

# #12

# SOMETHING MORE THAN A MYTHICAL SEMINAR (THEORETICAL WORKSHOP OF POST-DICTATORSHIP ARGENTINEAN UNIVERSITY)

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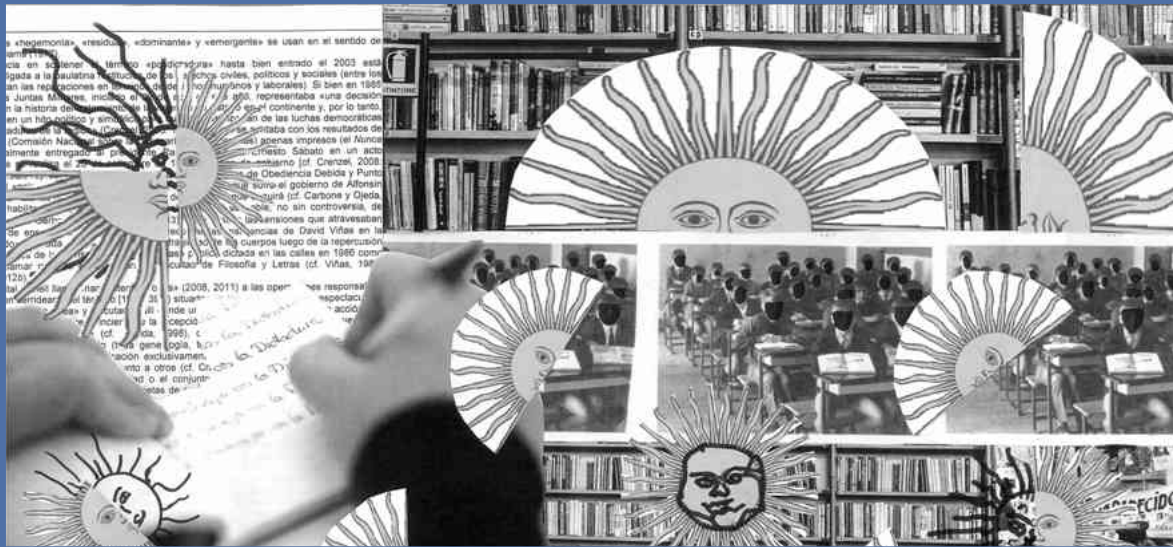
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**Abstract** || This article analyzes the relationship between theory, criticism and teaching established by Josefina Ludmer in the seminar “Algunos problemas de Teoría Literaria” (“Some problems of Literary Theory”) which took place at Buenos Aires University (Argentina) in 1985. The article describes the main theoretical points and critical operations carried out during the development of the Seminar, and ends with an exploration of Ludmer’s research and educational program, which constitutes her “fantasies of nano-intervention” in the Argentinian public university system of the first years of post-dictatorship.

**Keywords** || Literary Theory | Josefina Ludmer | Argentinean University | Postdictatorship | Fantasies of Nano-Intervention

## 0. Detours

On the back cover of the re-edition of Fabián Casas's *Oda* published by Mansalva, critic and journalist Pablo Schanton outlines the "image" (Gramuglio, 1992) of the prolific Argentine author by subtraction:

Los escritores top de mi generación (la de los que creímos redimir la sangre y los ideales de los 70 con dark, postestructuralismo, cocaína, la cátedra de Panesi, el Parakultural y una primaverita alfonsinista) saludan mucho desde los suplementos literarios, pasean por el periodismo como si fuera una sucursal tardía de Montaigne y saben muy bien cómo salir en las fotografías, a diferencia de Borges que, pobre, dependía de María Kodama. A mí me dan vergüenza. Pero a Fabián Casas no lo cuento entre ellos. (Schanton, 2008)

Among the urban Buenos Aires myths of the 1980s in Argentina, Schanton includes "Panesi's teaching." His list permits a few questions: what did Jorge Panesi do in his classes to deserve that a place in the university (long considered bureaucratic, inbred, and cliquis by the extensive belief that opposes academic/non-academic as the equivalent of non-creative/creative)<sup>1</sup> earned a place among the transgressive icons that, in the then-new democracy, were replacing the heroic prototypes of the 1970s?

This introduction circles around this question as it gets projected onto the political and cultural horizon in which that practice itself comes into question: although Panesi worked with Enrique Pezzoni in the course "Introduction to Literature (C)"<sup>2</sup> included in the Literature curriculum at the UBA (Universidad de Buenos Aires) since 1984, it is only in 1990 when, after Pezzoni's death in 1989, he assumed responsibility for the course that since 1985 has been called "Theory and Literary Analysis," according to the paradigms of the time.<sup>3</sup> According to his own stories (cf. Panesi, 1989, 2009) and those of his students (cf. Louis, 1999, 2009), his critical image is constructed around the legacy of and debt to Pezzoni. Even so, the recovery of classes imparted during the "post-dictatorship" combined with programs, interviews,<sup>4</sup> and a few timely essays (cf. Panesi 2009, 2010; Zubieta, 2010; Vitagliano, 2011) allow a glimpse into Josefina Ludmer's theoretical, critical, and pedagogical "operations" (Panesi, 1998), both in the "university of the catacombs" during the dictatorship and in the famed Seminar "Some problems in Literary Theory" offered in the second quarter of 1985 at the University of Buenos Aires, and the place these "operations" have had in the professional development of Panesi and a group of professors, writers, journalists, and critics that, like Panesi, had studied surreptitiously with Ludmer during the years of state-sponsored terrorism and later accompanied her in that storied educational experience.<sup>5</sup> Alan Pauls, Ana María Amar Sánchez, Ana María Zubieta, Nora Domínguez, Gabriela Nouzeilles, Mónica Tamborenea, Adriana Rodríguez Pérsico, Claudia Kozac,

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1 | In Argentina, this opposition is supported both outside academic circles as well as writers of researcher who work as university professors. In this sense, it is noteworthy the pejorative use of the adjective "academic" in university colloquia either by the same organizers of by invited guests. A sample: since 2005, Universidad Nacional del Litoral organizes annually a meeting with writers, journalists, critics, translators, editors and literature teachers under the somewhat pretentious name of *Argentino de literatura*. In the print edition of the two first sessions (Casullo *et al.*, 2006; Giordano *et al.*, 2007) and the digital editions of the other eight (Panesi, *et al.*, 2014) this tendency is noticeable, sometimes as a wink to the audience, sometimes as childish apologies for mistakes, sometimes as outburst of cynicism and irresponsibility.

2 | In "La hora de los maestros", a text written by Annick Louis to introduce the reedition of *El texto y sus voces* by Enrique Pezzoni, Louis reminds the work conditions in public university in the incipient Argentinean democracy of 1984 (on this, see McKee Irwin and Szurmuk, 2011: 14). Among the constrictions that impede radical institutional changes there were the contracts signed during the dictatorship (Louis, 2009: 61-62). The resource of a "cátedra paralela" was a way out that allowed integrating previously excluded professors. "Introducción a la literatura (C)" (later "Teoría y análisis literario (C)") was one of these cases. In addition to this course, led by Enrique Pezzoni, there were the course "A" with Delfín Garasa, Nélica Salvador and Elisa Rey, and course "B", in charge of Graciela Maturó (cf. Garasa, 1984; Maturó, 1987).

and Matilde Sánchez.

This article<sup>6</sup> focuses on that Seminar as one of the sites of theoretical knowledge-production in the post-dictatorship Argentine university,<sup>7</sup> thanks to importation as well as invention and stimulation of categorial production from a singular epistemological position that reexamines the expanded formulations of the concepts of “writing,” “theory,” and “practice.” Far from naïveté or outmodedness, the Seminar’s cultural production evolved in active conversation with the most recent developments in the “field” (Bourdieu, 1987, 1997, 2001): the warped state of art positioned against repressive hegemonic politics<sup>8</sup> in the very recent past.<sup>9</sup>

To start out, I present the axis and major theoretical nodes around which the Seminar revolved: the axis and nodes at the service of a teaching and research project as well as a program of future literary studies that convey Ludmer’s “fantasies of nano-intervention,”<sup>10</sup> presented alongside other processes her colleagues developed (due to space considerations and given that some of these have been analyzed in other articles, I refer to those other works). On this occasion, I aim to account for the intellectual project that Ludmer’s knowledge-production inscribes (considered timely in previous work). Finally, while I describe the project and program that Ludmer presents in her Seminar, I hazard, almost 30 years later, a reading of some of the traces of her project and program in “lo que vino después” (cf. Ludmer, 2010*b*, 2012*a*, 2012*b*) in the theory, criticism, and teaching of literature in Argentina. To return to the title and fulfill the promise it announces, I aim to establish the reasons why this seminar became so storied in post-dictatorship Argentine university life.

## 1. Theoretical “knowledge-production:” processes, project, and program

Ludmer sets her Seminar on an axis, her concept of “ways of reading,” and three major theoretical nodes presented as each unit’s organizing concept: “theories of specificity,” “theories of interpretation,” and “theories of literary practice” (1985*a*: 1).

As noted somewhere else (cf. Gerbaudo, 2011*b*), Ludmer develops the concept of “ways of reading” from John Berger’s “ways of seeing” (1970). This is key idea of her pedagogical and research program, traversing her oral and written work. From the 1980s to the present, “ways of reading” appears in classes, conferences, interviews, and publications with an unmissable connection with “activism” (cf. Ludmer, 1984, 1985*b*, 1997, 2001, 2004, 2005, 2009, 2010*a*, 2010*b*,

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3 | Panesi shows the relationship between the name of courses and the dominant theoretical paradigms: “Un año la materia funcionó con el nombre que traía del Plan de estudio del 76. Y luego cambiaron los planes de estudio: la materia se llamaba ‘Introducción a la literatura’ y pasa a llamarse ‘Teoría y análisis literario’. [...] Si ahora vos me preguntás qué nombre le pondría... Le pondría ‘Teoría y crítica’. Lo de ‘análisis’ marcaba que entonces estaba aún muy presente el estructuralismo. Eran principios de los 80 y el estructuralismo estaba en retirada en cualquier otro lado, pero no acá” (Panesi, 2006).

4 | For a description of the initial project of this research funded by the Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas (CONICET), its main concepts, the period scope (1983-2003), the temporal cuts that mark its main moments (1983-1986; 1986-1995; 1995-2001; 2001-2003) and the methodology see Gerbaudo, 2012*a*. For a definition of the term “política de la exhumación”, see Gerbaudo, 2013*a*.

5 | In 1986, this Seminar became “Teoría Literaria II” (cf. Vitagliano, 2011: 123).

6 | In addition to the previously mentioned funding to the project, this research is framed under other collective projects funded by different institutions: CAI+D 2013-2015 (Curso de Acción para la Investigación y el Desarrollo)/UNL under my direction (*Las teorías en la formación del profesor en letras en la Argentina de la posdictadura /1984-2003*), PIP (Proyecto de Investigación Plurianual)/CONICET 2013-2015 directed by Miguel Dalmaroni and Judith Podlubne (*La resistencia a la teoría en la crítica literaria en Argentina*).



2011a; Gerbaudo 2013c): “en la sociedad se enfrentan modos de leer [...]. Esos modos de leer son formas de acción” (1985b, 1: 4).<sup>11</sup> She adds: “La Teoría Literaria vendría a explicar esos ‘modos de leer’: las controversias, los debates” (4). Ludmer prefigures the theses of *Aquí América Latina* (2010a) when she connects “ways of reading” with “ways of writing” (not only in literary criticism and theory but also in literature, the humanities and more broadly in the social sciences [1985b, 26: 19]), and both are intertwined with the socio-cultural changes taking place: “Esos ‘modos de leer’ son históricos... Aunque tal vez desde la escuela primaria les hayan inculcado uno solo, nosotros apostamos a los cambios... A descongelarlos. A que se lea de otro modo. Y a lo mejor, a que se produzca también un cambio en la literatura” (4).

Ludmer reveals her “fantasies” gradually. She adjusts her formulations according to their theoretical and epistemological density, paying attention to the content being developed and the “envíos” (cf. Gerbaudo, 2013b). The relationship between reading and writing tasks in the seminar (with many obligatory readings) is vital because it allows the teacher to review how much of the taught material has been learned, or at least acknowledged. She sets increasingly complex tasks (submission of three practical essays in September, October, and November, one for each month of the Seminar) as a minimum requirement, and a final monograph to be developed over the course of “two years” (Pauls, 1985, 26: 2) in order to pass the course. This project functions as resistance to the “aplicacionismo” (a powerful tendency in Argentine literary education at both secondary and tertiary levels [cf. Gerbaudo, 2006, 2011c, 2013b]) since it requires “apropiación” (cf. Derrida, 2001) of the materials dealt with in theoretical and practical classes<sup>12</sup> in order to read non-conventional texts in the university.<sup>13</sup> Laying the foundation for these decisions is a characteristic of post-dictatorship university programs, a movement against the prevailing currents of the previous period (cf. Louis, 2009) naturalized by the teacher’s choice of texts and materials to be presented in wide-ranging reading lists evaluated orally. On August 20, 1985, during the Seminar’s first session, Ludmer affirmed that both for her and those in the class, this emphasis on writing constituted a “especie de experimentación” in a course without a final oral exam, an experiment that dreams of “terminar con los exámenes [orals] y empezar con otro tipo de enseñanza donde los estudiantes tengan una participación permanente en la escritura” (1985b, 1: 1).<sup>14</sup>

Alan Pauls replicates the theoretical and epistemological basis of the operation. Inspired by Derrida (1967), Pauls reproaches the institutional “hegemony” of a “Socratism”: “En esta Facultad [...] se supone que hay una sola manera de transmitir saber que es hablando y se supone que hay una sola manera de demostrar que se lo ha recibido que es también hablando” (1985, 4: 4). A “metaphysics of

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*Algunos episodios desde 1960 hasta la actualidad*) and the transdisciplinary mega-project *International Cooperation in the Social-Sciences and Humanities: Comparative Socio-Historical Perspectives and Future Possibilities*, directed by Gisèle Sapiro (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales / Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, <http://interco-ssh.eu>).

7 | Another important theoretical workshop of the period was the course “Literatura argentina II” led by Beatriz Sarlo who, as with Ludmer, had also pertained to clandestine groups during the dictatorship. To this, we should add her editorial work, at the Centro Editor de América Latina and at *Punto de vista*, the journal that she directed during thirty years and that became an emblem of resistance to State terrorism as well as to the economic crisis of the post-dictatorship (cf. Blanco y Jackson, 2009; Gerbaudo, 2010, 2011a, 2014a).

8 | The terms “hegemonía”, “residual”, “dominante” and “emergente” are used in Raymond Williams’ sense (1977).

9 | The insistence in the term “post-dictatorship” until 2003 is directly connected to the gradual restitution of civil, political and social rights (among them, human and labor rights). While the 1985 Juicio a las Juntas Militares, which started in April 22, represented “una decisión excepcional en la historia del tratamiento de la violencia de Estado en el continente y, por lo tanto, se constituyó en un hito político y simbólico para quienes participaban de las luchas democráticas contra las dictaduras de la región” (Crenzel, 2008: 137), and

speak” linked with “truth”. Pauls caricaturizes future teaches as a sort of “policías del saber”: “Señores que hablan” pero “que no escriben” (4). To this movement, he opposes the “activist” obsession (3) of the Seminar in which he takes part, a seminar that locates the students’ writing at the same level of importance as the contents of the course: “Hay tanta militancia en la elección de los puntos del programa como en la elección de este sistema de trabajo” (3). And he ratifies: “Es una especie de contrato donde proponemos que nosotros hablemos y que ustedes escriban” (3). From his position as teacher-writer,<sup>15</sup> he fantasizes with an education able to reveal a “posible identidad entre una persona que enseñe y una persona que escriba” (4). In other words, he wishes for others what he practices everyday.

This emergent valuation of a kind of writing that goes hand in hand with “literary practices” can be found in Gustavo Bombini. Not only in his early works (being compilations or his own articles), when the marks of the importance of theory in the debate on literary education (cf. Bombini, 1989, 1992, 1996; Ingaramo, 2011, 2012a, 2012b) next to an activism that takes him to try to bring to Mar del Plata<sup>16</sup> (his hometown) and later to La Plata (cf. Gerbaudo, 2014d) the renovation in which he participated as his final years as student in UBA (cf. Bombini, 2006, 2011), but also in his late production, the one which puts the “guión conjetural” at the center of the practice of teachers at any level (Bombini, 2002). For Bombini, the narrative of those practices imagined in dialogue with those realized is a rich place for the writing of a teacher: between the diary and the balance or self-evaluation, between planning and informal roadmap, between institutional writing and “escrituras del yo” (Giordano, 2006) or “intimidad” (Catelli, 2007), it makes visible and establishes a hierarchy in an unattended practice.

Which other fantasies, in addition to those already mentioned, energized this Seminar? In the first session, Ludmer reveals to her students her “objetivo fundamental”: “Introducirlos a los problemas de la Teoría literaria desde varios ángulos”, so that they “aprendan a leer teoría: cómo y para qué leerla” (1985b, 1: 2). To do so, she thinks about the “formación en teoría literaria” in a sort of “pasos”: “El primero es el enfrentamiento con [...] algunos problemas muy generales”; “el segundo, una historia de las teorías (que no es lo mismo que una Teoría literaria)”; “el tercero, problemas concretos, específicos” (2). These are the stages she would meticulously follow, one by one.

In that first session she also posited two questions: “¿Qué se lee en la literatura?” and “¿desde dónde se lee?” (1: 7), two questions that stand as the key for the analysis of the theories of “specificity”, those of “interpretation” and those of literary “practices”.

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the results of the CONADEP (Comisión Nacional sobre la Desaparición de Personas) were available (the *Nunca más* was officially handed by Ernesto Sábató to president Raúl Alfonsín in a TV covered event on September 20, 1984 [cf. Crenzel, 2008: 103]), the repressive apparatus were not disassembled: the laws of Obediencia Debida y Punto final and the “golpe de mercado” (cf. Pucciarelli, 2006, 2011) suffered by Alfonsín’s government are only some of the most visible movements of the setback that will follow (cf. Carbone y Ojeda, 2000) and that made possible that well into the 21<sup>st</sup> century the term post-dictatorship will be used, albeit with controversies (cf. Gerbaudo, 2012a; Antelo, 2013). To illustrate the tensions affecting teaching of the period, let’s remember David Viñas’ insistence in the word “miedo” as associated to the materiality and the fragility of the bodies after the repercussion of a public class imparted in the streets in 1986 to demand improvements in the Facultad de Filosofía y Letras (cf. Viñas, 1986; Gerbaudo, 2012b).

10 | With Avital Ronell I call “nano-intervenciones” (2008, 2011) those operations responsible (in the Derridean sense [1980: 397]) and place in the antipodes of situadas “lo espectacular”, connected to the “pequeña tarea” and carried on where a slit leaves a space to action that defines its sense in the uncertain terrain of reception. A thread in which that “por-venir” is weaved with “acontecimiento” (cf. Derrida, 1998), with the unfathomable that collapses any prediction and any previous framework (any genealogy, any genesis and any genre [2003: 55]) while precludes any exclusively personal or individual allocation of that which revolved in interaction with others (cf. Cragolini, 2014) because it

About the “theories of specificity”, Ludmer insists in combating the opposition between “formalist” and “institutionalist” theories, a move that is anticipated in that long introductory session, probably understood<sup>17</sup> (at that first moment, given the quantity and density of issues introduced), as pure abstraction<sup>18</sup>: Ludmer asks whether what has been called “especificidad literaria” can be located “en el interior mismo de la literatura, en la lengua, en algún rasgo propio, o si la especificidad se define desde afuera de la literatura por ciertas instituciones, por ciertas convenciones, por lo que se enseña como literatura, por lo que se lee como literatura” (1985*b*, 1: 1). However, to this initial moment, certainly quite criptical for students caught off-guard, it follows a minute description of the different approaches (cf. Zubieta, 1985, 11; Domínguez 1985, 12) completed with the repetition of a gesture that pretends to disarm the binary: “Yo les dije que leyeran *Ante la ley* (...). Un texto muy importante por el modo de superar esta escisión entre las dos teorías que venimos viendo que planteaban, por un lado, la especificidad, y por otro lado, las instituciones” (Ludmer, 1985*b*, 13: 7).

On those “theories of interpretation”, the Seminar revised how different emblematic authors of hermeneutics, aesthetics of reception, structuralism and others of difficult categorization, such as Susan Sontag, Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari (cf. Nouzeilles, 1985: 17; Panesi, 1985, 18; Tamborenea, 1985, 19) thought about the meaning of literature. By the end of the Seminar, Ludmer threads these ideas together when, a propos *gaucho* literature (which she had discussed in different sessions and about which she dictated a specific Seminar in the first four-month quarter [cf. Ludmer, 1985*c*]), she asks: “¿Qué tipo de gaucho constituyó el género?” (Ludmer, 1985*b*, 20: 111). The overview of opposed criticism on gaucho classics allows her to take the problem of how theories model interpretation. To do so, she uses a familiar corpus which becomes estranged by an approach that unsettles, because it cancels the previous certainties (cf. Caisso and Rosa, 1987): “Entonces, ¿qué pasa con el sentido?, ¿por qué un texto puede leerse de modos diferentes?” (113).

Finally, to talk about “theories of literary practices” obliges to take into account again those “que han surgido para dar cuenta de cierta literatura o incluso para orientar la escritura misma de la literatura” (1: 1). Realism (cf. Rodríguez Pérsico, 1985, 22), avant-garde (cf. Pauls, 1985, 23) and postmodernism (cf. Kozac, 1985, 24) are now read from this position (key in the bumpy, tiresome and strongly opposed consideration of the relationship between theory and practice in human sciences in Argentina, specially in a future discipline such as the teaching of literature [Panesi, 1996; Gerbaudo, 2006, 2009, 2011*c*; Bombini, 1989, 1996, 2012; Parchuc, 2014;

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depends on its repercussion. If politics is “la actividad o el conjunto de actividades desarrolladas en ese espacio de tensión que se abre entre las grietas de cualquier orden precisamente porque ningún orden agota en sí mismo todos sus sentidos ni satisface las expectativas que los distintos actores tienen sobre él” (Rinesi, 2003: 23), to think about actions as “fantasías de (nano)intervención” accentuated in each movement the power of decision of those who answer to them. In an interview to radio *France Culture*, Jacques Derrida expresses it with clarity: when writing, when teaching, when researching, “se les está proponiendo a otros un nuevo punto de referencia, un nuevo contrato, una nueva interpretación” (2001: 40). And adds: “el otro es quien tiene que contestar o no” (40). Including non-answer as a possible answer underscores the mitigating circumstances with which Derrida tirelessly has pretend to dishearten the arrogance of intentionality. Such is reinforced with the connection with “fantasías” which, as noted by Slavoj Žižek, do not refer to “un escenario fantástico que opaca el horror real” of a situation (1999: 15) but rather are those that sustain the “sentido de realidad” (otherwise, it would privilege a perception tending to associate reality with a remnant that, far from a “mera fantasía” would be “lo que queda de la realidad cuando ésta pierde su apoyo en la fantasía” [31]) to mobilize actions (“nano-intervenciones”) targeted to the reorganization of the socio-cultural weave precisely in the spaces in which, in terms of Eduardo Rinesi, one can detect “grietas” (2003: 23).

11 | Each of the classes quoted will be cited as year, *number of session*: page in the



Nieto, 2014]). On this point, on the session on realism, Rodríguez Pérsico establishes two nodes: the first, to interrogate “la autonomía de la literatura” when its “eficacia política” is vindicated (1985, 22: 2); the second, the intervention in the problem of historicity of literary forms and their connection with theories, using an incontestable example: “El *Ulises* de Joyce no pudo haber sido escrito antes de Freud” (22: 9). Those two ideas will be taken again in discussions on post-autonomy (cf. Ludmer 2010a, 2011a) and about the theoretical-practical articulation of teaching of literature (an area of transference that interested Ludmer).<sup>19</sup>

Next to these three big theoretical nuclei, Ludmer and her team undertake three operations that make evident the epistemological and didactical position of the Seminar:

1- They defend a theoretical update as starting point of any research and teaching practice. This la actualización teórica como punto de partida de cualquier práctica de investigación y de enseñanza. The requirement did not lose force when confronted with the unfortunate changes affecting the institutionalization of literary research in Argentina in the sixties. Rather, the Seminar introduced theoretical that pointed towards later orientations of the field. For example, other works (cf. Gerbaudo, 2013d) have noted the early importation of Jacques Derrida’s *Before the Law*<sup>20</sup> and François Lyotard’s *The Postmodern Condition*. In this sense it is important to note the diffusion of Boris Arvatov (taught by Jorge Panesi up to the present in his course on “Theory and Literary Analysis”<sup>21</sup>), Douglas Hofstadter (1979), Robert Darnton (1984), and the brave references to *Capital* in the fragile and unstable democratic order. The many optative assignments of untranslated bibliography (Deleuze’s *Mille plateaux*, one among many) are but an example of this zeal for theoretical updatedness.

2- They subscribe the intention to produce theory and not only criticism. Beyond the formulation of “modos de leer” (cf. Gerbaudo, 2011b), the Seminar hosted a heated discussion with Walter Mignolo over the possibility to produce knowledge under the material conditions of the time (cf. Gerbaudo, 2013e), and which was inscribed in the broader context of the process of institutionalization of literary research in Argentina, affected by the dictatorship’s impediments to editorial and literary development, and obstacles to translation, teaching and research (cf. Puiggrós, 1997, 2002; Kaufmann, 2001; Invernizzi y Gociol, 2002; Gerbaudo, 2014d), cutting short then themes and points of view: “El campo de trabajo es nuestra cultura (...). Un campo de problematización pero no de aplicación” (Ludmer, 1985b, 26: 6). Ludmer notes that the appropriation of the contents she teaches as “biblioteca” (6) cannot be put off in order to think “las teorías de

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transcription). Classes printed by *Sim y Tekné* have circulated as study material for students as well as teachers, who in occasions would travel to Buenos Aires to obtain them (cf. De Llano, 2014). In fact, Annick Louis published lessons by Jorge Luis Borges as dictated by Enrique Pezzoni between 1984 and 1988 because she noted their importance for criticism and studies on the institutionalization of literary theory in Argentina (cf. Louis 1999: 11-12). Her archival work (cf. Louis, 1999) is one of the first antecedents in politics of exhumation on this issue.

12 | Practical classes showed a heterodox corpus for the period, in addition to non-formulaic questions. For example, Matilde Sánchez has analyzed the concepts of literature in the press of the eighties, which she understands, to a large extent, as responsible for the “organización del consumo cultural” in a wide social spectrum (1985, 25: 4).

13 | Instructions for the final monograph (transcribed with the marks of orality) are proof of the difficulty of the task. Students could choose on of the following topics to develop in a text “de 20 a 30 carillas, con plazo de entrega a dos años” (Pauls, 1985, 26: 2): “1) Análisis de las concepciones de literatura... en un corpus de revistas literarias argentinas. Para la constitución de ese corpus hace falta que sean al menos dos revistas distintas, dos colecciones, no menos de 30 ejemplares por colección y elegir revistas del Siglo XX. Se puede elegir también un corpus haciendo un corte sincrónico tomando, en este caso, todas las revistas literarias existentes en el campo... en ese momento. Por ejemplo, en vez de hacer un relevamiento cronológico del



nuestras prácticas literarias” (9), a step she would take in a book on gaucho literature published three years later (1988), and which she encourages to imitate: “¿Qué teorías específicas podríamos nosotros elaborar a partir de esas prácticas literarias que en muchos casos no tienen un equivalente internacional, como en el caso de la gauchesca?” (1985*b*, 26: 9). Enthusiastically and emphatically, she insists: “¿Cuál es la teoría que sobre esas prácticas nosotros vamos a poder empezar a elaborar? Ese va a ser el punto de partida de la Teoría Literaria en Argentina” (9). Today, we can answer: not only. The teaching of literature invented by Gustavo Bombini inherits this interpellations (cf. Gerbaudo, 2009; Ingaramo, 2012*b*), and perhaps, the literature of Alan Pauls and Matilde Sánchez. Finally, the traces of her teaching in the critical production of the rest of the team of the Seminar are evident (something that cannot be accounted for in the scope of this article).

3- They try to deactivate “obstáculos epistemológicos” and “ideológicos” (cf. Bachelard, 1948; Camilloni, 1997; Gerbaudo, 2011*c*), which have taken hold of Argentinean university education in the eighties, by exposing and discussing theoretical bases. Ludmer’s battle against “applicationisms” by means of the exercise and promotion of sophisticated forms of writing and reading has already been noted (cf. Gerbaudo, 2011*b*). As noted in the first session of the Seminar: “Muy poco aprecio se tiene de la inteligencia si se condena a la gente a copiar modelos de un lado para pasarlos a otro” (1985*b*, 1: 11). On the other hand, if “la institución literaria es la que funciona como aparato de legitimación que define qué es la literatura”, it is important to be attentive to anything that models “qué tipo de literatura traducir, difundir, aplaudir y por lo tanto, también producir” (11). University is part of that game. In this framework, reading and writing are practices that intervene actively in the arena of cultural struggles, in which the attribution of meaning has a key role.

As an example of these operations of dismantling and the reactions they triggered, let’s remember a polemical episode that nearly made it to the court of justice: those infuriated by the incisive representations that Panesi presented in his class on “teorías de la interpretación” (cf. Panesi, 1985, 18), threatened to sue him rather than engaging in the debate (cf. Louis and Gerbaudo, 2011).

Panesi opens his class opposing different local variations of hermeneutics (a topic that Nicolás Rosa [cf. 1981] and later his team analyzed from the same perspective, that is, from a firm disagreement with certain uses of this theoretical line [cf. Estrín and Blanco, 1999]). This reading includes an element of humor: “Quería, ante todo, hacer una advertencia para aquellos espíritus poco preparados porque en la clase que hoy me propongo desarrollar dentro del capítulo de formación del sentido en literatura, hablaré de religión”

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año 20 hasta el 50 en la revista *Sur*, tomar un lapso, pongamos de cinco años, y allí tomar todas las revistas que intervienen en el campo literario [...]. 2) Análisis de lecturas sobre alguno de estos cuatro escritores argentinos (análisis de las lecturas, no de los escritores): Borges, Sarmiento, Hernández y Sábato. Con análisis de las lecturas queremos decir por lo menos 20 trabajos sobre los mismos. Implicará analizar, por ejemplo, 20 trabajos que se hayan escrito sobre Hernández. 3) Rastrear y analizar la concepción de autor o sujeto, ideología u objeto en todas las lecturas que se vieron en este seminario (formalismo, Praga, estructuralismo y posestructuralismo, teoría de la recepción, Bajtin, teorías institucionales, etc.) y rastrear cómo han sido trabajados uno de estos puntos en todas las corrientes” (Pauls, 1985, 26: 1-2).

14 | On this topic Ludmer comes back at the end of the Seminar, after she had explained with insistence the arguments that explain her point of view (notice the expression of uncertainty about what was to come, specially keeping in mind the vulnerability of Latin-American democracies in those years): “No sabemos qué vamos a hacer en los próximos años. Trataremos de enseñar Teoría Literaria y de ir desarrollando algunas de estas tareas que creemos urgentes” (Ludmer, 1985*b*, 26: 10). Among these tasks, she underscores the need to “abolir” final oral exams and found “talleres de escritura teórica [...] necesarios para que se vaya creando de a poco una formación básica en teoría literaria en el conjunto de la facultad” (10). Such action will be articulated in the contents she develops as well as in her critical work: “En algún momento pensamos que

(Panesi, 1985, 18: 1). It also usually aims to capture the attention of the students by means of a sort of enigma that is slowly revealed: “Aclaremos [...]: hay ciertas escuelas hermenéuticas que creen en la interpretación, que dotan a los textos de sentidos determinados ejecutando ciertas operaciones que toman al sentido como parte de una operación religiosa” (1). What does Panesi have in mind with this comparison? Which forms of reading is he arguing against? Against which practices? Unusually, in this case these questions will be answered without nuances. While it does not mention anybody, the introduction verges on a denunciation of inflexible and accusatory tone that will diminish as the local uses of theory are differentiated from theory<sup>22</sup>:

Quiero adelantar [...] que a esta posición le llamaría hermenéutica porque es una hermenéutica que navega en las procelosas aguas del ser latinoamericano o nacional. No le dedicaría tiempo si no hubiese sido la única teoría oficial (oficial con gorra) que ha tenido la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras en estos últimos años.

Debido a este motivo hay que dedicarle algunos párrafos. Porque no se trata evidentemente de una teoría sino de un objeto kitsch que ha prendido maravillosamente en congresos de especialistas y en esta Facultad de Filosofía y Letras.

El campo de la hermenéutica está dirigido por una serie de pitonisas puesto que siempre se trata de que el ser latinoamericano o el ser nacional se embeba en los rayos milagrosos del Verbo Divino. Leeré algunas de las apreciaciones de una de estas pitonisas: “Esto es en suma la hermenéutica: una actitud del espíritu”. “El único sentido posible es Dios y hay que intuirlo”, dice, “dentro de la totalidad de sentido, como el único posible dador de sentido”.

Si uno piensa que estas frases fueron dichas más o menos en el 80 o en el 81, que la revista faro de esta tendencia hermenéutica sacó su primer número en 1975, es evidente el registro de afinidad que este tipo de ideología occidental y cristiana tiene en el contexto en el que fue proferida. (2)

The reference to the euphemistically termed “Proceso de Reorganización Nacional” (the self-assigned name of the structures of State terror) is explicit and straightforward. It is also evident the refusal to a hegemonic “way of reading” literature in the university under dictatorship (cf. Rosa, 1981; Caisso y Rosa, 1989; Estrín and Blanco, 1999) and its media (occasionally the magazine *Megafón*, founded in 1975). Panesi approves a kind of use in the antipodes both of the relationship between literature and territory that Ludmer envisions (cf. 1985b, 26: 14) as well as of the rigorous work with text that she promotes (cf. Ludmer, 1972, 1977, 1985b). Cecilia Badano, a student in the Seminar, remembers the kind of treatment of texts imposed by Ludmer, and her implacable demand: “ ‘Yo siento... Yo siento’. Esto no es una clase de yoga. Acá venimos a argumentar” (Badano, 2014).<sup>23</sup> She refused any impressionistic or “inspired” appreciation, and claimed the construction of theoretically-informed argument, a type of work that she had diffused clandestinely during

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uno de nuestros cursos futuros (cuando estemos en condiciones, nosotros de dar y ustedes de recibir cursos o seminarios monográficos exclusivos sobre un tema) podría ser la escritura de la Teoría Literaria. O sea, en las prácticas literarias encontramos un campo que nos interesa marcar como cierre del Seminario y al mismo tiempo, como vuelta, en circularidad, al comienzo” (9).

15 | The second and last issue of *Lecturas críticas*, the journal in which Pauls participates along with other assistants of Ludmer’s course, publishes an advance (cf. Pauls 1984a) of his first novel (cf. Pauls, 1984b). On the activism surrounding this journal and the editorial difficulties connected to this novel, see Gerbaudo, 2013c, 2014c.

16 | The courses dictated by the professors of this Seminar and other courses in Mar del Plata, inside and outside the university, during the late eighties and early nineties, have had a notable echo in the institutionalization of literary theory. Class notes by Mila Cañón of the courses in Universidad Nacional de Mar del Plata show the repetition of contents of the Seminar (cf. Cañón, 1990, 2013). Outside of the university, Bombini organized in 1986 the well attended “Ciclo V.O” (which includes the initials of the location, Villa Ocampo, and of the director of *Sur*): “En esa movida me ayudó Ana Porrúa. Recuerdo que llevamos a Beatriz Lavandera que hizo análisis del discurso político, Gabriela Nouzeilles trabajó sobre posmodernismo y literatura, Graciela Montaldo sobre Juan José Saer, Beatriz Sarlo sobre culturas juveniles y rock, Alan Pauls sobre *La traición de Rita Hayworth* de Manuel Puig, Enrique Pezzoni

the years of dictatorship and in spite of the difficult conditions. A kind of daring and risky of which we have material records of its readable practices and its detours: an ephemeral and irregular journal (cf. Rodríguez Pérsico *et al.*, 1980, 1984; Gerbaudo, 2013c, 2014c) and the consistent and dazzling theoretical explosion evinced in the sessions of the Seminar.<sup>24</sup> The fact that the answer from those affected by Panesi's unyielding assertions was the threat rather than dialogue serves to show residual *modus operandi* that, very slowly (perhaps slower than it was expected), would lose steam.

To finish the scandalous episode, what followed in Panesi's course was the contrast between this local "way of reading" and the theoretical referents of the "paradigma fenomenológico-hermenéutico" (Panesi 1985, 18: 3), a paradigm tied to the appropriation by theoreticians of "aesthetics of reception" (5), particularly Wolfgang Iser and Hans-Robert Jauss, to whom he describes as heirs of some of his positions. Panesi's brief historization is already manifestly Derridean, far from any "optimism of meaning", a meaning he considers as "resto" and "diseminación", rather than "plenitud" (17). In other words, a Derrida affected by a refined reading of Walter Benjamin, with which he ends his session.<sup>25</sup>

A kind of deconstructionist "configuración didáctica" (Litwin, 1997): Panesi posits a theoretical problem, the irreconcilable ways to interpret it, and finally expounds the position from where he reads to suspend any fixation of unidirectional sense. In this process, he includes his class. Benjamin's *Thesis of the Philosophy of History* are used to problematize the present and the construction of the past from the present describe a "bucle extraño" (Hofstadter, 1979), which includes his statements:

El presente es una entidad tan abstracta como el pasado. [...] Dice Walter Benjamin: "En toda época ha de intentarse arrancar la tradición al respectivo conformismo que está a punto de subyugarla". Todo presente tiene algún conformismo. Benjamin está en contra de la empatía romántica del historiador con el texto y con el autor. [...] Dice: "La empatía con el vencedor resulta siempre ventajosa para los dominadores de cada momento". Propone una distancia materialista y dialéctica: que el historiador se mantenga a distancia. Dice: "Ya que los bienes culturales que abarca con la mirada tienen todos y cada uno un origen que no podrá considerarse una broma, deben su existencia no sólo al esfuerzo de los grandes genios que los han creado sino también a la servidumbre anónima de sus contemporáneos. Jamás será un documento de cultura sin que lo sea, a la vez, de barbarie. E igual que él mismo no está libre de barbarie, tampoco lo está el proceso de transmisión por el que pasa de uno a otro" (Panesi, 1985, 18: 18).

This "jerarquía enredada" (Hofstadter, 1979) includes his class, which is affected by the suspicion regarding any movement that pretends to be individual and neutral. This logics is at play, with more or less

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sobre *Fervor de Buenos Aires*, Jorge Panesi sobre Felisberto Hernández, Charlie Feiling sobre pragmática y dos estudiantes que bajo la dirección de Pezzoni trabajaban sobre los suplementos culturales durante la dictadura" (Bombini, 2011). This expansion of theory and literature taught at the Universidad de Buenos Aires was not reduced to its immediate space: as Beatriz Sarlo observes, with the transcribed version of María Teresa Gramuglio's expositions in the course "Literatura argentina II" around 1984, Teresa Gramuglio "dio clases medio país" (Sarlo, 2009).

17 | The recording and printing of these courses fulfilled different functions: diffusion, didactics, and in the present day, archive (for the concept of archive, see Derrida, 1995; Gerbaudo, 2009/2010).

18 | Gustavo Bombini remembers the difficulty to follow Ludmer's ideas in her classes: "La imagen más fuerte que se me aparece es la de estar sentado escuchándola y no entender nada... pero también el deseo de seguir allí porque intuía que pasaba algo importante" (2006). Such difficulty concerned the contents but also what such introduction represented in relation to the previous knowledge of those who listened, as those contents did not match the conventional forms of reading and teaching literature dominant at the time. As Bombini admits, his first works on the didactic of literature were inspired by this strange experience: "*La trama de los textos* es producto de ese Seminario de Ludmer" (2006).

19 | An example: during the last but one session of the Seminar, a student asks if she was interested in "ampliar el campo



moderation or elegance, throughout the Seminar: the theoretical and epistemological assumptions of the critical operation are constantly recalled, and they are themselves analyzed and projected. For example, in her final session Ludmer recaps, rethinks her decisions and reiterates her objectives:

El “modo de leer” es lo que nos interesa especialmente en el Seminario [...]. Si ustedes no saben qué preguntarle a un texto, cómo moverse, tienen esa biblioteca de teoría donde pueden ir a buscar cómo otros entraron a los textos, qué problemas se plantearon [...]. De modo que si ustedes encaran un objeto determinado, un corpus determinado y tienen como horizonte o como biblioteca la teoría, pueden empezar a pensar qué preguntarle a ese texto sin someterse a la esclavitud degradante de la aplicación de un modelo. (1985b, 26: 1-3)

In other words, she reveals the program and imagines a future agenda that encapsulates the project in which I have worked for some years:

Ustedes tienen que conocer los mensajes que les son dirigidos. Tienen que poder leer, por ejemplo, el conjunto de la crítica que ha suscitado un clásico argentino: ¿desde qué concepciones de la literatura fue leído? Y además, para analizar la propia carrera: las concepciones de la literatura en la universidad, los programas, qué se les enseña, etc. (4)

A collective agenda that can stand regardless of participation:

Intentamos dramatizar todas las luchas y todas las guerras que giran alrededor del sentido y que tienen que ver con “modos de leer”, con concepciones de la literatura, con lecturas. [...] La interpretación es una lucha política también. Qué tipo de posición se toma en la interpretación, qué herramienta uso para interpretar, qué movilizo. Todo eso implica una intervención activa en la cultura argentina, en los debates teóricos, [...] en una política concreta del campo literario. (7)

A more or less direct form of activism:

Si queremos pensar una teoría propia, tenemos que empezar a pensar sobre los problemas propios que son los que nos van a llevar a constituir un cuerpo teórico también propio y original sin, por supuesto, desconocer el contacto, el diálogo con toda la teoría [...]. Esperamos dentro de un tiempo poder dar un Seminario: la nueva Teoría Literaria en Argentina. (13)

## 2. Exhumation as politics

Influenced by the Derridean idea of archive, Horacio González opens issue 12 of the journal *La biblioteca* with a suggestive definition: “El pasado es este presente en el que lo que dejamos impreso es la parte equivalente a lo que se deja escapar” (2012: 4). And adds: “Hay mito porque existe el intento de saber si lo que aprehendemos no es lo que se ha escapado y si lo que se ocultó de nosotros es lo que realmente sabemos” (4). Research that stems from this article

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de recepción del trabajo de la gente que hace crítica, que hace teoría”. Ludmer’s answer is rotund: “Por supuesto, me interesa muchísimo. Me encantaría estar en televisión. Nos interesan las revistas, los debates que se dan en lugares que no sean la universidad: el colegio secundario” (Ludmer, 1985b, 26: 16). And adds “lo único es que no tenemos tiempo ni capacidad de organizar esto. Pero sí accedemos a todo lo que venga como propuesta” (16). New technologies of communication have multiplied the access to her classes and conferences on the Internet, but not television.

20 | With regards Ludmer’s reading of Derrida in her Seminar, it is worth mentioning a fact: the analogy between her interpretation and that of Avital Ronell, twenty years later (2004). The crossing, essayed by Ludmer, of texts by Franz Kafka, Immanuel Kant, Sigmund Freud and Friedrich Nietzsche with those of Derrida is noticeable, as the work of Derrida at the time did barely show the movements that Ludmer was calling attention to; movements that Ronell reads in 2004, with the Derridean corpus almost “complete” (on the un-complete character of any work, see Gerbaudo, 2009/2010).

21 | The analysis of the syllabi presented by Panesi in the last years at the course in UBA and at “Teoría de la crítica” at the Universidad Nacional de La Plata, shows the presence of Arvatov in the bibliography as well as contents and organization heir of the thread of Ludmer’s Seminar of 1985 (cf. Ludmer, 1985a, Panesi, 2011, 2012). On the other hand, Arvatov was a constant reading in Panesi’s course at UBA (cf. Panesi, 1990, 1994, 2002).



shares this concerns.

The obsession to articulate exhumation as “politics” (cf. Gerbaudo, 2013a) pretends to retake those issues deferred by research. In our case, what happened in education, left aside by studies devoted to the institutionalization of literary theory in Argentina (cf. Dalmaroni, 2009). For example, to dig up “inicios” (cf. Said, 1985) that Ludmer allows, among other things, to illuminate the relationship between her publications and her classes, to discover the generation of certain questions that articulate her later works (turned into hypothesis or thesis) and to qualify her constant avant-garde gestures.

As we noted (cf. Gerbaudo, 2014b), the reach of Ludmer’s hypothesis in her oral presentations is extreme, a mark of someone who risks an idea in process, a work in its beginning: a course on gaucho literature (cf. Ludmer, 1985c) antecedes the publication of her book (cf. 1988), and the critique of the autonomy in her classes is barely posterior to her writings on the matter (1984). In other words: when her writings still defend the autonomous character of literature (cf. 1984), her classes question it (cf. 1985b) from a territory that she considers the great area to explore: Latin-American literature. Incidentally, a term that she does not feel comfortable about, and to which she opposes an articulation divided by territories that do not coincide with national or political borders: “el sector mexicano del norte”, “Centroamérica”, “Brasil”, “el río de la Plata”,<sup>26</sup> “la zona andina” (Ludmer, 1985b, 26: 14), “unidades culturales” that demands to be considered as such. Her long-desired book on the topic (cf. Ludmer, 2000), finally turned into classes (cf. Ludmer, 2010c, 2011b, 2012c, 2013; Gerbaudo, 2014b) on gaucho literature, on “literatura de los indios de la zona andina” and on literature of “los negros del Caribe” (2012c). Her *Aquí América Latina* puts in writing her thesis on post-autonomous literatures.

Why do we choose to close this article affirming that Ludmer “despunta” or “explora” problems when it would seem that she had abandoned them? To begin to answer that we bring forward María Moreno: her description of Ludmer’s work, “enamorada” (Moreno, 2014) of her own operation, takes us to discover her avant-garde intent: the constant generation of thesis and ruinous operations abandoned almost instantly. Ludmer decided to write about *Cien años de soledad* when the text was losing from the critics’ favor (cf. Ludmer, 1972); her later work on Onetti, written when, as noted by herself, Onetti was not yet Onetti (cf. 2009); her theoretical “tratado” on a genre (1988); the creation of an artifact (which later Miguel Dalmaroni would call “corpus crítico” [2005]) that pretends to deactivate simplified versions of the “manual” format (cf. Ludmer, 1999, 2011) and school-like “ways of reading”;<sup>27</sup> finally, the messing on many of the previous categories created by the “especulación”

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22 | In a conference in Santa Fe in 1996, Panesi comes back on the topic: eleven years later he unveils the tensions between “ways of reading” of those who had withdrawn in the university during the dictatorship and those who had been expelled of it. Further, he diagnoses the detours in those practices at the time: “La avidez teórica que se advierte en muchos planes de estudio actuales (una verdadera proliferación en algunos casos) es la cosecha de los años autoritarios, cuando la teoría se creía directamente conectada con la política y no se podía aceptar que irrumpiera en el orden de los debates académicos. [...] La lucha antiacadémica resultará evidente si se lee la revista *Los libros*, avanzada teórica de esta visión cultural, y en la que la crítica literaria ocupó un lugar privilegiado. Allí se pueden ver las impugnaciones que se hacían a los programas de literatura vigentes en la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras porteña, un indicio del interés que la universidad tenía para esta crítica politizada, pero vocacional y constitutivamente académica” (Panesi, 1996: 331-332).

23 | As can be seen in the Works Cited section, I follow a methodological distinction, after Sandra McGee Deutsch (2013), between “interview” y “enquiry”: the former, recorded, has a protocol that usually involves signing a contract on the conditions of diffusion; the latter, mostly informal, can or cannot be recorded, and can occur in a conversation involving more people.

24 | On the determination and desire of that furtive task and the uncertainty of the future, Panesi reminds: “De algún modo, empecinados y como sobreviviendo, los grupos de las catacumbas apostaban con el único capital con que

on post-autonomy (2010a). Those are all clear marks of a tireless persistence on variation that are evident in every public exposition, in every piece of writing: “Me aburro”, she confesses to María Moreno in an interview (2001). “Espero que se hayan divertido. Espero que hayan aprendido” (Ludmer, 1985b, 26: 10), she tells her students in one of the last sessions of the Seminar. “No entiendo”, she answers to the awkward questions of a group of Brazilian students about her last essays (cf. Antelo, 2011), but it is also the gesture of resistance in *Aquí América Latina*: “La posición de niña ofuscada” that does not give up to “acatamiento” (Panési, 2010). In sum, the gestures of an eccentric with respect “los saberes dominantes o hegemónicos, no tanto para borrarlos (ellos nos hacen pensar) sino para leer [...] lo que el dominio no puede leer” (Panési, 2010).

Jorge Panési (2010) notes these gestures and moves when tries to fall in the trap: smart and cautious, before to debate the epistemological intricacies, and the scope and supposed inconsistencies of the thesis on post-autonomy (cf. Dalmaroni, 2010; Pas, 2010; Giordano, 2010; Link, 2010a; 2010b<sup>28</sup>), Panési does not focus on her last works, because when we think that we are discussing “lo último de Ludmer”, she is probably somewhere else.

A constant gesture that reveals a way of transiting the field productively. A productivity measured in terms of her interventions: her texts provoke debate because they touch upon key zones from a disconcerting perspective again and again.

This article has examined the least studied of her practices to add something to those better known: “El mito es lo aún no pensado sobre el documento real, sobre el sí mismo del investigador, sobre la escritura que parece agotar el tema y sobre las inhábiles totalidades que creemos descubrir con nuestros lenguajes previsibles” (González, 2012: 4). As González notes, “no son los mitos relatos ajenos al proceder de quien desea saber cómo fueron las cosas del pasado” (4). With this fever and curiosity, this exhumations and this text fantasizes to introduce these materials into the international circulation of ideas (cf. Sapiro, 2012; Gerbaudo, 2014b). In this and other workshops there are productive materials for future analysis, not only about the way theories “viajan” (cf. Montaldo, 2014) but also about how these are reinvented while others are created and other bold projects and ambitious agendas are designed that will leave traces in “lo que viene después...”

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contábamos: la creencia disparatada de que tanto repliegue en la literatura y en los textos prohibidos germinaría públicamente algún día incierto, que lo privado y oculto de esas reuniones terminaría por salir libremente, más allá del encierro y de sí mismas, hacia la apertura y la claridad de lo que es común a muchos” (Panési, 2010).

25 | Years later Panési publishes his well-known essay “Walter Benjamin y la desconstrucción” (1993).

26 | During the *II Coloquio de avances de investigaciones del CEDINTEL* (Santa Fe, 17 to 19 June, 2014), Marcela Arpes, Rossana Nofal and Luciana Martínez had an interesting discussion about the term “literatura rioplatense” to characterize the literature produced between Uruguay and Buenos Aires, a territory that might seem to be defined as such by certain socio-cultural traits that would justify to talk about a “zone”, a city and a country. It shows the actuality of a problem that Ludmer had highlighted almost thirty years ago.

27 | In “Nota a la segunda edición”, Ludmer mentions what has driven her to write that text: “Buscaba una escritura transparente y divertida para contar los cuentos, que el manual fuera popular, que me leyeran en las escuelas” (2011c: 11).

28 | Those cited are only the criticism produced before the presentation of this text by Panési during the awarding of the Doctorate Honoris Causa to Josefina Ludmer at Universidad de Buenos Aires on 4 November 2010.

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