads attributed to his native Scotland in his *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* in 1802. Yet it was not only popular ballads that were coming to the surface at this time. Attention also came to be focused on the much more prestigious long verse narratives, and in 1760 James Macpherson published his *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* with poems of Ossian, followed by his epic poems *Fingal* (1762) and *Temora* (1763). However, although Sánchez's editorial enterprise correlates temporally with this emerging world of the late 1700s, scholarship has had no disagreements about positing him within the outdated neoclassical disciplinary paradigm. Particularly, Sánchez is deemed as thinking both in terms of the neoclassical rules of art and as still part of the *ancien régime* and its monarchic institutional entourage.[9]

The distinction between the neoclassical and Romantic paradigms is vital because when intellectual history thinks about the literary discipline in terms of the foundations of a national philology, it is thinking along the lines of the beginnings of Romantic national ideology. It does not matter whether the study of the Middle Ages existed long before the nineteenth century. The first scholarly studies of medieval compositions have been identified in Gonzalo Argote de Molina's editions of the *Libro del conde Lucanor* of 1575 and the *Libro de la montería* of 1582.[10] Nevertheless, the national philologies do not start with the first medievalist projects; they start with the first Romantic medievalist projects. For us here, it is useful to mention what it means to propose such a project.

As the notion of a national philology implies, the Romantic medievalist project proposes a link between the *nation* and *philology,* or to be more precise, between the nation-state and the philology of the dialect that was elevated to the state's national language. Even though critics emphasize the dif-

ficulty of providing a description of philology, a simple recognition of its boundaries emerges from the differences between disciplinary names in places such as Spain and the United States. While in Spain an academic department is typically known as a department of French, Italian, or English Philology, in the United States this same academic department is typically known as a department of French, Italian, or English Language and Literature. The national aspect of this Romantic philology thus blends two features: the linguistic study of the particular dialect that a nation-state has elevated to its own national language (its language of culture, bureaucracy, and education), and the study of the literary compositions that use this language starting with the very first examples and following with its "greatest accomplishments." In languages like Castilian, the first examples of languages and literatures in terms of the nation-state are found in heroic vernacular compositions of the high Middle Ages.[11] That is why, for instance, the *Poem of the Cid* functions as a foundational national text, while the Latin compositions *Carmen Campidoctoris* and *Historia Roderici* do not, even though they are earlier texts recounting the life and heroic deeds of El Cid.[12]

By looking into the first literary compositions in the modern European vernaculars, the national philologies institute a link between the medieval texts written in the now national languages and the spiritual origins of the particular nation on which the nation-state was created. For early scholars of the Romantic period, who had been bred among the confined artistic walls of neoclassicism, the ballads and other "unruly" genres epitomized the spontaneous artistic compositions of the common peoples. Thus, popular compositions were first and foremost those disparaged in previous theories of literary art, and they provided scholars with a breath of fresh air from the overpowering neoclassical credo mostly associated with France and an apparently living link to the spirit of the nation as it had lived unconstrained and outside the corseted foreign strictures of "good taste." The national philologies thus venture into the study of the earliest "popular" literatures written in the state's national language, with the idea that these earliest examples of literatures existing outside the neoclassical artistic walls were a living link to the essential character of the nation.

Within the sphere of the Spanish-Castilian national philology, once the *Poem of the Cid* was enshrined as the national epic and foundational text of the Spanish-Castilian nation-state, the founder of the national philology was also to be sought among the scholars who had first engaged with

this foundational text. We have noted that Sánchez, the first editor, is deemed part of the neoclassical disciplinary world. Whose then are the next editorial projects on this foundational text, and could they be considered in terms of the foundation of the Spanish national philology? After Sánchez, the three scholarly projects on the PMC were the edition published in Paris by Jean-Joseph Damas Hinard in 1858 with a facing-page French translation of the Old Spanish, the paleographic transcription published in Madrid for the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles by Spaniard Florencio Janer in 1864, and the critical edition published in Halle by Karl Vollmöller in 1879.[13] There could have been other scholars whose work on an edition of the PMC is unknown to us today, but as it stands, there is a gap of almost seventy years between Sánchez's and these attempts at bringing Spain's national epic to light. Bello's mid-1810s editorial project stands at a pivotal point in the somewhat "shameful" seven-decade gap. And in the context of intellectual history and disciplinary historiography, his engagement with an edition of the PMC presents a particular postcolonial challenge to the foundations of Spain's national philology. We all probably recognize that following the unspoken terms of these foundations, there would be a trace of the unseemly in postulating Damas Hinard or Karl Vollmöller as the founders of "someone else's" national scholarship.[14] Yet Bello's enterprise and characteristics occupy a more difficult position; his native language was Spain's national Castilian dialect, he was a white male of European heritage, he was born a citizen of the Spanish body-politic, and he had a level of education that made it difficult to dismiss him as a mere amateur.

The Cidian scholarship of the highly educated Venezuelan opens up the possibility that a postcolonial subject may be attributed a foundational status in Spanish national philology—a status that is too coveted and influential for comfort. His *criollo* medievalism during the 1810s creates anxieties associated with the presence of a postcolonial scholar who can explain and criticize the essence of the metropolis through an engagement with its foundational text. The reasons for this metropolitan anxiety deserve further mention. Since at least the nineteenth century, the center of the nearly extinct Spanish Empire had become an exotic and backward subject under the gaze of the "real" Europe, and Spain's origins were deemed infused with the Orient due to the particularities of the Iberian Middle Ages. Léon-François Hoffmann develops this characteristic, men-

tioning, for example, that Stendhal—*nom de plume* of Henri Beyle—wrote in *De l'amour* in 1822 that he considered "the Spanish people as a living representative of the middle ages," and in 1838 in *Mémoires d'un touriste* he wrote: "Do you want to see the Middle Ages? Look at Spain."[15] As we know, postcolonial lands were also perceived as living statically in a neverending past, while the European metropolis was an historical and thus changing society that had progressed into the realm of modernity and the future.[16] It is within this "colonialized" intra-European position of the metropolis that Bello's scholarship could become not a source of pride in cultural dominance but yet another source of vexation for the mother country.

Let us also bring to the fore that at this time the English capital was home to large groups of Spanish exiles who had arrived in two waves, one after the absolutist restoration of Ferdinand VII in 1814 and another after the defeat of a three-year liberal government that gave way to renewed absolutist rule in 1823. In much literary historiography, this group of exiles is attributed with bringing Romanticism back to Spain when they returned to the peninsula after the death of Ferdinand VII in 1833.[17] The exiles' stay at this particular time in places such as London is said to have opened to them the new Romantic worldview. Yet in this case, while Romantic London is accepted as significantly nurturing the "late blooming" of Spanish literary Romanticism, the person engaged with the editing of the foundational national text is not a Spaniard but a postcolonial Venezuelan.

In terms of the possibility to engage with the essence of the metropolis through its medieval foundational text, one of the best known of Bello's positions on the PMC was that he did not consider this heroic narrative as an autochthonous Castilian product but as a second-class imitation of earlier French *chansons de geste*.[18] At a time when medieval epics were deemed to show the essence of their corresponding nations, this stance was unwelcome. In the Iberian case it would be only at the dawn of the twentieth century that Ramón Menéndez Pidal would be able to convince the European scholarly world of the existence of a home-grown Spanish epic tradition.[19] With his scholarship on the existence of early Castilian epics, Pidal would successfully refute the PMC's French origins while at the same time establishing a Spanish-Castilian patriotic medievalism. In the process of finding a Castilian epic tradition for the *Poem of the Cid*, Pidal would ultimately also deny the other nations of the Iberian Peninsula the existence of medieval epic traditions of their own and thus would make them satellites of a Castile which was now philologically established as the heart and spirit of Spain.[20]

Today, having broken the hold that Pidal had over the discipline almost until his death in 1968, scholars more commonly criticize his patriotic Castilian bias.[21] Yet the studies of Castilian national philology have not yet targeted the presence of a postcolonial subject at the start of metropolitan Romantic medievalism. Within the many possibilities opened by Bello's medievalism, we should note here that on the one hand, within the boundaries of metropolitan disciplinary history, locating the postcolonial Bello at the core of Spain's metropolitan foundational myths of philological achievement was problematic; and, on the other hand, when the object of discussion was a politically emancipated colony like Chile, there were no disciplinary misgivings regarding who may be attributed the status of founder. My focus will be on an important and instructional narrative of philological foundations provided by Yakov Malkiel, a twentieth-century German-trained Iberian medievalist working in California, exiled from Europe in the second "World" war, and an authoritative and even adept writer of disciplinary histories of hispano-medievalism.

Malkiel clears any doubts regarding who would receive the status of founder of Spanish national philology. He awards the position to Ramón Menéndez Pidal in a necrology that runs forty journal pages, building a case that few if any would have disputed at the time of Pidal's death.[22] According to Malkiel, Pidal is the main Spaniard who incorporates the German standard of rigorous methodological advances in linguistic and literary studies and who utilizes them for the elucidation of the nation-state's foundational narratives. His first published editions of the Castilian epics *La leyenda de los infantes de Lara* and *Poem of mio Cid* date from 1896 and 1898. Quite tellingly, his edition of the PMC presented in 1893 was incited by a competition launched by the Spanish Royal Academy in 1892 in order to celebrate the 400th anniversary of the "discovery of America" with a scholarly study of the Spanish-Castilian foundational text. For those familiar with other European national philologies, it might be apparent that the timing of the Spanish foundation is late in the nineteenth century, and Malkiel's narrative gives weight to the commonly held notion of the country's belatedness and slow arrival to the philological grail. The

difficulties of belatedness have not been fully resolved for Spain, even at the end of the twentieth century. A countercurrent in disciplinary narrative on the foundations of Spanish national philology attempts to definitively shed philological belatedness, maintaining that the decisive "arrival" of Spain into the heart of European philology is not located in Pidal's work but happened after the 1970s, when the national editorial school incorporated the rigors of Italian neo-Lachmannian methodology.[23] A rather interesting aspect of this situation is that this entry into the rigorous European scene came from the margins of the Castilian metropolis. The neo-Lachmannian methods were not established by Castilian language medievalists around Madrid but in Buenos Aires, Argentina, and the autonomy of Catalonia. With yet another twist that parallels the colonial "not yet," Spain's introduction of this rigorous methodology caused it once again to fall behind into the apparently unavoidable circle of belatedness. By the 1990s, the Italian neophilological editorial method had become traditional, and the philological grail signaling the entrance into the heart of Europe had again moved beyond the grasp of the Spanish national school, which was now embracing the outlook and methodology of this Lachmannian philological position.[24] In terms of the "real" Europe, Spain needs to catch up with standards that it has been in no position to shape to its own image. This continuing race to prove its own disciplinary coevalness would make the disavowal of nonpeninsular Castilian philological foundations into a more cogent response than it might have seemed at first sight.

The added importance of Malkiel for our purposes is that he not only establishes Pidal as the founder of Spain's national philology but also provides a history of the discipline for the areas of the American continent where Castilian became the state's official language of bureaucracy and education. In 1968 Malkiel wrote a long chapter on "Hispanic Philology" for the fourth volume (dedicated to Ibero-America and the Caribbean) of the series *Current Trends in Linguistics;* the work was reprinted in 1973 as a booklet on *Linguistics and Philology in Spanish America.*[25] In his general appraisal of the Latin American philological panorama, Malkiel laments that he cannot avoid Bello's presence—a presence he eluded in the two-page "catalogue" of early philologists in Pidal's necrology—and he bemoans the large importance bestowed on Bello by his native Venezuela. At the time of Malkiel's writing, the most renowned editions of Bello's complete works had been published in Caracas; and the critic does not immediately mention Chile, where the government first published Bello's edition of the PMC in the first complete works of 1881.[26]

In terms of Bello's scholarship, Malkiel places him as a marginal figure in the history of philology and mentions that by "standards normally applied elsewhere, Andrés Bello . . . could *at best* qualify for the role of a precursor."[27] In Malkiel's authoritative disciplinary history of the former Spanish colonies, the opening stage in the development of a "native" Castilian philology is marked by the arrival in Santiago de Chile, in 1889, of two German-trained scholars: Friedrich Hanssen and Rudolf Lenz.[28] According to Malkiel, Hanssen and Lenz are "both founding fathers of Chilean philology,"[29] even though Bello had been a central presence in Santiago in educational, political, and legal matters since his arrival in 1829. To Malkiel, the postcolonial medievalist was an uncomfortable disciplinary presence even in Chile, and the difference in expectations between a postcolonial and a metropolitan philology is made apparent in his comparative treatment of Bello's Chile and Pidal's Spain. Even the "late-blooming" Spain needed a proper Spaniard as founder of its national philology. In contrast, the politically emancipated Chile, although to be praised for the incorporation of a discipline that held great prestige in Malkiel's eyes, was bound to require and wait for the arrival of "true" European-trained philologists.

In Malkiel's narrative of foundations, we can observe the disciplinary discourse that organizes the philological field according to the measuring stick of German methodology, as well as an example of the anxiety produced by Bello's early medievalism within the metropolitan historiographical discourse of Spanish national philology.[30] Furthermore, adding to the problems of belatedness, to my knowledge, Spanish is the only disciplinary field where a postcolonial scholar might plausibly be considered in terms of the foundation of the metropolitan national philology.[31] It might thus be necessary to emphasize that the current discussion does not intend to locate Bello as the "rightful" founder of Spanish national philology or to further cement the intra-European discourses that generally lead the intellectual historian toward Romantic medievalism or national philologies. I therefore conclude this chapter by bringing to the fore a Latin American perspective, and with this perspective, the Venezuelan's own anxieties in his engagements with the Spanish-Castilian foundational text. We thus must observe a context in which the postindependence *criollo*

takes the mantle of colonial discourse, and to do this, we return to Bello's position regarding the French origins of the Castilian epic and the *Poem of the Cid*.

Bello's French sources posit an impure origin for the "popular essence" of Spain, and this position on a nonautochthonous epic creates a fissure in a national medievalism centered on the expectations of a distinct, uncontaminated, original Spanishness. Bello, however, was not troubled by the Castilian-French intra-European intermingling of the early epic compositions. The Venezuelan's medievalism was not directed to the national essences and pure beginnings that the scholarship exploring the relationship between medievalism and nationalism has posited as the main framework of European medieval studies.[32] However, while his *criollo* postcoloniality comes through in this difference from metropolitan expectations, his position on impure European origins also plays a different role in the former colonies. To observe this different role, we consider Walter Mignolo's discussion of Occidentalism. Mignolo posits: "The Occident [America] . . . was never Europe's Other but the difference within sameness: Indias Occidentales . . . and later America . . . was the extreme West, not its alterity. America, contrary to Asia and Africa, was included as part of Europe's extension and not as its difference . . . Occidentalism was a transatlantic construction precisely in the sense that the Americas became conceptualized as the expansion of Europe."[33]

Following Mignolo's presentation, Bello's medievalism fits as an example of Latin American nineteenth-century Occidentalism: an endeavor based on the understanding of Latin America as a continuation of the West that conceptualizes the Americas not as "other" to Europe but as a transatlantic extension of Europe.[34] Under this light, Bello's position on a French-Castilian mixed origin is linked to a *criollo* desire to partake of the European world, and his medievalist projects are not an attempt to maintain Latin America's link with "mother Spain" but to maintain Latin America's link to "the Occident."

Through medieval studies Bello fastens the new Latin American republics to "the West"—the blend of Roman Empire and Germanic tribes that, together with the official religion of Christianity, gels nations into "Europe." This classic notion of the West/Occident excluded non-Christian populations inhabiting the geographical boundaries of Europe, such as the Muslim inhabitants who governed large tracts of the Iberian Peninsula from the early 700s to the 1230s.[35] Moreover, as we have observed, many in the nineteenth century considered Spain a country still living in the Middle Ages; in the words of César Domínguez, the country was perceived as "essentially primitive, stalled in orientalist medievalism."[36] The attempt at creating a link with the Occident through Castilian popular compositions was thus particularly difficult when the heart of Europe was fascinated with "the Orient" and the Iberian Peninsula was being "colonialized" through its medieval Muslim past.

Bello's attempt at securing the Occidental heritage of Latin America by separating medieval Castilian from the Spanish "internal Orient" can be observed in his genealogy of medieval assonance. Like his peers in the early nineteenth century, Bello was concerned with the origins of the long narrative "popular" poems. He was especially concerned with these poems' rhyme because assonance was deemed a Castilian exceptionality within the European vernaculars and thus was tied to the Iberian Muslim past.[37] Faced with the question of whether medieval assonance should be derived from cultural intermingling with Arabic poetry, Bello traced it first to the earlier French epics and finally derived it from medieval Latin compositions.[38] This genealogy tied medieval Castilian verse to a safe common pan-European Christian source. There are additional instances in which Bello distances Castilian culture from Muslim Iberia, thus relinking Spain to the Occident.[39] As a final example, I discuss a suggestive move in which Bello equated the Arabic Muslim component of Castilian medieval compositions with the native Mapuche or "Araucanian" component of the new nation-state of Chile.

Discussing religious tolerance in Muslim Spain, Bello notes that acrimony could not have been as strong during the Middle Ages as it was after the Inquisition in the late fifteenth century. He stresses however that medieval *convivencia* did not create hybridity or miscegenation between the religious communities because, as he stipulates elsewhere, "Iberian and Arabic elements" never "blended with each other; [because] an eternal principle of repulsion agitated the core."[40] Positing questions to be answered in the negative, and attempting to explain the meaning of the lack of interreligious acrimony perceived in Castilian popular poets, Bello asks: "Does it prove that the Arabic muses inspired the first songs of the Castilians? Wouldn't we have similar motive to say that an Araucanian reflection can be perceived in Ercilla's poem?"[41] The comparison with Alonso

de Ercilla y Zúñiga's sixteenth-century poem *La Araucana* is significant because according to Bello this poem was the *Aeneid* of Chile, the new Republic's epic of foundation.[42] Here the Arabic element in the "first songs of the Castilians" is equated with the Amerindian element in Chile's "foundational epic" *La Araucana*. In order to bond Latin America to the Occident, showing his alternate position as settler colonizer, Bello parallels the exclusion of Arabic sources from the origins of Castilian medieval literatures with the Amerindians' exclusion from *criollo* national-state origins. Comparing the "absurdity" of finding Arabic inspiration in medieval Castilian with the "absurdity" of finding Araucanian presence in the Chilean national epic, Bello both equates Muslims and Amerindians and positions them as Other and external to the European-Iberian and Latin American Occident.

But Bello's Occidentalism should not be understood as merely entailing the production of examples. The notion that Latin America is a transatlantic extension of the West has a mutuality embedded in it; Occidentalism does not just bond to an already established ideal of the West/Europe but also actively shapes the idea of what this imagined Occident is. Bello is not describing realities of Castilian and medieval European literatures but Occidentalizing Europe by excising Arabic presence from early Castilian popular literatures and, in a parallel double move, Occidentalizing Chile by excising Amerindian presence from the imaginary of the new Latin American nation-state.

More could be probed through examining Andrés Bello and the existence of fairly unfamiliar Latin American medievalisms. For one, we may observe that the *criollo* Latin American situation partakes of ideas (discussed by Stephen Slemon) concerning settler colonies of northern European descent like Australia and Canada, to which one may also add the settler United States. For instance, in Bello we can observe the notion that "the colonial subject who can answer the colonizers back is the product of the same vast ideological machinery that silences the subaltern," or that the white settlers' "resistance has *never* been directed at an object or a discursive structure which can be seen as purely external to the self."[43] In addition, in the context of medievalism in Latin America, the recognition that scholarship actively shapes the idea of the Occident has come more readily into relief. As observed in Bello's medieval scholarship, Occidentalism as the framework by which "Westerners" create their own imaginary conceptions of the "West" is not a self-sufficient or self-contained search for national essences but is formed through an engagement with its perceived boundaries and its imaginary Others.[44] For the discourse of national philologies, a postcolonial frame thus underscores that Romantic nineteenth-century exclusions enacted in the name of the Middle Ages are not mainly to be ascribed to a self-contained search for illusionary pure essences but that these exclusions also function as enablers for the West and the nation-state's reproductive imaginary conceptions of itself.[45]

Notes

1. Bello was born in Caracas, Venezuela, in a middle-class family of European ancestry. He was educated as a Latinist, and, as a lettered man of reasonable social standing, he started a career in the colonial bureaucracy, where he was a loyal presence to Charles IV, the last king of Spain with full jurisdiction over the American colonies. For a more detailed discussion of Bello's life and times, in English, see Iván Jaksic', *Andrés Bello*.

2. I use *criollo* instead of Creole in order to differentiate between the Spanish and some of the more common English/French meanings. In a Spanish language context, *criollo* refers to peoples with European descent who speak Castilian, have adopted a Western outlook, and have been in positions of power at least since political independence. For this meaning of *criollo,* see Walter Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs* 239–40; or Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes* 175. In turn, I will use *postcolonial* to refer mainly to the perspective of the colonized—either *criollo* or not—and *colonial* to refer mainly to the perspective of the colonizer. These are not static positions; in the case of Bello, his colonial discourse appears particularly in relation to the Amerindians of Chile, the Mapuche, and his postcoloniality in relation to the metropolitan foundational text, the *Poem of the Cid.*

3. I consider concepts such as Occident, Spain, Latin America, Romanticism, etc., as constructed categories. For ease of reading I do not enclose them in quotation marks throughout this chapter, but they should be understood accordingly.

4. "Cid" is an honorary term adapted from the Arabic *al-sayyid.* Despite its possible incorporation into the history of tolerance and *convivencia*—"living together"—between Muslims, Jews, and Christians during the Iberian Middle Ages, the use of the name finally came to be perceived as the recognition by the vanquished—the Muslims—of the superiority of Rodrigo Díaz. The warrior is also known as "Cid Campeador," a name with implications of battle and victory.

5. See an edition of the three layers of composition and transmission present

in the sole surviving manuscript of the *Mocedades de Rodrigo* in Leonardo Funes and Felipe Tenenbaum, eds., *Mocedades de Rodrigo*.

6. Among the nineteenth-century examples is Antonio de Trueba y la Quintana, *El Cid Campeador*. For specific engagement with the *Poem of Mio Cid*—as against the legend of Rodrigo Díaz—see Luis Galván, *El* Poema del Cid *en España, 1779–1936*, as well as Luis Galván and Enrique Banús, *El* Poema del Cid *en Europa*. Several examples of twentieth-century compositions are provided by Elizabeth Espadas, "Twentieth-Century Spanish, Latin American, and U.S. Latino Literature Dealing with Medieval Themes and Settings." For international reception, see Christoph Rodiek, *La recepción internacional del Cid*.

7. Tomás Antonio Sánchez, *Colección de poesías anteriores al siglo 15*.

8. Like all categories and periodizations, those known as neoclassicism and Romanticism also need to be problematized. Such a project, however, is not tackled here. Interesting in terms of disruptions, however, is that Sánchez's *Cid*—deemed neoclassical as I mention below—is probably the first edition of the full text of a medieval "epic poem," a type of engagement generally considered to characterize Romanticism.

9. Sánchez tentatively proposed that, as prescribed by Horace in his *Ars Poetica*, the *Poem of the Cid* "does not lack the merit to be considered an epic poem" ("no le falta su mérito para graduarse de poema épico"), in Sánchez, *Colección* 20. María Willstedt in her study of the panorama of Iberian eighteenth-century medieval studies remarks however that Sánchez's edition of the PMC—as well as his many editions of works that today form the medieval canon—are in fact the last examples of the Iberian neoclassical scholarly paradigm; see Willstedt, "Recuperación de la poesía medieval en el siglo 18." In these terms, Sánchez's position is similar to that of the aristocrat Jean-Baptiste de La Curne de Sainte-Palaye (1697–1781), a major neoclassical medievalist in eighteenth-century France who, despite spearheading colossal developments in the medieval field, is also deemed a scholar of the ancien régime. See Lionel Gossman, *Medievalism and the Ideologies of the Enlightenment*. Luis Galván, in turn, also places Sánchez in the neoclassical paradigm in his receptional history of the poem, in *El* Poema del Cid *en España, 1779–1936*.

10. Alan Deyermond, "Sánchez's *Colección* and Percy's *Reliques*" 171–72.

11. The presence of words and verses in romance vernacular in the *jarchas* and *muwashaha* of the early Middle Ages provide today an example of early Iberian romance languages, but the compositions in which they appear are in Arabic or Hebrew languages.

12. *Carmen campidoctoris o Poema latino del Campeador*, ed. Alberto Montaner and Ángel Escobar. For the *Historia Roderici*, see Simon Barton and Richard Fletcher, *The World of El Cid*.

13. Damas Hinard, *Poëme du Cid*; Florencio Janer, *Poetas castellanos anteriores al siglo 15*; Vollmöller, *Poema del Cid nach der einzigen Madrider Handschrift*. There is also a 1804 reprint of the PMC in the first volume of Gotthilf Heinrich Schubert, *Bibliotheca castellana, portuguesa y provenzal, por d. G. Enrique Schubert*.

14. Janer has not been posited as a contender in the national philology; as a transcription of the only surviving manuscript, his project is not considered an edition but a preliminary engagement. Bello's work was also accused of merely cleansing Sánchez's 1779 text instead of being an edition itself, especially because it is not based on direct work on the manuscript source. This, however, does not detract from its character as an edition, even if not a critical edition. We should also remark that in Bello's time Sánchez's text was the only available "witness" of the PMC. The first paleographic transcription—by Janer—was published one year before Bello's death, and the manuscript was in private hands. This was still the case in 1892, when it was the property of Menéndez Pidal's uncle, the Marquis of Pidal. See Alberto Montaner Frutos, "Un texto para dos filologías" 54.

15. Stendhal posits "le peuple espagnol comme le représentant vivant du moyen âge" and continues: "Voulez-vous voir le moyen âge? Regardez l'Espagne," in Léon-François Hoffman, *Romantique Espagne*, 87.

16. For a classic discussion of the "denial of coevalness," see Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other*.

17. For this discussion of Spanish literary romanticism, see Derek Flitter, *Spanish Romantic Literary Theory and Criticism*. A different position on "romantic Spain" is of particular interest here: E. Allison Peers, *A History of the Romantic Movement in Spain*, brings forth a parallel and essentialist position, quoting approvingly that Romanticism "'is eternal in Spanish art: it cannot die, for it is the very voice of the race'" (2). This is not an isolated position but the overall perspective of his section "The Antecedents of the Romantic Movement" (1–12). Peers is reacting against the idea that Romanticism had to come to Spain from abroad, but his position simultaneously creates an eternal and static Spain which was Romantic already in the Middle Ages (3).

18. For a summary of Bello's positions on the *Poem of the Cid*, see Pedro Grases, "Estudio preliminar." The extent to which Bello's position was associated with the notion of French influence can be gauged in Miguel Magnotta, *Historia y bibliografía de la crítica sobre el* Poema de Mío Cid *(1750–1971)*, esp. the section on French influence (90–106).

19. Most noticeably, Gaston Paris determined that "Spain has not had an epic" ("L'Espagne n'a pas eu d'épopée") at the beginning of the chapter dedicated to Spain in his *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne* 203. Paris later accepted the existence of a Spanish epic after Pidal's reconstruction of the history of the genre in

La leyenda de los infantes de Lara. See the discussion in Magnotta, *Historia y bibliografía* 80–81.

20. For this line of thought, see María Jesús Lacarra, "Consecuencias ideológicas de algunas de las teorías en torno a la épica peninsular" and "La utilización del Cid de Menéndez Pidal en la ideología militar franquista." As she points out, a telling contextual resonance with Pidal's positions on the Castilian epic is the official line of Francisco Franco's military dictatorship of 1939 to 1975. Pidal, however, was not part of the regime nor was he able to continue living comfortably in Spain. For a defense of Pidal in relation to Francoism, see Peter Linehan, "The Court Historiographer of Francoism?"

21. See, among others, the critiques of Pidal by Catherine Brown, "The Relics of Menéndez Pidal"; E. Michael Gerli, "Inventing the Spanish Middle Ages"; Lacarra, "Consecuencias ideológicas" and "La utilización del Cid"; and José del Valle, "Menéndez Pidal, National Regeneration, and the Linguistic Utopia."

22. Yakov Malkiel, "Era omme esencial . . . ."

23. I discuss this situation more in depth in Nadia Altschul, "La nueva crisis de la filología editorial."

24. I am using as marker the publication of *Speculum* 65.1, special issue on the "New Philology," 1990, edited by Stephen G. Nichols, which rearticulated the philological scene in French-speaking and Anglo-American academic circles.

25. Yakov Malkiel, "Hispanic Philology"; *Linguistics and Philology in Spanish America*.

26. Andrés Bello, *Obras Completas de Andrés Bello* (26 vols.); *Obras Completas* (15 vols.). For a list of different sets of Bello's complete works, see Jaksic', *Andrés Bello*, xxiii–xxiv. Hereafter I quote from the Venezuelan 26-volume publication, referring to it as *Obras Completas*.

27. Malkiel, "Hispanic Philology" 159 (my emphasis).

28. The Chilean governmental initiative that brought them to train teachers in German pedagogy and the resistances it created are discussed in Valentín Letelier, "El Instituto Pedagójico."

29. Malkiel, "Hispanic Philology" 161.

30. On this topic, see also Nadia Altschul, "On the Shores of Nationalism."

31. Of particular importance in terms of scholarship on postcolonial medieval scholars is Michelle Warren's work on Joseph Bédier, who was raised in the island of Réunion. Bédier is a contemporary of Menéndez Pidal and successor to the "founder" Gaston Paris. See Warren, "*Au commencement était l'île*," as well as her response in section two of the present volume and her forthcoming *Creole Medievalism*.

32. Recent discussions may be found in Patrick Geary, *The Myth of Nations;*

Joep Leerssen, "Ossian and the Rise of Literary Historicism" and "Literary Historicism." In more general disciplinary terms, they have been centered in particular in the journal *Studies in Medievalism*, which has been active since the 1970s.

33. Walter Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs* 58.

34. For a recent discussion of Bello's Occidentalism in his "foundational" Latin American poems, see Álvaro Kaempfer, "Economías de redención." For transcultured use of European elements by Latin American *criollos* such as Bello, see Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, esp. chap. 8, "Reinventing América/Reinventing Europe: Creole Self-fashioning" 172–97.

35. The first military conquests by Berber and Syrian Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula date from 711, and the final expulsion of Muslims—the converted *moriscos*—began in 1609. Starting in the 1230s, however, Muslim military and governmental influence diminished with the Christian conquest of large cities like Córdoba (1236), Valencia (1238), and Seville (1248).

36. César Domínguez, "The South European Orient" 434.

37. Bello remarks and distances himself from the concept of an Arabic genealogy for assonance and monorhythmic poetry. He remarks that assonance "is today exclusive property of Spanish versification. But, was it always? Was assonance born in the language of Castile?" ("es hoy propiedad exclusiva de la versificación española. Pero ¿lo ha sido siempre? ¿Nació el asonante en el idioma de Castilla?") (*Obras Completas* 6: 353); and states that "There is no reason to imagine that the Spaniards learned rhyme from the Arabs and then communicated it to the other nations of Europe" ("No hay para qué imaginarse que los españoles aprendiesen de los árabes la rima, y luego la comunicasen a las otras naciones de Europa") (*Obras Completas* 6: 449).

38. See "Uso antiguo de la rima asonante" ("Ancient Use of Assonantic Rhyme") in *Obras Completas* 6: 351–64; and "Sobre el origen de la rima" ("On the Origin of Rhyme") in *Obras Completas* 6: 447–86.

39. In Bello's first published study of 1823 on the *Poem of the Cid* (*Obras Completas* 7: 449–69, esp. 459–60), written as response to Jean-Claude Léonard Simonde de Sismondi, *De la littérature du midi de l'Europe*, he already opposed the notion that the poetry of the European South was influenced by Muslim elements. Furthermore, Bello considered Sismondi the first scholar who posited Muslim influence and taste for the foundational poem of Rodrigo Díaz (*Obras Completas* 7:487). Suggestive phrases abound in Bello's writings on the Middle Ages, such as the notion that "the Qur'an could not prevail over the Gospel" ("el alcorán no pudo prevalecer sobre el evangelio") (*Obras Completas* 7: 473).

40. "Los elementos ibérico y arábigo . . . no se fundieron jamás el uno en el otro; un principio eterno de repulsión agitaba la masa" (*Obras Completas* 7: 473).

41. "¿Prueba esto, que las musas arábigas inspirasen los primeros cantos castellanos? ¿No tendríamos igual motivo para decir que en el poema de Ercilla se percibe un reflejo araucano?" (*Obras Completas* 7: 493).

42. Bello considered "La *Araucana,* the *Aeneid* of Chile . . . as yet the only one of the modern peoples whose foundation has been immortalized in an epic poem" ("La *Araucana,* la *Eneida* de Chile . . . único hasta ahora de los pueblos modernos cuya fundación ha sido inmortalizada por un poema épico") (*Obras Completas* 9: 360).

43. Stephen Slemon, "Unsettling the Empire: Resistance Theory for the Second World" 78–79, 80. The first quote originally comes from Jenny Sharpe, "Figures of Colonial Resistance" 139.

44. Occidentalism here is therefore not understood in the rather zealous terms of Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit, *Occidentalism*—that is, not as the agency the "enemies" of the West might have in creating an imaginary Occident. For the present use, see Fernando Coronil and his intent to "relat[e] Western representations of 'Otherness' to the implicit constructions of 'Selfhood' that underwrite them" in "Beyond Occidentalism" 56. Coronil also points the reader to James G. Carrier, "Occidentalism," for whom Occidentalism means "the essentialistic rendering of the West by Westerners" ("Beyond Occidentalism" 56, n. 4).

45. I want to thank Kathleen Davis for a critical reading that solved a long-standing puzzle, Michelle Warren for a thoughtful critique, and Jeanette Patterson for her editorial assistance.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Postcolonial Gothic

The Medievalism of America's "National" Cathedrals

ELIZABETH EMERY

THE SELF-CONFIDENCE OF THE United States' leadership and its imposition of American values on the world in the first years of the twenty-first century all but effaced memory of the country's long inferiority complex with regard to Europe. Initially a British "settler colony," in the nineteenth century the United States experienced many of the struggles for self-definition that have come to be associated with former colonies in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.[1] This chapter explores one facet of U.S. rivalry with Europe, namely, the highly publicized neomedieval cathedral building that took place from New York to California at the turn of the twentieth century, just as the United States was becoming an imperial power. While there was a great deal of Catholic cathedral building in America, the two structures that vied for the title of the country's "national" cathedral—New York's Cathedral of St. John the Divine (construction began in 1892) and Washington's Cathedral Church of St. Peter and St. Paul (1907–90)—were Episcopalian.[2] The trustees of these institutions embraced the inherently modern American ideal of building "houses of prayer for all nations," yet selected the Gothic—the predominant European style for religious architecture—in which to do it.

The perceived need to build not just one but two "national" cathedrals in the United States, where the separation of church and state is so clearly stated, raises a number of questions. Why would turn-of-the-century American Episcopalians want to build a "national cathedral" in the first place? Once the decision to build was made, why did architects in two of the most important cities for international commerce and politics—New York and Washington—independently choose European models for their modern edifices? In short, what did medieval religious architecture mean