

The Fashioning of Jorge Luis Borges:  
Magazines, Books, and Print Culture in Argentina (1930-1951)

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A Dissertation presented to the Graduate Faculty  
of the University of Virginia in Candidacy for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Spanish, Italian & Portuguese

University of Virginia  
May, 2017

## **Abstract**

This dissertation provides the first bibliographical study of the materiality of Borges's publications during one of the most active periods of his career (1930-1951). The scope and methodologies employed offer new ways of understanding his relationship to the publishing industry that was such a central part of Buenos Aires during the first half of the twentieth century. In particular, my work examines the physical features of the mediums (newspaper, magazines, books, etc.) that Borges employed throughout his career, how these were composed (paper, typography, bindings, etc.), the audience that such publications might have reached (cost, number of copies, distribution, circulation etc.), the publishers with whom he entered into contracts (Editorial Sur, Losada, Sudamericana, etc.), and how all of these factors might have influenced his overall formation as a writer. Although there are a few recent studies on Argentine book history, trade, and markets (Abraham 2012, Dujovne 2014, de Diego 2015), information and insights from this work have not yet been applied to Borges, or his stint as an amateur publisher.

The first chapter provides a detailed analysis of the presence of books and other print media in Borges's work. Throughout this chapter I consider the different jobs that Borges held during this period (librarian, co-editor of various magazines and periodicals, director of various collections and edited anthologies), the presentation and description of books and other print media in his works, and ultimately the physical features that his own writings take. My second chapter examines the relationships between Borges and three unique publishing houses during the early 1930s. What is most notable from this early period in his career is the fact that he established close ties with fine printers and publishers known for their luxury editions (Manuel Gleizer and Francisco A. Colombo) while also working for mass-media publications and

publishing his first piece of fiction with a publisher whose only interest was monetary gain (Editorial Tor). In essence, this early stage in Borges's literary career is one that is marked by a large amount of activity and variation from one work to the next, suggesting the newness of the world of book production in Argentina. My third and fourth chapters show the marked shift toward critique, criticism, and marketing in Borges's writings during the late 1930s and early 1940s, focusing on his columns in the magazine *El Hogar* and his creation of anthologies and edited collections for the Editorial Sudamericana and Emecé Editores. More broadly speaking, these chapters focus on how many of Borges's literary endeavors during this same time period show the importance and the impact of the publishing industry for crafting (and branding) a particular product for the Argentine reading public. My fifth and sixth chapters look more broadly at how Borges's connections to elite circles, such as that of Victoria Ocampo's Editorial Sur, during this time are not only a constant underlying force in his own writings and literary production, but also a key source of his marketing strategies in the book industry and help fuel the creation of his two apocryphal publishing houses in the 1930s and 1940s.



## Table of Contents

Acknowledgements.....	v
Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1. Books, Borges, and the Question of Materiality.....	20
Chapter 2. Publishing for a Wide Audience (1930-1936): Manuel Gleizer, Viau y Zona, Francisco A. Colombo, <i>Crítica</i> , and Editorial TOR.....	65
Chapter 3. Collaboration and a Narrowing of Focus (1936-1946): <i>El Hogar</i> , <i>La Nación</i> , <i>Destiempo</i> , <i>Sur</i> .....	121
Chapter 4. Anthologies and Edited Collections (1937-1951): Kapelusz y Cia, Editorial Sudamericana, Emecé Editores, Editorial Sur, Fondo de Cultura Económica...	165
Chapter 5. Elite Circles as a Constant Source of Framing (1933-1951): Editorial Sur, Emecé Editores, Editorial Losada, Editorial Nova.....	233
Chapter 6. Borges's Personal Publishing Houses (1936-1954): Editorial Destiempo and Editorial Oportet & Haereses.....	313
Epilogue.....	361
Appendix: A Descriptive Bibliography of Borges's Books (1930-1951).....	369
Bibliography.....	406

## Acknowledgements

Over the past five years I have developed and honed the central points of this dissertation, which would not be what it is today without the dedication, support, and guidance of many individuals. I would first like to thank my advisor, Andrew A. Anderson, for his extreme patience and truly impressive critical attention to detail. His knowledge of the Spanish publishing industry, book production, and critical editions fueled much of my work and was the topic of many of our weekly conversations. He saw the potential in my ideas and always pushed me to be more critical, theoretical, and, above all, precise. Working with him has been a rare gift. I would like to thank my second reader, Michael Gerli, for encouraging my unique perspective, helping me to think about the rapport between text and image, and always inspiring more interdisciplinary methodologies. I would like to thank my third reader, Gustavo Pellón, who provided me with a great deal of theoretical framing for this dissertation and helped cultivate my passion for Borges's writings. Finally, I owe so much to my fourth reader, David Vander Meulen, who has taught me how to be a bibliographer and how to look closely at the physical mediums of books and think deeply about their place in society as historical records. His investment in my work and me as a scholar is truly inspiring; I know this project would not exist without his insight.

Much of my dissertation would not have been possible without the generous support, both financial and intellectual, of various institutions at the University of Virginia. With the help of a Battestin Fellowship from the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia (2013), I was able to closely examine the stunning collection of Jorge Luis Borges manuscripts found at the University of Virginia and, in the process, discovered a number of striking aspects with respect to the physical texts themselves, which piqued my curiosity and initially sent me down

the Borgesian rabbit hole. In an effort to develop my methodologies for studying the production, circulation and distribution of the book, I attended three courses at the Rare Book School, all generously funded by grants and scholarships (RBS & IHGC). There I learned the importance of publishers' archives under the guidance of Michael Winship, and crucial lessons about the history and aesthetics of typography from John Kristensen and Katherine McCanless Ruffin. The Department of Spanish, Italian & Portuguese, as well as the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences and the Buckner W. Clay Endowment for the Humanities made my two archival trips to Buenos Aires possible. With their funding I was able to track down a number of Editorial Sur archives and make a series of invaluable contacts. Among these individuals, I owe my deepest gratitude to Guillermo Martínez, Martín Hadis, Laura Rosato, Germán Álvarez, Sara Luisa del Carril, María Kodama, Ernesto Montequin, Alejandro Vaccaro, Nicolás Helft, and Alberto Casares, for their time, advice, and priceless anecdotes about Borges and the Argentine printing industry.

The Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library holdings were integral for the successful completion of my project. Their exceptional Jorge Luis Borges collection was my original source of inspiration and truly made much of my work possible. I owe so much to Jared Loewenstein not only for starting and extensively developing this impressive collection, but also for his frequent advice and helpful contacts along the way. I cannot say enough about the unparalleled Special Collections staff, who were always a constant source of encouragement, support, and guidance for me throughout the process and made their stacks feel like my second home. I am particularly grateful for the bibliographical guidance of David Whitesell and Molly Schwartzburg.

The UVA Scholars' Lab granted me the opportunity to push my research and data even further with a Digital Humanities fellowship, which has resulted in my current mapping project on Borges in the Argentine Book Market. More importantly, my collaborations and conversations with Jeremy Boggs, Eric Rochester, and Purdom Lindblad over the course of this past year have pushed me to rethink the fundamental concepts of archive, book, and access.

There are no words to adequately express the gratitude I have for all of my friends and family – both near and far – that have loved, supported, consoled, and praised me along the way. I would not have made it this far without the numerous sacrifices of my mother, Aileen, who has always encouraged me to think creatively and dream freely. I am also grateful for my brother, Dewey, who has given me both my competitive nature and my growing personal library. Lastly, much of this dissertation would not have been possible without the insane amounts of love, patience, and inspiration from my husband, Harrison, who truly knows the ups and downs of this whole process.



## Introduction

*“No hay, en la vasta Biblioteca, dos libros idénticos”*

– Jorge Luis Borges, “La Biblioteca de Babel”

Countless books, articles, lectures, blogs, and even Twitter accounts have been dedicated to the life and writings of the (now) canonical Argentine writer Jorge Luis Borges. His enthralling prose and poetry have received an enormous amount of critical attention following his explosion onto the international literary scene in the second half of the twentieth century. That being said, a great deal of work still remains to be done. For instance, one of the most intriguing aspects of his publications that has not received the attention it deserves is the form in which the reading public accesses (and accessed) these works. In other words, to my knowledge, there has been no extensive study completed up to this point focusing on the physical media (newspaper, magazines, books, etc.) that Borges employed throughout his career, how these were composed (paper, typography, bindings, etc.), the audience that such publications might have reached (cost, number of copies, distribution, circulation, etc.), the publishers with whom he entered into contracts (Editorial Sur, Losada, Emecé, etc.), and how all of these factors might have influenced his overall fashioning as a writer. For these reasons I am particularly interested in both describing these mediums as fully as possible and analyzing them. In a general sense, these elements are important to consider given that, “[w]henver language is written on tangible surfaces, it acquires visible and tactile components, since it becomes part of a physical object that can be seen and touched. And just as spoken language is regularly interpreted in the light of the speaker’s manner and other aspects of the situation in which the utterance occurs, so the physical setting of written language plays a role in readers’ responses” (Tanselle, “Bibliographical” 61). Looking into the physical properties of newspapers, magazines, and books

will allow me to contribute to the field of Borges studies in a new and exciting way by focusing on the importance of the physical medium as well as its design features and practical implications, and the role these might have in readers' responses.

It goes without saying that Borges is viewed as one of the most important and inventive authors of twentieth-century world literature, which is quite clear when one considers the fact that his works have been translated into almost thirty languages. As a result, when one thinks about the number of different editions (including the large portion of translations) produced for any given work, along with the various publishers and printers involved in these jobs, it quickly becomes apparent that the terrain of material studies, with regard to the work of Borges, is extremely rich, yet remains quite untapped. Thus, it is important to define certain parameters for the work at hand. In an effort to find a convincing way to incorporate my personal interest in the materiality of the book into this dissertation, I found myself leafing through copies and copies of different editions of Borges's work and scrutinizing variants that cropped up between a manuscript version of a short story and its printed counterpart. Knowing full well that genetic criticism, which is often seen as the French style of bibliography, in contrast with the Anglo-American tradition of descriptive or analytical bibliography, is gaining momentum as a way of analyzing the work of Borges (primarily through the efforts of Daniel Balderston), I first thought that the key to incorporating the physical manifestation of these works into my project would be in the variants between manuscript and printed text.<sup>1</sup> That being said, what stood out *most* to me during my initial analysis of the physical medium of the book was the extreme amount of variety from edition to edition. More specifically, I discovered that Borges's earlier publications were

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<sup>1</sup> In fact, the most recent issue of *Variaciones Borges* 38 (November 2014) is dedicated entirely to articles that consider Borges's work through the lens of genetic criticism (or textual studies more generally).

not wedded to one specific publishing house, printer, or style, and instead presented readers with a great deal of variety. Certain editions of works showed telltale hints of a mass-market audience with their poor-quality paper and flashy covers, while other were nothing short of art objects. Thus, I decided to investigate how these distinct physical forms might have emerged and in what ways they were molded, or intended, for a specific audience.

My use of the term *fashioning* in this dissertation draws on Stephen Greenblatt's foundational work, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, in which he establishes the idea of *self-fashioning* as "a sense of personal order, a characteristic mode of address to the world, a structure of bounded desire – and always some elements of deliberate shaping in the formation and expression of identity" (1). More specifically, I understand Borges's *fashioning*, in relation to the Argentine book industry, as having both an internal and external function. The former refers to the development of his career as a literary icon, while the latter speaks to his more behind-the-scenes role as an editor and publisher. In light of the resources available to him, as well as his associations with elite figures in Argentine book and magazine production, Borges was able to write and publish an extensive amount of both prose and poetry during the first half of the twentieth century. Moreover, virtually all of his creative fictions, philosophical essays, and intimate verses from the 1930s to the early 1950s put him on the map as one of the greatest writers in Argentine history. In essence, we see his *fashioning*, or formation as writer and literary critic, inherently tied to his connections with the burgeoning book industry in Buenos Aires at that time. The second way in which I conceive of *fashioning* here relates to Borges's influence on *others*, or rather how he *fashions* a large portion of Argentina's reading populace. Similar to Greenblatt's arguments surrounding William Tyndale's English translation of the Bible and the power of books for self-fashioning, I believe that Borges challenges the conventional norms of

literary culture and educational standards in Buenos Aires in the twentieth century not only through the publication of his own writings, but also through his impeccably edited anthologies and volumes of collected literature. In a way, the golden age of publishing that characterizes much of the early twentieth-century in Argentina resonates with the centuries-old birth of print culture for their common thread of the newness of accessibility.

*A Rationale for the Scope (1930-1951)*

Given that the span of Borges's literary career is quite lengthy and crosses many borders, both physical and linguistic, I plan to focus on his production within Argentina during the years 1930-1951. There are a number of reasons for the selection of this particular range of dates. First and foremost is the fact that these years are understudied in comparison with his earlier, avant-garde years (late 1910s and 1920s) and those when he attained international fame (1960 until his death in 1986). That said, this does not mean that there are *no* studies or critical works dedicated to the period in his life from 1930 to 1951, but rather that there are not many works that look comprehensively at this time frame.<sup>2</sup> Scholarly writings that analyze the years 1930 to 1951 tend to highlight *one* specific work that was produced during this time (i.e. *Ficciones*, *El Aleph*, etc.), Borges's political stance during the rise of Juan Domingo Perón (1946-1955), or Borges's work with *one* particular magazine, journal, newspaper, or other type of periodical publication. Thus, I hope to fill the many gaps left by the current research pertaining to this time frame by studying virtually *all* of the publications that Borges authored during these years and what the range of *physical* aspects of these works might tell us about Borges's fashioning as a writer.

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<sup>2</sup> The rationale for these *specific* dates will follow.

In addition to the desire to fill an existing research gap, I have also selected the years 1930 to 1951 since this period is crucial for Borges's formation as a writer of the short story and also one during which he produces some of his most canonical texts, such as *Ficciones*, *El Aleph*, and *La muerte y la brújula*, among others. Moreover, this twenty-year span includes not only Borges's honing of the short story and various fictions, but also his contributions to a number of periodicals including *El Hogar*, *La Prensa*, and *Crítica*, among others. What is significant about this second type of writing is that it broadens Borges's (possible) reading public. In other words, paying attention to this specific time frame gives readers and critics alike a better-rounded view of this Argentine writer's varying audience, since he was producing pieces that would have reached lower class citizens, middle class members, and still more individuals in the upper class elite. A similar level of diversity can be seen in conjunction with the central topic of this dissertation: print culture and publishing history. Leading up to the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), and also during and after, many Spaniards fled the Iberian Peninsula for Latin American countries. One of the popular destinations for these Spanish exiles was Buenos Aires and, as a result, a large number of publishing houses and printing firms appeared during the late 1930s in Argentina. Generally speaking, the period between the mid 1930s and the mid 1950s is often deemed the "Golden Age of Publishing" in Argentina, specifically with reference to Buenos Aires.<sup>3</sup> Thus, during these decades Borges contracted with varying publishers and printed with different firms, each of which had marked stylistic preferences. As a result, analyzing this span of time in Borges's literary production and publishing history allows me to understand better his contributions to *various* echelons of society, not just the elite circles with which he was most often associated.

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<sup>3</sup> See Buonocore (1944), De Sagastizábal (1995), Rivera (1998), and De Diego (2012).

In addition to marking a very productive time period in Borges's life,<sup>4</sup> 1930 is also a significant year for Argentine politics:

El año de 1930 fue de alto significado político para la sociedad argentina. El 6 de septiembre un alzamiento militar encabezado por el general José F. Uriburu derrocó al gobierno constitucional que en 1928 había llevado a la presidencia a Hipólito Irigoyen...La crisis nacional era el reflejo de otra crisis, que se había iniciado en octubre de 1929 al producirse una fuerte desvalorización en las acciones de la bolsa neoyorquina. En la Argentina cuatro factores jaqueaban al gobierno y provocaban un gran descontento popular: la devaluación del peso, la consecuente baja de salarios, la pronunciada caída del comercio exterior y el preocupante ascenso de la desocupación. (Vaccaro 269)

Thus, Borges's successes of the decade can be contrasted directly with the turbulent political situation in Argentina. To some extent, this contrast might also serve as a type of foreshadowing for the negative impact that the political state of affairs would have on Borges's life in the following decade. In either case, the decision to start my analysis of Borges's writings in 1930 (and also end it in 1951) allows me to consider the larger implications of this Argentine writer's fashioning within the social, political, and economic constraints of his environment.

The given end-date of 1951 pertains to a number of changes occurring in Borges's life that year: health problems, political troubles, and the author's decision to work almost exclusively with one publishing house. First is the question of Borges's eyesight. It is a well-known fact that the Argentine writer was completely blind (minus the sighting of an occasional

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<sup>4</sup> Vaccaro notes that the decade of the 1930s is one of the *most* productive periods of his life during which he wrote more than 450 articles, in addition to publishing several books (299).

yellow blur from time to time) by the time he achieved international fame. That said, critics and biographers often dispute the *exact* year (and date, for that matter) when he went blind. The fact that 1951 is the earliest year cited for his loss of vision added to the rationale of this year as an end-date for my study as it centers around the *physical* characteristics of books (and, to a certain extent, Borges's role in favoring some details over others). In addition to his health problems, 1951 was an important election year in Argentina. Having suffered certain levels of personal persecution (directed both toward Borges and his family in general) under Juan Perón, who was first elected to office in 1946, Borges was hopeful about the opposition that the president faced during his re-election year in 1951.<sup>5</sup> To his dismay, Perón was re-elected, thus marking 1951 as a grim year for the Argentine writer. Pierre Lagarde notes the negative effects of Perón's time in office on the more artistic and creative aspects of writing and publishing: "1951 marque l'arrivée au pouvoir du Général Perón, et malgré la censure du livre politique, la période qui suit profite surtout à l'édition de livres techniques, de littérature classique, mais surtout scolaire. C'est ce qui explique d'une part l'augmentation du nombre d'œuvres enregistrées et aussi et surtout le nombre extraordinaire d'exemplaires édités" (54). Lastly, 1951 marks the year that Borges started to publish with Emecé Editores and, shortly after, became one of their official writers, which indicates a certain shift in his publication practices from previous years in which he produced works with a variety of publishing houses and printers.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> In addition to Borges's "promotion" to inspector of poultry in 1946, his sister, Norah, and his mother, Leonor, were both persecuted by Perón: "on 8 September 1946, Leonor Avecedo Suárez de Borges and Norah Borges, along with Adela and Mariana Grondona and a number of other prominent women, were arrested on Florida Street while singing the Argentine national anthem. Borges's mother was held under house arrest...Norah Borges, the Grondona sisters, and others spent a month in a prison cell shared with prostitutes" (Balderston, "Context" 91)

<sup>6</sup> Sara Luis del Carril notes the following in her piece "Borges en Emecé": "Emecé publicó a Borges por primera vez en 1951. El libro se llamó *La muerte y la brújula* y era una selección de los cuentos criollos

*What work has been done to date?: Review of the literature*

Since Borges emerged on the international literary scene in the 1960s a great deal of ink has been spilled in an effort to critique and best analyze his writings. From articles and books to dissertations and lectures, Borges's polished prose and poetry has piqued the interest of scholars in the past few decades and their endeavors continue today, as there has been no lapse in this type of critical production. The majority of scholarship pertaining to the publishing and production industry in Argentina (1930-1951) as well as the specific works that I plan to research is quite broad. In addition, most of the work involving the history of the book, which has been a recent trend in Argentinian criticism in the last decade or so, does not overlap to any large extent with Borges's specific literary output. Even though several of the more comprehensive studies dedicated to publishing houses and print culture during the twentieth century in Argentina will mention Borges and his involvement with certain literary journals, newspapers, or even publishing firms, there is not a large amount of detail or analysis given to these relationships; instead, what we find in many of these panoramic works is breadth, not depth. The perfect encapsulation of this observation is the fact that Domingo Buonocore's *Libreros, editores e impresores* (1944), a foundational work for the study of the history of the book, is still considered one of the prime sources for research involving the entire circuit of book production

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de *Ficciones* y *El Aleph*. En 1952 José Edmundo Clemente conversó con Borges para reeditarle los libros que tenía agotados. Luego Clemente le propuso a Emecé el proyecto. Emecé se tomó un tiempo para pensarlo y finalmente decidió publicar a Borges pero a condición de poder reeditar toda la obra del autor" (125). The election of Emecé might seem somewhat arbitrary at first glance, but when one considers the other options (Editorial Losada and Editorial Sudamericana), Borges choice becomes clear. Since Guillermo de Torre, Borges's brother-in-law, was one of the directors at Editorial Losada, and Borges did not always agree or get along with him, this option was off the table. As for Editorial Sudamericana, the fact that this firm focused heavily on *Argentine* writers was an immediate disincentive for Borges since he much preferred to be placed alongside writers from all over the world, not just Argentina.



(from creation to distribution), which is quite telling when we consider that it was written and published over seventy years ago.<sup>7</sup> However, this book does provide current researchers with ample avenues for investigation that have (to my knowledge) not been considered previously, such as journals and magazines dedicated entirely to the book trade. Some of these include the following: “Inter-Nos,” “Libri,” “Papel, Libro, Revista,” and “Emecé.” One of the most promising aspects of such periodical publications are not only the articles they contain, but also the plethora of advertisements (soon-to-be-released books, new printers or publishers, etc.).

Jorge B. Rivera’s well-known article “El auge de la industria cultural (1930-1955)” differs from Buonocore’s work in that it contains many more statistics and hard numbers relating to the industry of print culture in Argentina. For instance, he includes detailed numbers relating to the number of copies of books produced in certain years: 1936-1940 = 34,290,000 copies; 1941-1945 = 123,700,000 copies; 1946-1950 = 145,800,000 copies; 1951-1955 = 169,791,478 copies. He also notes that “más de 40% de nuestra producción editorial se daba el lujo de viajar al exterior y producir divisas. Desde 1940 hasta 1950 el 80% de los libros que se vendían en España...provenían de la Argentina” (97). Although his article sets the dates of 1930-1955, he highlights the fact that he will only focus on book production during the years 1936-1956, which leaves the first 6 years of my timeline untapped. Furthermore, there is still a lack of analysis of the raw data presented and, more importantly, no focus on individual authors or their specific works. Moreover, since he is interested in the general concept of all cultural aspects of Argentine society during this time frame, he does not focus solely on print production, but also other outlets

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<sup>7</sup> Laura Rosato and Germán Álvarez note the importance of this work and the fact that not much has been written to improve upon (or challenge) its contents in their *Borges, libros y lecturas* (2010). This is much the same case with Raúl H. Bottaro’s *La edición de libros en Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Troquel, 1964).

such as the radio. In a similar vein, Leandro de Sagastizábal's *La edición de libros en la Argentina. Una empresa de cultura* (1995) provides a broad overview of the history of the book in Argentina from the late nineteenth century to the end of the twentieth century, yet his focus on breadth causes his project to lack depth. More specifically, he tends to devote much of his narrative to the well-known firms that have already received a great deal of attention in various other studies to date (i.e. Jacobo Peuser, Guillermo Kraft, Editorial Tor and the Editorial Claridad). What is more, while he mentions the golden years of publishing (1930s to the 1950s), he provides readers with nothing more than a few statistics from one specific year (1937-1938) and then immediately moves on to the production of the Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires in the 1960s.

Alongside these current studies involving the Argentine book industry is the massive amount of critical literature dedicated to the life and writings of Jorge Luis Borges. In a general sense, the majority of these works can be grouped into a series of temporal and thematic categories: the early (avant-garde) years, his work with literary journals and magazines (especially *Crítica*, *Sur*, *Martín Fierro*, *Proa*, and *Los Anales de Buenos Aires*), political problems under Juan Perón, and the major works (i.e. *Ficciones* and *El Aleph*).<sup>8</sup> The most recent work shows a marked shift toward incorporating Borges's work into new fields such as cultural studies and material studies.<sup>9</sup> My current study aligns perfectly with the latter of these two fields, which is best represented by critical works including, but not limited to, Annick Louis's *Jorge*

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<sup>8</sup> Consider the following foundational studies in each of the above listed categories: Aizenberg, Edna. *Borges and His Successors: the Borgesian Impact on Literature and the Arts* (1990); Balderston, Daniel, *Out of Context* (1996); Fishburn, Evelyn. *A Dictionary of Borges* (1990); King, John. *Sur. A Study of the Argentine Literary Journal and its Role in the Development of a Culture, 1931-1970*. (1986); Maier, Linda S. *Borges and the European Avant-Garde* (1996); Molloy, Sylvia. *Las letras de Borges* (1979).

<sup>9</sup> The most radical of these works is Mariana Casale O'Ryan's doctoral dissertation *The Making of Jorge Luis Borges as an Argentine Cultural Icon* (2010), which was published as a monograph in 2015.

*Luis Borges. Obras y maniobras* (2013), Laura Rosato's and Germán Álvarez's *Borges, libros y lecturas* (2010), and Daniel Balderston's forthcoming *How Borges Wrote* (2017). If we look chronologically at the critical literature dedicated to the works that I analyze throughout the dissertation, there is a marked focus on certain books over others. More specifically, the majority of criticism relating to my period of study (1930-1951) fixates on the following works or collections: the Argentine literary magazine *Sur* (1931-1992),<sup>10</sup> the *Revista Multicolor de los Sábados* (1933-1934),<sup>11</sup> the *Historia universal de la infamia* (1935),<sup>12</sup> *El jardín de senderos que se bifurcan* (1941),<sup>13</sup> *Ficciones* (1944), and *El Aleph* (1949). The remaining works I discuss that do not appear on this list *have* received some critical attention, yet it is quite minimal and reserved mainly for biographies of Borges or articles in *Variaciones Borges*.<sup>14</sup> In a general sense, my work provides the first thoroughgoing bibliographical study of the materiality of Borges's publications during one of the most active periods of his career (1930-1951). The scope and

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<sup>10</sup> Aside from King's foundational study dedicated to the Argentine literary magazine *Sur* (see note 8), there is a plethora of critical articles about this literary magazine (Gramuglio (1983, 1986, 1989), Chiappini (1994)) as well as a number of biographies on Borges that dedicate an entire chapter to his work with this journal (Monegal (1978), Woodall (1995), Vaccaro (2006)).

<sup>11</sup> Nicolás Helft's digital edition of the *Revista Multicolor de los Sábados* (1999) made this scarce periodical much more accessible for a number of scholars and a number of key critical studies emerged after its publication; most notable are Raquel Atena Green's *Borges y "Revista multicolor de los sábados": Confabulados en una escritura de la infamia* (2010) and Annick Louis's *Jorge Luis Borges. Obras y maniobras* (2013).

<sup>12</sup> Louis (1996), Gallo (2001), Balderston (2003), Green (2010), Rossi (2013).

<sup>13</sup> The amount of literature dedicated to the last three works listed above (*El jardín de senderos que se bifurcan*, *Ficciones*, and *El Aleph*) is vast and diverse and cannot be boiled down to a short sample list. That being said, the work of Daniel Balderston stands out most in the context of book history since he is the key scholar who analyzes semi-bibliographical aspects of Borges's writings. However, he is mostly interested in the French tradition of genetic criticism that looks at variants and changes from manuscript to printed text. On the whole, his work is very smart and often delves into the concept of references and citations (for instance his articles on "Pierre Menard" and "insect-like handwriting").

<sup>14</sup> This is certainly the case for *Evaristo Carriego* (1930), *Discusión* (1932), *Las Kenningar* (1933), *Historia de la eternidad* (1936), *Antología de la literatura fantástica* (1940), *Antología poética argentina* (1941), and Borges's anthologies and edited collections.

methodologies employed in my dissertation offer new ways of understanding Borges's relationship to the publishing industry that was such a central part of Buenos Aires during the first half of the twentieth century. More specifically, I address the gap in the literature by drawing out connections between the physical mediums of books and their larger political, cultural, and economic influences in twentieth-century Argentina. What is more, this project engages in debates surrounding markets, commerce, and literary audiences in multilingual Latin American book production, while also highlighting the importance of bibliographical study and book history for Central and South American literature.

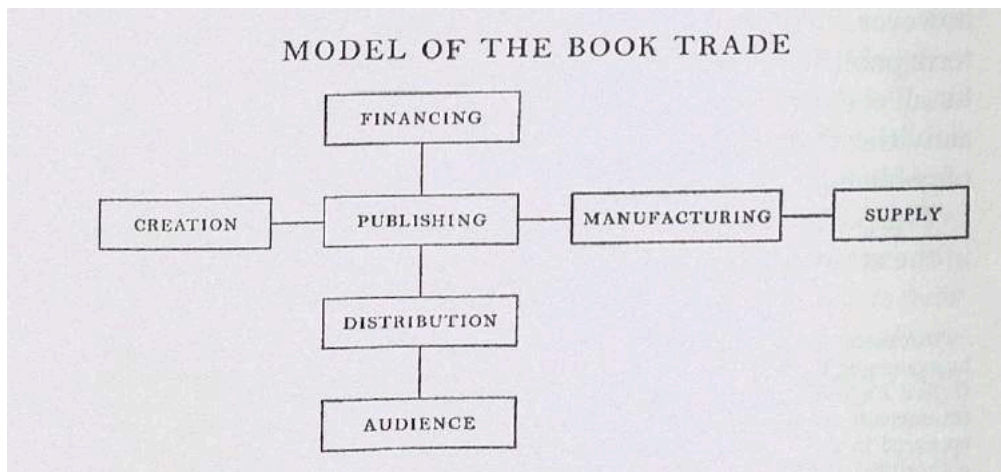
*Communities of Material Circulation: A Basic Clarification of Some Central Concepts*

*Esa confusión de papel de Holanda con estilo, de Shakespeare con Jacobo Peuser, es indolentemente común, y perdura (apenas adecentada) entre los retóricos, para cuyas informales almas acústicas una poesía es un mostradero de acentos, rimas, elisiones, diptongaciones y otra fauna fonética.*

– Jorge Luis Borges, *Evaristo Carriego* (1930)

When discussing the materiality of the various works that Borges wrote (and, at times, produced) during his lifetime, it is essential to consider the importance of markets and the communities of circulation of materials. Publishers, magazine and newspapers editors, printers, distributors, and booksellers all have an important role in the creation and circulation of print materials, yet many of their specific activities are often misunderstood or hard to distinguish. For instance, just because a firm uses the term “publisher” does not mean that they are necessarily involved in the printing, manufacture, or distribution of a work. More often than not, publishers, especially those established during the twentieth century when Borges was producing the

majority of his works, would not have been responsible for the printing or even binding of their contracted authors' works. Thus, there is a need to clarify the complex process involved as any text undertakes the journey from manuscript to printed document. The following model of the book trade immediately helps parse out the various roles of individuals involved:



**Figure 1:** Model of the Book Trade

[Source: *Needs and Opportunities in the History of the Book: America, 1639-1876* (1987)]

In terms of the centrally located activity,

[p]ublishing is that set of activities that connect the production or manufacturing activities of the book trade, here laid out on the horizontal axis, with the commercial or distributive activities, laid out vertically. In a sense, the publisher is the entrepreneur of the book trade, making the decisions that bring together all the other activities and arranging for the coordination and credit – always important in a business where income realized from the sale of a product often comes months or years after the expense of production – and taking the risks necessary to make the whole book trade function. (Winship 67)

What this model shows is the characterization of publishing as a *business*. With the expansion of the market of the book trade in the nineteenth century, it became possible for firms to specialize in certain activities such as manufacture or distribution, which meant that more parties became involved in the creation and circulation of print materials. As Michael Winship notes “further work remains to be done...in investigating the boundaries between creation and publishing,” yet it is known that “authors were commonly required to act also as publishers by assuming at least part of the risks of publication and also by providing credit and perhaps some input into design and editorial decisions” (70).

Another important aspect of the above model of the book trade is the fact that “it is not possible to study publishing in a meaningful way as an isolated activity, since the chief role of publishing is to connect the various branches of the book trade and to assure the smooth functioning of the trade as a whole” (Winship 81). In other words, to best understand the creation and circulation of Borges’s materials during the first half of the twentieth century, it is essential to explore not only the publishers he associated with at this time, but also the printers, distributors, booksellers, and various magazine and newspaper editors with whom he came into contact while producing his works. Tanselle reinforces this idea when he writes that

[b]ooks inevitably contain clues from which one can read, in greater or lesser detail, the history of their manufacture and of the relations between authors and publishers involved in their production. When these details are supplemented by information from printers’ and publishers’ archives, authors’ letters, copyright records, magazine and newspaper advertisements, and other external documents, one begins to see how the study of books as physical objects, as commercial products, illuminates literary history by shedding light on the behavior of authors,

publishers, and readers. (Tanselle, “A Description of Descriptive Bibliography”  
30)

For that reason, it is imperative not only to describe the physical manifestations of Borges’s works, but also his interactions with publishers such as Manuel Gleizer, Editorial Tor, Emecé, and Viau y Zona, as well as those with printers including the Imprenta López and Francisco A. Colombo.

Even though certain critics have mentioned the various publishing houses or printers with whom Borges worked during this early period of his career (1930-1951), not much detail is dedicated to their personal relationship with Borges. Since Borges’s works from this period contain the names of various publishers, was his interaction with each of these firms the same? Who else was publishing with these agencies in the early 1930s, 1940s and 1950s? Is the type of book published by these firms similar in terms of their material or their physical appearance (i.e. paper, typography, binding)? Did these publishers have specific reputations? What types of advertising campaigns did they use (*where* did they advertise if at all)? Did these publishers have design editors to help with the more physical aspects of the works they produced? What was the relationship among publishers and printers in Argentina during the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s? Did certain publishers associate and do business with only certain printers (or binders for that matter)? This (long) list of questions is only the tip of the iceberg when it comes to the world of the book trade in Argentina during the first part of the twentieth century. In the past decade there has been a marked interest in the history of the book in Argentina, which previously attracted little to no attention in scholarly circles. For this reason we can look to (reference) works such as *Editores y políticas editoriales en Argentina (1880-2010)*, dedicated to the entire world of publishing and editing, as well as more narrowly-focused books that deal with one specific

publisher or printing house, such as Carlos Enrique Abraham's *La editorial Tor: medio siglo de libros populares* (2012) or Max Velarde's *El editor Domingo Viau y otros escritos* (1998).

Nevertheless, even though there appears to be something of an explosion of books, articles, and even dissertations (to some extent) dedicated to the history of the book and/or book publishing, to date there does not exist any single study detailing Borges's publishers, printers, and binders and the types of relationships that he might have had with these individuals. As a result, by paying due attention to Borges's role in and relation to this world of the book trade, we will be able to get a better sense of some possible economic, social, and even political strains on the production of his works in Argentina during this time period.

Another crucial aspect of the world of the book trade, as shown by the above diagram, is the role of distribution. Although this aspect of publishing is one for which there is the *least* amount of information or raw data, one of the ways to learn more about distribution is through subscription publishing as well as bookstore inventories or purchase forms. Another possible way to gauge rate of distribution and parties involved or targeted is to read the style of writing from any advertisements for forthcoming books (or other print material by a specific author) in newspapers, journals, or other print mediums. Also, keeping in mind not only the language used for these advertisements, but also the venue or medium in which they are published, might also tell us a great deal about the type of *desired* audience for a work (at least whether or not they might be part of the lower, middle, or upper class). Consulting publishers' catalogues and the prices for certain items is also a good way of trying to track distribution and consumption since, if the cost of a work is quite high, it rules out certain social spheres from purchasing it (although there is always the possibility that they might obtain a copy from a library or a friend). In general



terms, publishers' catalogues, which can, at times, be very hard to find from this early part of the twentieth century, give us a great amount of raw data and material to sort through.

### *An Outline of the Chapters*

The chapters of my dissertation move chronologically from 1930 to 1951 in an effort to trace key changes and developments in Borges's interaction with the physical medium of the book. The first chapter provides a detailed analysis of the presence of books and other print mediums in Borges's work. The intricate physical descriptions of books in works like *Ficciones* (1944) and *El Aleph* (1949), substantial revisions from manuscript to printed forms, and the tremendous range of houses with which he published, all suggest a deep-seated interest in the material production of his writings and the overall form that they take. Borges's ability to identify the format of a book (quarto, octavo, etc.) with ease or include lengthy descriptions about particular types of paper and their composition, speaks to the marked presence of the *physical* in this Argentine writer's life. Throughout this chapter, then, I consider the different jobs that Borges held during this period (librarian, co-editor of various magazines and periodicals, director of various collections and edited anthologies), the presentation and description of books and other print mediums in his works, and ultimately the physical features that his own writings take.

Using these central ideas as a point of departure, my second chapter examines the relationships between Borges and three unique publishing houses during the early 1930s. What is most notable from this early period in his career is the fact that he established close ties with fine printers and publishers known for their luxury editions (Manuel Gleizer and Francisco A. Colombo) while also working for mass-media publications and publishing his first piece of

fiction with a publisher whose only interest was monetary gain (Editorial Tor). In essence, this early stage in Borges's literary career is one that is marked by a large amount of activity and variation from one work to the next, suggesting the *newness* of the world of book production in Argentina. My third and fourth chapters show the marked shift toward critique, criticism, and marketing in Borges's writings during the late 1930s and early 1940s, focusing on his columns in the magazine *El Hogar* and his creation of anthologies and edited collections for the Editorial Sudamericana and Emecé Editores. More broadly speaking, these chapters focus on how many of Borges's literary endeavors during this same time period reveal the importance and the impact of the publishing industry for crafting (and branding) a particular product for the Argentine reading public. Along with the specific content of the works analyzed in these chapters, I also consider their physical appearance (covers, illustrations, paper, typography), cost, publishers, printers, and similarities to other circulating material.

My fifth chapter looks more broadly at how Borges's connections to elite circles, such as that of Victoria Ocampo's Editorial Sur, are not only a constant underlying force in his own writings and literary production, but also a key source of his marketing strategies in the book industry. More specifically, the common trend that links all of the publishing houses in this chapter is what I deem editorial and/or promotional framing. That is to say, each of these firms produces (and markets) works that are either translated by or contain a preface/prolog by none other than Jorge Luis Borges. What is more, throughout this chapter I show how these *framing* tendencies are not only a product of the publishing houses themselves, but also a deep-seated interest of Borges. The sixth, and final, chapter demonstrates how all of Borges's interactions with the physical form of the book throughout this period (1930-1951) help fuel (and culminate in) the creation of his two (personal) publishing houses in the 1930s and 1940s. As a result, this

last chapter comes full circle and allows me to return to several ideas from my first, namely the various ways in which the physical form of the book permeates this Argentine author's early life and how this literary artifact impacts his overall formation as a writer. In other words, this last chapter analyzes the development of each of Bioy Casares's and Borges's publishing houses, the specific works that these firms produced (in terms of both their form and their content), and ultimately how the creation of the Editorial Destiempo and the Editorial Oportet & Haereses can be seen as the pinnacle of the two writers' critique of Argentine culture and methods of education.

#### *A Note on the Appendix*

A vital aspect of this dissertation is the physical evidence gleaned from numerous copies of the books that Borges wrote, translated, prefaced, or edited from 1930 until 1951. Looking to the physical characteristics and production history of these volumes allows us to reconstruct Borges's role in and relation to the Argentine book world in uniquely novel ways. More specifically, a detailed examination of the paper, bindings, colophons, title pages, and illustrations in each book reveals certain elements of printing and publishing practices in Buenos Aires that tend to go unnoticed by readers. The raw data gathered from this type of close examination of books is commonly referred to as a *descriptive bibliography*, or the physical description of books as objects. The physical evidence that comprises a descriptive bibliography is indispensable for analyzing the (printing and publishing) history of books in specific places or times, as well as for creating critical editions of books and also for identifying varying editions, impressions, or even states of a particular book. As G. Thomas Tanselle so eloquently writes,

All artifacts are important as the principal class of evidence for reconstructing what human beings were doing and thinking in the past. Descriptive bibliography is a quintessential humanistic discipline because it rests on that irreducible fact. It begins – where we all must begin if we wish to approach the past – with the objects that have come down to us. ...bibliography provides a model for other endeavors, since nearly all historical accounts, whether organized according to individual lives or other groupings of events, are exercises in assessing physical evidence. (“Description” 35)

In an effort to provide readers with my own raw data for this project, which serves as a supplemental reference for each of my chapters, I have included a descriptive bibliography as an appendix. Many of the volumes I consulted are extremely rare, hard to track down, and, more often than not, very fragile given the poor quality of paper used in their construction, which makes my descriptive bibliography all the more valuable for not only this dissertation, but also future projects. In terms of the arrangement, each entry is organized chronologically by publication date. If there are multiple editions or printings of a given work, these are also arranged chronologically (i.e. First Edition, First Printing; First Edition, Second Printing; Second Edition, First Printing, etc.).

## Chapter 1 – Books, Borges, and the Question of Materiality

*De los diversos instrumentos del hombre, el más asombroso es, sin duda, el libro. Los demás son extensiones de su cuerpo. El microscopio, el telescopio, son extensiones de su vista; el teléfono es extensión de la voz; luego tenemos el arado y la espada, extensiones de su brazo. Pero el libro es otra cosa: el libro es una extensión de la memoria y de la imaginación.*

—Jorge Luis Borges, “El libro” (*Borges, oral*)

During a lecture dedicated to the book, Borges makes the claim that he is not interested in the *physical* form of the book: “Yo he pensado, alguna vez, escribir una historia del libro. No desde el punto de vista físico. No me interesan los libros físicamente (sobre todos los libros de los bibliófilos, que suelen ser desmesurados), sino las diversas valoraciones que el libro ha recibido” (13-4).<sup>15</sup> That being said, his own writings, both fiction and nonfiction, seem to tell quite a different story with their intricately detailed descriptions of the material object of the book. In their excellent study of Borges’s books housed at the National Library in Buenos Aires Laura Rosato and Germán Álvarez note a similar disconnect: “Hemos mencionado, como una característica del Borges propietario de libros, la ausencia de fetichismo por el objeto en sí. Sin embargo, esto no se contrapone con el modo hedónico en la elección de ejemplares” (25). Moreover, in the aforementioned lecture dedicated to the book the Argentine writer goes on to say that, even though he is blind, he continues “comprando libros, yo sigo llenando mi casa de libros,” which seems like a strange activity for someone who is (supposedly) uninterested in the material nature of books and is clearly not reading them at the time of the lecture, given his

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<sup>15</sup> This lecture, in addition to several others, is found transcribed in *Borges, oral* (Buenos Aires: Emecé Editores, 1979).

physical state (23).<sup>16</sup> Borges's personal library, currently housed (in part) at the Fundación Internacional Jorge Luis Borges in Buenos Aires and run by his widow, María Kodama, tells quite a different tale as well.<sup>17</sup> When I was given the opportunity to view this collection of nearly 3,000 volumes during the summer of 2015, I was surprised to discover the incredible attention given to bibliographic details. It is quite evident that each and every one of the books cradled in the floor-to-ceiling bookshelves was carefully selected not only for the content, but also, to some extent, for the *physical* state of the edition.<sup>18</sup> The majority of the works are hardbound leather books, the most striking of which were, without doubt, the full runs of encyclopedias, a well-known interest of Borges.<sup>19</sup> In addition to the physical appearance of the books that appear to have been selected very carefully, it should be noted that the each of the works within Borges's library is also arranged in a very specific way according to a detailed system. Thus, much like

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<sup>16</sup> One might argue that various individuals could still read these books *to him*, which was a common activity following his blindness, yet this still does not explain the need to purchase the books as opposed to just borrow them from a library or have someone read to him at bookstores, which was also common later in his life.

<sup>17</sup> It is important to distinguish this personal library (housed in his last residence before his death, Maipú 444) from the collection housed at the National Library in Buenos Aires. Even though the volumes that now comprise the collection at the National Library were once part of his personal library, he donated them to this public institution over the years and they were, thus, not found within the author's home. Although this detail is a subtle one, it will help clarify later sections of this project.

<sup>18</sup> Laura Rosato and Germán Álvarez also note this attention to detail when discussing Borges's books housed at the National Library in Buenos Aires: "Ediciones antiguas, primeras ediciones en idioma original, la tipografía gótica, los comentarios, estudios, traducciones o introducciones realizadas por intelectuales de renombre, colecciones que igualan en valor a las obras que reúnen, donde la intervención del director editorial llega a ser garantía de la calidad de los textos publicados, éstas son algunas de las características generales que surgen de observar el conjunto de libros reunidos" (25).

<sup>19</sup> Sometime during 1929 Borges won a literary prize for either *El idioma de los argentinos* (1928) or *Cuaderno San Martín* (1929). Regardless of the book that was the source of the win, the importance of the prize was the fact that with the money received he purchased a "second-hand edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (Eleventh Edition)... It became one of Borges's principal sources of information for the rest of his life" (Woodall 76). Borges himself recalls this event in his "Autobiographical Notes" for *The New Yorker*: "In 1929 that third book of essays won the Second Municipal Prize of three thousand pesos, which in those days was a lordly sum of money. I was, for one thing, to acquire with it a second-hand set of the Eleventh Edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*" (74).

the extensive passages in his prose (discussed below) that devote a great deal of attention to the material aspects of books, Borges's own personal habits and tendencies toward books emphasize, contrary to his statements in his lecture on "El libro," a true affinity for the physical form of the book.<sup>20</sup>

At this juncture in my narrative, it is important to parse out the fundamental distinctions between the bibliophile and the bibliographer in order to better understand the seemingly problematic disconnect between Borges's supposed aversion to the *physical* form of the book and the attention paid to it. According to John Carter's *ABC for Book-Collectors*, "bibliomania" is defined as "literally, a madness for books. A *bibliomaniac* is a book-collector with a slightly wild look in his eye" and "bibliophily" is "the love of books. A lover of books is a *bibliophile*" (38). As both of these definitions show, a bibliophile, or lover of books, is interested in nothing more than the (often showy) physical aspects of these material objects, which might refer to either the ornate appearance of certain volumes or the special content of their pages. On the other hand, a "bibliographer" is someone who studies the physical aspects of a book to learn and understand more about them.<sup>21</sup> Carter emphasizes the fact that these individuals "may be also librarians or collectors or booksellers, experts on an author or on the literature of a particular subject. But they need be none of these; nor are any of them *ipso facto* bibliographers" (37). In other words, for the bibliophile, books are nothing more than objects to collect (normally luxury

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<sup>20</sup> Roger Chartier also references this Borges lecture and the level of disconnect it appears to convey when viewed in conjunction with much of this Argentine author's writings (*Inscription and Erasure*, 2008: ix-x).

<sup>21</sup> A. W. Pollard's entry on "Bibliography and Bibliology" in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* provides more detail: "a bibliographer is defined as 'one who writes or copies books.' The transition from the meaning 'a writing *of* books' to that of 'a writing *about* books,' was accomplished in France in the 18<sup>th</sup> century – witness the publication in 1763 of the *Bibliographie instructive* of de Bure. In England the new meaning seems to have been popularized by the Rev. Thomas Frognall Dibdin early in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, while Southey preferred the rival form *bibliology*, which is now hardly used" (908).

items for show) while, for the bibliographer, books are artifacts that help us determine social, economic, and even political undercurrents in play within a specific geographic and temporal space. Thus, a bibliographer is someone who is interested in the *whole* book (both its contents and its composition) and, as a result, normally aspires to create the most *comprehensive* study of these objects, not simply collect them. More notably is that fact that one does not have to be in a certain profession to hold the title of “bibliographer” (or “bibliophile” for that matter), which might explain Borges’s ability to identify the format of a book without batting an eye or include lengthy descriptions about particular types of paper and their composition as though these more physical features were part of everyone’s common knowledge. Perhaps, as we shall see below, he is very much a bibliographer at heart, a term that, to date, has not been used to characterize this Argentine author.<sup>22</sup>

As we shall see throughout this chapter, there is a marked presence of the *physical* in Borges’s work, which extends far beyond any of the shelves of books of the various libraries he lived or worked in during his lifetime. From passing references to the material composition of books to an in-depth consideration of the specific publishers and printers that would produce his works, this Argentine writer appears to be entrenched in the physical. Although material studies are somewhat of a constant in fields such as anthropology and even sociology, an emphasis on objects or *things* has entered the literary world of academia more recently, which suggests the need to outline a few fundamental theoretical ideas to help situate my own work in relation to similar projects.<sup>23</sup> In the most general of terms, the field of material cultural studies seeks to

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<sup>22</sup> See note 45 for a more information regarding the term “format” and the context in which Borges uses this term in several of his short stories and essays.

<sup>23</sup> See Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production* (1993); Brown, *A Sense of Things* (2003); Miller, *Materiality* (2005); *Material Cultures: Why Some Things Matter*, ed. Miller (1998); *Learning from*



explore the complex relationship between people and the things that they create or produce. The broad nature of this definition results in a great deal of interdisciplinary work (from anthropology and archaeology to science and religion) done in the name of material cultural studies. In addition to this burgeoning field there are also a large number of sub-specializations that take the material object as a sort of jumping-off point. For instance, Bill Brown developed what is now known as thing theory, or “[t]he story of objects asserting themselves as things, then, the story of a changed relation to the human subject and thus the story of how the thing really names less an object than a particular subject-object relation” (“Thing Theory” 4).

The study and analysis of the physical aspects of Borges’s texts (paper, typography, layout, colophon, etc.), and any given text for that matter, will draw heavily from the bibliographic work of G. Thomas Tanselle, D. F. McKenzie, and Jerome McGann.<sup>24</sup> While the term “bibliography” might evoke the idea of the creation of lists for many readers, it can also refer to the description and history of books as objects (including their authorship, printing, publication, and the various editions that emerged over the years), and it is *this* usage that will be employed throughout my project. Within his article “Text as Matter, Concept, and Action,” Peter Shillingsburg perfectly encapsulates the all-too-common disconnect between the literary and the textual:

Textual critics have not had a clear enough vision of the varieties of viable answers to questions about who has the ultimate authority...over what the text

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*Things: Method and Theory of Material Cultural Studies*, ed. Kingery (1995); Hansen, *The Book as Artefact, Text and Border* (2005); *The Oxford Handbook of Material Cultural Studies*, eds. Hicks and Beaudry (2010).

<sup>24</sup> In addition to these more theoretical approaches to the study of books as objects, I will also turn to Phillip Gaskell’s *A New Introduction to Bibliography* as well as Fredson Bowers’s *Principles of Bibliographic Description* to aid in describing my objects fully.

becomes, whether it is possible for a work to have a variety of ‘correct forms,’ and the extent to which the editor’s decisions about the ‘authority’ of textual variants is a function of ‘reader response’ rather than evidence. Likewise literary critics have not had a clear enough vision of the problematic nature of physical texts and their assumptions about textual stability (e.g., that a work is a text and a text is a book and the book at hand is, therefore, the work itself). (McKenzie 38)

Moreover, since I will examine Borges’s works in terms of their physical features, it is important to highlight the ways in which bibliographic studies have approached these material aspects. In his *Bibliographical Analysis: A Historical Introduction*, Tanselle outlines the three possible types of studies dedicated to design features: psychological studies, cultural studies, and aesthetic studies. McKenzie branches off from Tanselle’s more traditional approach and, as the title of his most read work indicates, hopes to link bibliography and the “sociology of texts.”<sup>25</sup> In other words, what he emphasizes is the fact that “bibliography is the discipline that studies text as recorded forms, and the processes of their transmission, including their production and reception... beyond that, it allows us to describe not only the technical but the social processes of their transmission” (McKenzie 12-13). In a similar vein, McGann’s foundational book, *The Textual Condition*, focuses on the social forces in play in the creation of a text (and its overall instability) and veers from the traditional literary interest in reading and interpretation. Most notable from his study are the concepts of “bibliographic code,” referring to the physical features present in any text, and “linguistic code,” referring to the words that comprise the text itself.

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<sup>25</sup> McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (1999).

In addition to the foundational work of these (bibliographic) scholars, George Bornstein's more-recent analysis of Modernist poetry serves as the perfect amalgamation of bibliography (more specifically ideas centering on textual construction) and literary theory, which will serve as a perfect jumping-off point for my own analysis of Borges's texts. Employing McGann's concepts of "bibliographic code" and "linguistic code," Bornstein seeks to show the necessity of analyzing the "continually shifting physicality of...texts" in order to stress the fact that virtually all of the texts we encounter today (mainly those in anthologies or reprints) are starkly different, "alternative constructions," from their original forms (1). Thus, any text that a reader might read, whether that be a first edition, first impression or tenth edition produced in off-set printing, should be carefully considered not only in terms of its content (or "linguistic code"), but also in terms of its physical features (or its "bibliographic code").

### *The Book as Physical Presence in Borges's Writings*

When discussing the role of the (physical) book in Borges's life, it is essential to start with the first and most influential exposure to these objects: his father's library.<sup>26</sup> In his "Autobiographical Notes" for *The New Yorker* Borges describes the impact of this collection and that fact that he has, to some extent, "never strayed outside that library" (42). Even though his eyesight had gone long before he was asked to give this interview, and with it "most of the faces

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<sup>26</sup> Borges dedicates a short article to his father's library in which he states that this place "ha sido el acontecimiento capital de mi vida. Ahí, por obra de la voz de mi padre, me fue revelada esa cosa misteriosa, la poesía; ahí me fueron revelados los mapas, las ilustraciones, más preciosas entonces para mí que las letras de molde... Ante todo, enciclopedias, que desde Plinio a Brockhaus, pasando por Isidoro de Sevilla, por Diderot y por la undécima edición de la Británica, cuyos lomos dorados imagino en la inmóvil penumbra de la ceguera, son, para un hombre ocioso y curioso, el más deleitable de los géneros literarios. Las bibliotecas son la memoria de la humanidad" ("La biblioteca de mi padre," *El Correo* (1985): 4).

of that time,” he still had lucid recollections of the library: “It was in a room of its own, with glass-fronted shelves, and must have contained several thousand volumes... I vividly remember so many of the steel engravings in Chambers’s Encyclopaedia and in the Britannica”

(“Autobiographical” 42). Even more telling are his memories of reading *Don Quijote* for the first time: “I still remember *those red volumes with the gold lettering of the Garnier edition*...when I read the ‘Quijote’ in another edition I had the impression that it wasn’t the real ‘Quijote’... I had a friend get me the Garnier with the same steel engravings, the same footnotes, and also the same errata. All those things form part of the book for me; this I consider the real ‘Quijote’”

(“Autobiographical” 42-43, emphasis mine). This anecdote clearly illustrates Borges’s understanding of the fact that all physical manifestations of a work are unique, especially with his reference to the errata that can be found within the pages of *his* Garnier edition of *Don Quijote*. Furthermore, it seems noteworthy to reflect on the idea that, for Borges, the “real ‘Quijote’” is that text which is contained in the specific copy (errors and all!) through which he first encountered the work. This anecdote seems to raise the question of how he would hope (or envision) the relationship between his readers and his own work to be.<sup>27</sup>

Before entering into an analysis of certain short stories and essays that contain references to the material elements of books, it is necessary to consider the differences between the terms “works,” “texts,” and “documents,” which are often used interchangeably in more recent studies. Analyzed in this specific order, there is a distinct move from the abstract to the concrete, from an idea or thought to a physical embodiment of this abstraction. G. Thomas Tanselle takes on the trying task of explaining each of these terms in *A Rationale of Textual Criticism*. For this

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<sup>27</sup> This question is inherently raised by his constant efforts later in life to eliminate (and most certainly *not* reprint) titles he wrote during his youth (i.e. *Fervor de Buenos Aires*, *Inquisiciones*, *El tamaño de mi esperanza*, etc.).

bibliographer, “works” can be described as “*thoughts* employing particular arrangements of words as their ultimate medium” (15, emphasis mine); “texts” are most simply defined as “arrangements of elements” that “can be the objects of emendation, for those elements (or their arrangements) can always be altered producing different textures” (18); and “documents” are the “*physical embodiment*” of works or texts “designed to perform a [utilitarian] function” (40). In other words, “works” are completely abstract and “documents” are a fixed physical presence in time and space, yet both “works” and “documents” are comprised of “texts.” Tanselle goes on to discuss how these distinctions play out when an individual comes into contact with a book since, for him, “reading entails the active recreation of the texts of works, not the passive acceptance of the texts of documents,” which, as a result “makes the physical evidence in those documents *more*, not less, central” (42, emphasis mine).

Even though references to the material elements of books in any given Borges story or essay is subtle and, more often than not, overlooked by many a reader, they can easily be found once you start looking.<sup>28</sup> For instance, within the pages of *Evaristo Carriego* (1930), arguably one of his lesser-read works since it is a biography of another writer as opposed to an example of his creative fiction, Borges dedicates an entire passage to the *physical* qualities of any book before discussing the specific literary contents of Carriego’s *Misas herejes*. Even though this part of the text is quite lengthy, citing it in full is necessary for the revealing detail it provides:

Antes de considerar este libro, conviene repetir que todo escritor empieza por un concepto ingenuamente físico de lo que es arte. Un libro, para él, no es una expresión o una concatenación de expresiones, sino literalmente un *volumen*, un prisma de seis cara rectangulares hecho de finas láminas de papel que deben presentar una carátula, una falsa carátula, un epígrafe en bastardilla, un prefacio

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<sup>28</sup> The analysis of works in this section will move chronologically, following the time line established in the introduction, from 1930 to 1951.

en una cursiva mayor, nueve o diez partes con una versal al principio, un índice de materias, un *ex libris* con un relojito de arena y con un resuelto latín, una concisa fe de erratas, unas hojas en blanco, un colofón interlineado y un pie de imprenta: objetos que es sabido constituyen el arte de escribir. Algunos estilistas (generalmente los del inimitable pasado) ofrecen además un prólogo del editor, un retrato dudoso, una firma autógrafa, un texto con variantes, un espeso aparato crítico, unas lecciones propuestas por el editor, una lista de autoridades y unas lagunas, pero se entiende que eso no es para todos... Esa confusión de papel de Holanda con estilo, de Shakespeare con Jacobo Peuser, es indolentemente común, y perdura (apenas adecentada) entre los retóricos, para cuyas informales almas acústicas una poesía es un mostradero de acentos, rimas, elisiones, diptongaciones y otras fauna fonética. Escribo esas miserias características de todo primer libro, para destacar las inusuales virtudes de este que considero. (51-2)<sup>29</sup>

The level of detail present here is astonishing and Borges's emphasis on the material nature of books stands out most.<sup>30</sup> From the very opening line in which he informs his readers that art virtually always starts as a *physical* concept, to the intricate dissection of each of the parts of any *virtuous* book, the reader inevitably finds a deep interest in (and knowledge of) the book as object for this Argentine author.<sup>31</sup> Although he clearly states that these elements of the book pertain to Carriego's perspective, the writer of his literary biography (i.e. Borges) must have a comprehensive understanding and appreciation of these aspects as well in order to outline them in such detail.

This lengthy description is even more telling when we consider the fact that Borges published this work with Manuel Gleizer, a firm known for its finer, high quality editions. From

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<sup>29</sup> All citations from *Evaristo Carriego* come from the first edition copies, published by Manuel Gleizer in 1930, housed in the UVa Collection.

<sup>30</sup> The index to this specific chapter even describes this initial section as "La idea física de cualquier primer libro," which further stresses the material aspect of the book and its importance for Borges. At the same time, given this particular descriptive heading, the question of whether *all* books have to have such an idea of physicality, or if it is simply the first book of any given author, naturally comes to mind.

<sup>31</sup> I use the adjective "virtuous" here since Borges alludes to this quality (of the books he describes) in the last sentences of the passage in question: "Escribo esas miserias características de todo primer libro, para destacar las inusuales *virtudes* de este que considero" (emphasis mine).

the colophon we also learn that it was printed by Francisco A. Colombo, whose work was also of the highest quality, which is clear from analyzing any of his catalogues under titles such as *El arte del libro*: “Este libro terminó de imprimir el 30 de / Setiembre e mil novecientos treinta / en los talleres gráficos ‘Colón’, / de Francisco A. Colombo, San / Antonio de Areco, Sucursal: / Hortiguera 552 Bs. As. / para la Editorial / M. Gleizer.” In addition, it seems quite clear that Borges must have had a working knowledge of the structural elements of any given book since many of his early writings from the 1920s, most notably *Fervor de Buenos Aires*, were produced without a publisher and simply sent to a printer by the Argentine writer himself. Another telling aspect of this passage is the marked familiarity with all of the elements (and parties) involved in the book trade. By commenting on the fact that many individuals often confuse a high quality paper “con estilo” or an author (Shakespeare) with a publisher (Jacobo Peuser) not only affirms Borges’s knowledge of the ins-and-outs of book creation from start to finish, but also, to a certain extent, speaks to the previously established divide between bibliophiles and bibliographers.

Along with this detailed description of the (necessary) structural elements of any given book, Borges also (unknowingly) reveals some of his preferences toward this physical object in a later part of *Evaristo Carriego*. More specifically, when describing the published work of Carriego’s grandfather, Borges appears to make a snide remark about second-hand books: “Fue abuelo suyo el doctor Evaristo Carriego, escritor de ese libro de papel moreno y tapas tiesas que se llama con entera razón *Páginas olvidadas* (Santa Fe, 1895) y que mi lector, *si tiene costumbre de revolver los turbios purgatorios de libros viejos de la calle Lavalle, habrá tenido en las manos alguna vez*” (33, emphasis mine). Not only does Borges take the time to highlight the seemingly poor quality of *Páginas olvidadas* with its browned paper and rigid covers, he also

characterizes the second-hand bookshops on Lavalle street in Buenos Aires, where this work could have been purchased by interested parties, as “los turbios purgatorios,” which draws attention to the negative aspects of these establishments. Moreover, given the tone of this passage, he appears to hint at the fact that he himself would not dare enter such places.

Seeing as we have been presented with a direct reference to the bookselling district in Buenos Aires, Argentina with the mention of Lavalle street and its various second-hand bookshops, this moment seems just as good as any to discuss the various bookstores that Borges was known to have visited and from which he, at times, purchased books.<sup>32</sup> This momentary tangent will directly supplement the above statement about Borges’s preferences toward certain types of bookstores (and books for that matter), and also help readers understand one of the important aspects of book publishing and circulation: distribution. In order to supplement my written descriptions of these specific bookstores that Borges frequented, I have also created a map to emphasis visually the clustering of these shops near the Recoleta neighborhood:

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<sup>32</sup> The names and addresses of these shops form part of Laura Rosato and Germán Álvarez’s wonderful study *Borges, libros y lecturas* (2010). Their in-depth descriptions of the physical attributes of Borges’s books found in the Biblioteca Nacional include mentions of stickers often found in the front endpapers of these volumes. In addition to their detailed introduction that mentions some of the history of several of these bookstores, especially the more prominent ones such as Mitchell’s, their study also led me to the well-known work of Domingo Buonocore, *Libreros, editores e impresores de Buenos Aires* (1974). For a better sense of the general ambience of these second-hand bookstores, consider the following two articles: <http://blogs.monografias.com/el-buenos-aires-que-se-fue/2012/11/14/librerias-de-viejo/> <http://www.eltribuno.info/libros-libreros-viejo-y-bibliofilos-n17380>



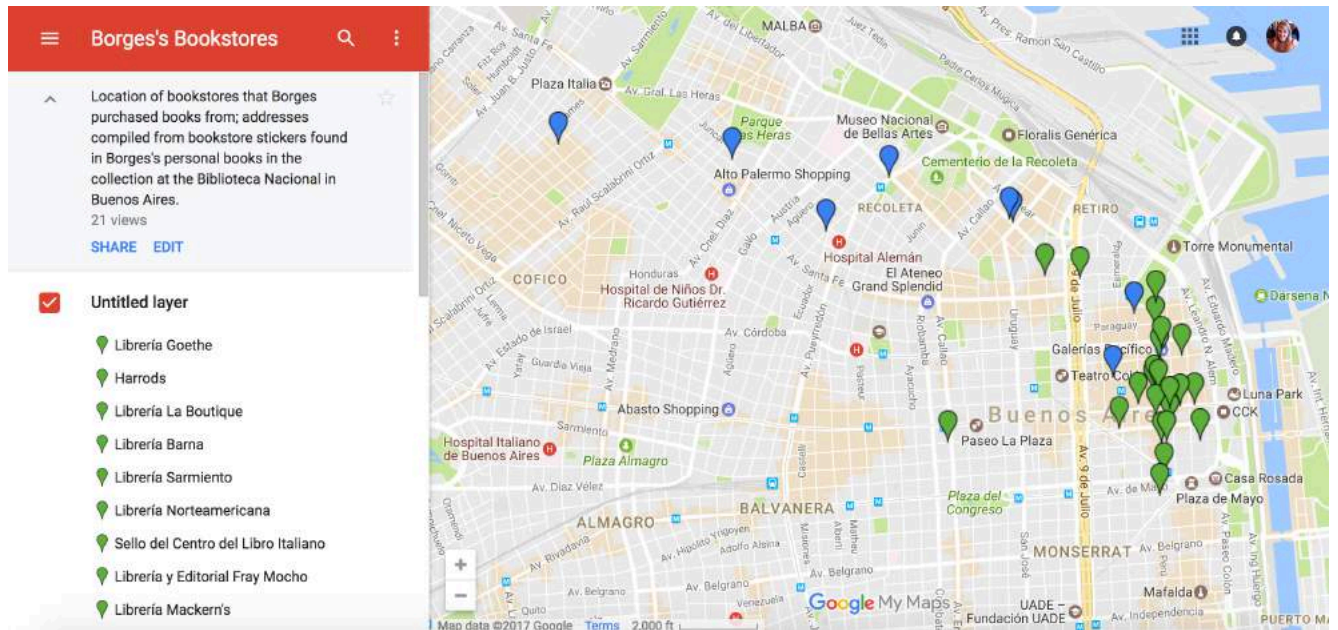


Figure 2: Borges's Bookstores

[Source: <https://www.google.com/maps/d/u/0/viewer?hl=en&authuser=0&mid=1oGg7Nx5d3be3VGAZn7qPDe50yaw&ll=-34.59725206653241%2C-58.39826105000003&z=14>]

In addition to marking the bookstores that he visited throughout Buenos Aires (green dots), I have also included the locations of his various residences throughout the city during his lifetime (blue dots). Thus, readers will see that, as Borges advanced in years, his residence appears to move closer to the general bookstore district, which may be mere coincidence, but it seems intriguing and worth further investigation.

As Buonocore notes in his foundational study *Libreros, editores e impresores de Buenos Aires*, “Buenos Aires fué centro librero antes que editorial” (113). Even though more than seventy years have passed since Buonocore’s work was first published, his statement still rings true today since, according to a recent study, “the country’s capital Buenos Aires has more bookshops per inhabitant than any other city in the world.”<sup>33</sup> With the presence of such a large

<sup>33</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jun/19/argentina-books-bookstores-reading>.

number of bookstores in one city, the question of competition and survival immediately comes to mind. Having said that, what we find in the scant descriptions of these bookstores is their high level of *specialization*. In other words, instead of our contemporary conceptions of bookstores, like Barnes & Noble or even Amazon, as all-inclusive in terms of their catalogues and listings, if you were in search of a title in German or English literature, there would be a unique shop, or even shops, that specialized in and sold only these types of books. Thus, for instance, Borges's passion for English literature, undoubtedly a result of the influence of his English grandmother on his formative years, led him (frequently) to bookstores such as Mackern's (Sarmiento 525) and Mitchell's Book Store (Cangallo 580), both of which specialized in imported foreign literature (mainly English).<sup>34</sup> Mackern's, founded in 1849 by George and Hector Mackern, was one of the oldest shops that Borges frequented. Initially, they sold mostly fine stationery items, but soon branched out to focus on English literature, specifically that dedicated to popular detective fiction. Mitchell's, founded in 1907 by Edward Bellet Mitchell, had very similar origins to Mackern's and also sold a great deal of fine stationery items before expanding into North American works.

Alongside these two regularly visited shops, several of Borges's personal books from the Biblioteca Nacional also contain tags from a number of other bookstores including Pygmalion, Goethe, Beutelspacher, and Viau y Cía. Lily Lebach, who fled Nazi-occupied Germany toward the end of the 1930s, ran the first of these and her inventory was predominantly that of books produced by British and German publishing firms. In addition to purchasing books from this

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<sup>34</sup> In general terms, many of the bookstores that Laura and Germán list in their study highlight Borges's lack of interest, to a certain extent, in Argentine and Latin American literature, and, instead, his pull toward foreign (classic) works: "La ausencia prácticamente total de literatura argentina e hispanoamericana en esta colección es una condición que se repite, hasta donde sabemos, en los demás repositorios donde se conservan partes representativas de su biblioteca" (25).

shop, it was also one of Borges's known hang-outs where certain people, most notably Alberto Manguel, who was employed there in 1964, would read to the blind writer in the later years of his life.<sup>35</sup> Much like this bookstore, Goethe and Beutelspacher were also known for their German literature, which had become an interest of Borges after first studying the language in his youth while in Geneva. Viau y Cía, clearly related to the publishing house Viau y Zona that was “uno de los primeros sellos editoriales de Borges,” focused on luxury books, or art books, of fine quality paper and exquisite bindings (Rosato and Álvarez 27). This last shop also frequently had art exhibits and, as a result, was a sort of cultural center for artists residing in Buenos Aires.

In the most general of terms, “para Borges, el lugar de adquisición del libro era otro de los rasgos identitarios de un ejemplar, un atributo casi equiparable a la edición misma,” and what we find by looking through the bookstore stickers that adorn many of his personal copies is a certain pattern of regularity, tending especially towards those shops specializing in English editions. In her work *Borges a contraluz* Estela Canto recalls Borges's affinity for books and his specific inclination toward visiting particular bookstores:

Escudriñaba la biblioteca de mi hermano. Aunque siempre traía libros, lo cierto es que también se lo llevaba, de tal modo que el intercambio estaba más o menos equilibrado. Según mi hermano, fue más lo que sacó que lo que trajo. En lo que se refiere a libros, tenía una naturaleza adquisitiva. Se sentaba en el suelo y empezaba a retirar los libros de estantes más bajos. Los examinaba y los leía con la página casi tocándole la nariz. (Le vi hacer esto en casa de los Bioy, en la

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<sup>35</sup> “One afternoon, Jorge Luis Borges came to the bookstore accompanied by his eighty-eight-year-old mother... as he was about to leave, he asked me if I was busy in the evenings because he needed (he said this very apologetically) someone to read to him, since his mother now tired very easily. I said I would.

Over the next two years I read to Borges, as did many other fortunate and casual acquaintances, either in the evenings or, if school allowed it, in the mornings... I never had the sense of merely fulfilling a duty in my readings to Borges; instead, the experience felt like a sort of happy captivity. I was enthralled not so much by the texts he was making me discover (many of which eventually became my favorites) as by his comments, which were vastly but unobtrusively erudite, very funny, sometimes cruel, almost always indispensable. I felt I was the unique owner of a carefully annotated edition, compiled for my exclusive sake” (16-19).

biblioteca pública donde era un modesto empleado y *en Mackern's y Mitchell's, las librerías inglesas, donde era conocido y se le permitía revolver todo lo que quisiera*). (31, emphasis mine)

The fact that Borges was seen as a very familiar regular in these two beacon bookstores, to the point that he could rummage through and disorder all of the books that he pleased, reveals that he was very much ensconced in this physical, material world. To a certain extent, then, the presence of large libraries (the Biblioteca Nacional, those of friends, that of his father, those of bookstores) is an undoubted constant in Borges's life.

Returning to my literary analysis, in addition to these excerpts from *Evaristo Carriego*, several essays in Borges's collection *Discusión* (1932) make reference to the physical attributes of books and their composition. In "Las versiones homéricas" Borges describes some possible meanings of the concept of a translation in the literary world and, in the process, appears to touch on some of Tanselle's key points regarding "works," "texts," and "documents." For instance, he notes that "el concepto de *texto definitivo* no corresponde sino a la religión o al cansancio," highlighting Tanselle's idea that any given text is nothing more than an "arrangement of elements; and all can be the objects of emendation, for those elements (or their arrangements) can always be altered, producing different textures" (Tanselle, *Rationale* 18).<sup>36</sup> In this same essay, Borges continues his analysis of books and their translations with the example of the *Quijote* and claims that this work is "un monumento uniforme, sin otras variaciones que las deparadas *por el editor, el encuadernador y el cajista*" (106, emphasis mine).<sup>37</sup> Instead of simply mentioning the possibility of error in any given copy of a book, Borges singles out the work of

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<sup>36</sup> Borges uses italics in the original essay.

<sup>37</sup> This statement undoubtedly complements his thoughts about the Garnier edition of the *Quijote*.

the editor,<sup>38</sup> the binder, and the typesetter in creating a book; it goes without saying that references to these specific individuals, most notably the last two in the group, are not frequent in Spanish-American literature dating from this time period. Why, one must ask, does Borges acknowledge the role of these various individuals in his essay as opposed to stating that the creation and composition of any book is a complex process that involves many parties and many steps? Perhaps he is trying to home in on the central issues that may arise in book publishing when discussing possible errors from one copy of a book to the next. The message conveyed in the manuscript (editor, publisher), the order of the pages in the book (binder), and the printed letters on the page (typesetter) are all important parts of any author's work, yet misunderstandings can arise at any moment in the intricate process of publishing that will result in a potential disconnect between the writer's work and the final printed document. Regardless of the specific reason, the reference demonstrates a certain concern for the complex world of publishing.

Another striking aspect that emerges in certain essays in this collection is Borges's marked interest in book collecting and his own identification as a collector of sorts. In his essay "Paul Groussac," which as the title indicates is dedicated to the Argentine writer and former librarian of the National Library in Buenos Aires, Borges writes the following: "He verificado en mi biblioteca diez tomos de Groussac. Soy un lector hedónico: jamás consentí que mi sentimiento del deber interviniera en *afición tan personal como la adquisición de libros*, ni probé fortuna dos veces con autor intratable, eludiendo un libro anterior con un libro nuevo, ni compré

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<sup>38</sup> It should be noted that "editar" in Spanish means to publish, which creates a bit of confusion for discussions of many of these early publications that may or may not have been produced with the help of a publishing firm. Surely Borges would have embraced this level of linguistic ambiguity, especially when the ambiguity involved both of his mother tongues.

– crasamente – en montón” (93, emphasis mine). Not only does he describe book collecting as a very personal *hobby*, but he also hints at the necessity of specificity when selecting any given copy of a work. As Tanselle notes in his essay “The Pleasures of Being a Scholar-Collector,” “collectors not only preserve historical evidence; they also create a view of the past through their collections – by the scope they set for themselves and by the arrangement they impose on the artifacts” (8). In other words, looking to Borges’s personal library and certain works that he was known to have sought out or treasured during his lifetime, such as the *Encyclopedia Britannica* or Pliny’s *Historia Naturalis*, can tell readers and critics alike a great deal about this Argentine author’s “view of the past.” Furthermore, the fact that Borges states that he did not frequently purchase a great number of books, yet possess ten volumes by Groussac, seems quite telling. Which books did he possess? What were their themes or topics? Did the same publisher produce all these works? Did he purchase them from the same bookseller? These (rhetorical) questions and any number related to them help to pinpoint the key role that books (and the material contained within them) possess for this Argentine writer and, as a result, allow readers and critics alike to see Borges as not only a creator of literature and culture, but also a consumer of these things.

Though the references to the physical book are few and far between in Borges’s next collection of essays, *Historia de la eternidad*, the first of these four pieces, with the same title as that given to the entire work, presents an intriguing conundrum.<sup>39</sup> In his (lengthy) discussion of the concept of time and eternity, Borges notes the following: “El mejor documento de la primera eternidad es el quinto libro de la *Enéada*... *Quinientas páginas en folio no agotarían el tema*:

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<sup>39</sup> The first edition of *Historia de la eternidad*, published by Vial y Zona and printed by Francisco A. Colombo in 1936, contains four essays and two notes; the later edition produced by Emecé (1953), adds two additional essays: “El tiempo circular” y “La metáfora”.

*espero que estas dos o tres en octavo no parecerán excesivas*” (19, emphasis mine). First and foremost, it is important to highlight the fact that Borges calls attention to the question of format (see note 44), which is undoubtedly a very specific bibliographic detail relating to the specific size of the book.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, by drawing attention to the fact that this first edition of *Historia de la eternidad* is an octavo raises a whole host of other questions regarding materiality and the physical object of the book for Borges:<sup>41</sup> if we read this essay in any other form but the first edition, does it carry the same meaning or message (if the format of this alternative object is *not* octavo, but perhaps a quarto or duodecimo)?<sup>42</sup> How do we deal with the fact that the entire essay in question is twenty four pages in total, and the section from which the above citation is taken is five (when Borges states that “estas dos o tres en octavo” will be dedicated to the topic at hand)? In short, it appears that Borges is quite entrenched in questions of materiality related to the creation and production of the book, which, in turn, should cause readers to rethink not only their choice of edition, but also what each of these editions might have meant for Borges (or, alternatively, the level of control he had over editorial decisions that went into each of these editions).

In addition to the essays contained in *Discusión* and *Historia de la eternidad*, virtually all of the short stories collected in *El jardín de senderos que se bifurcan* (1941) contain references

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<sup>40</sup> An “octavo” uses a smaller size of paper than a “folio,” which means that fewer words can be printed on these pages.

<sup>41</sup> After checking the binding and overall composition of a first edition copy of this work in the UVa Borges Collection, it can indeed be deemed an octavo.

<sup>42</sup> This particular question seems to relate the issue at hand directly to that of the ship of Theseus (i.e. if all the parts of the book, much like Theseus’s ship, are replaced with new parts, is it the same object?).

to the materiality of books.<sup>43</sup> The first work in the collection, “Tlön, Uqbar, Orbis Tertius,” is an interesting case that deserves thorough analysis. First published in the journal *SUR* in May 1940, this short story opens with a mysterious reference to an imaginary country, Uqbar, that appears in an article entry of an encyclopedia and, as a result, leads the narrator to search feverishly for any mention or indication of the actual existence of this place. During his search for references to Uqbar, the narrator encounters the country of Tlön and the planet of Orbis Tertius, both of which he discovers to be mere inventions. In the final part of the story, coyly included as a postscript from a future date (1947), the creation of Tlön is described as the project of a team of scholars organized and financed by the millionaire Ezra Buckley. Generally speaking, “Tlön, Uqbar, Orbis Tertius” plays with many common themes that appear throughout a number of Borgesian short stories including the search for absolute Truth, doubling, and a myriad of binary oppositions, most notably the difference between history and literature (or the real and the imaginary). Borges himself claims that this story “es quizá el cuento más ambicioso mío. Es la idea de la realidad transformada por un *libro*” (Carrizo 222, emphasis mine).

From a material perspective, this story is nothing short of a bibliographical problem: how is it that these few pages dedicated to Uqbar ended up in only *one* copy of the encyclopedia in question? What are the unique physical features of the narrator’s copy of the *Anglo-American Cyclopaedia*? Is the typeface used for these pages distinct from the rest of the book? What about the paper? Is there any information listed concerning the publisher or the printing house (perhaps in a colophon)? The reader immediately becomes aware of the importance of these questions and the materiality of the dilemma facing the narrator of the tale when this character homes in on the

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<sup>43</sup> This collection of short stories is later combined with *Artificios* (1944) to form the canonical *Ficciones* (Editorial SUR, 1944); moreover, many of these stories were previously published in various literary journals prior to their publication under one collective title.



physical characteristics of the one specific copy of the book that he examines: “El volumen que trajo Bioy era efectivamente el XLVI de la *Anglo-American Cyclopaedia*. En la *falsa carátula* y en el lomo, la indicación alfabética (Tor-Ups) era la de *nuestro ejemplar, pero en vez de 917 páginas constaba de 921...*” (15, emphasis mine).<sup>44</sup> The fact that this copy of the *Anglo-American Cyclopaedia* contains a half-title page and four more pages of material than any other copy highlights the importance of analyzing not only the text found within a book, but also the *physical* qualities of this object, which serve as evidence when trying to discern the way in which this item was produced. Even though this short story is a work of fiction, which is further emphasized by the title of the collection *Ficciones* (1944) in which it is later included, Borges clearly seems to be toying with these perfectly real bibliographic concepts.

This same level of material detail crops up later in “Tlön, Uqbar, Orbis Tertius” with the description of a book that Herbert Ashe, introduced in the second part of the story, received days before his death: “Era un libro en octavo mayor... En el amarillo lomo de cuero leí estas curiosas palabras que la falsa carátula repetía: *A first Encyclopaedia of Tlön. Vol. XI. Hlaer to Jangr...* En la primera página y en una hoja de papel de seda que cubría una de las láminas en colores había estampado un óvalo azul con esta inscripción: *Orbus Tertius*” (18-19). The most striking aspect of this passage is the mention of the format<sup>45</sup> of this *first Encyclopaedia of Tlön*: a large octavo. To my knowledge, such references in twentieth-century Latin American literature are virtually

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<sup>44</sup> All citations from *Ficciones* are from the following edition: Alianza Editorial (1991).

<sup>45</sup> Some critics would opt for the term “size,” but the terms folio, quarto, octavo, etc., actually refer to the relationship between a book and its printing process. Tanselle describes this term in greater detail: “Format is a designation of the number of page-units (whether or printing surface, handwritten text, or blank space) that the producers of a printed or manuscript item decided upon to fill each side of a sheet of paper or vellum of the selected size(s); if paper came to a printing press in rolls rather than sheets, format can only refer to the number of page-units placed on the process at one time for the purpose of printing one side of the paper” (“Format” 112-3).

nonexistent. The use of such specific bibliographic terms seems reserved mainly for sixteenth-, seventeenth-, or even eighteenth-century title pages or booksellers' catalogues, not contemporary fiction. Another intriguing aspect of this excerpt from "Tlön, Uqbar, Orbis Tertius" is the reference to the silk paper that protects the colored prints from smearing or smudging between the pages. Although it might be important or more commonplace to describe the images contained in these pages, I highly doubt that other contemporaneous Latin American authors would take the time to describe or even consider this extra, protective page (of a different material) as a vital detail for the plot of their stories. It might be argued that these *very* realistic details were included in order to play up the central dichotomy between reality and fiction that underpins not only this specific short story, but also the entire collection as a whole. Regardless of the definitive reason for their inclusion, these material details point to a need for further analysis of the physical attributes of Borges's works that, to date, have remained largely ignored.<sup>46</sup>

Continuing with the short stories contained in the canonical collection of *Ficciones*, the protagonist of "Funes el memorioso," known for his impeccable memory, is said to compare the forms of certain clouds with "*las vetas de un libro en pasta española que sólo había mirado una vez*" (128, emphasis mine).<sup>47</sup> It goes without saying that there are a large number of objects, or natural phenomena, in the world that have a wispy design that echoes the form of certain clouds.

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<sup>46</sup> Annick Louis draws attention to this shortcoming in secondary literature with specific reference to the *Revista Multicolor de los Sábados* in *Jorge Luis Borges. Obra y maniobras*: "Ya se ha dicho que existen pocos trabajos sobre la *RMS*; ninguno de los existentes comprende una descripción de su aspecto material" (86). Although there has been a marked interest in recent years in tracing the variants and changes made to any given text from manuscript form to published, print version (most notably in the impressive work of Daniel Balderston), these types of studies, which draw heavily on the French tradition of genetic criticism, do not normally take the physical attributes of the consulted documents into account.

<sup>47</sup> This story first appears in the second section of *La Nación* on June 7, 1942.

The selection of the grains (or marbling) of a book as a foil to the previous image reiterates not only Borges's attention to detail, but also his interest in the physical details of books. It can easily be argued that "La biblioteca de Babel," also collected in *Ficciones*, would be a clear place to start a material analysis dedicated to the subject, although the analysis completed up to this point demonstrates that virtually any given work of fiction or non-fiction by this author is worth a closer look. Even though this well-known story uses the idea of the library as a metaphor for the universe, the choice is nonetheless quite telling. Within the hexagonal rooms of this library not only are all of the books described as uniform, but their entire physical composition is specified in great detail: "cada libro es de cuatrocientas diez páginas; cada página, de cuarenta renglones; cada renglón, de unas ochenta letras de color negro. También hay letras en el dorso de cada libro" (91). In addition, all of the books "constan de elementos iguales: el espacio, el punto, la coma, las veintidós letras del alfabeto" (93-4). Even though all of these books are uniform and composed in exactly the same way, the narrator of this short story specifically emphasizes the fact that "*no hay, en la vasta Biblioteca, dos libros idénticos*," which is a very bibliographic concept (94, emphasis in the original). In the words of G. Thomas Tanselle, "every copy of an edition, is... a unique physical object" and therefore the idea that each book is a unique object, as expressed in this short story, logically follows (*Literature and Artifacts* 16). This concept is later suggested toward the close of the story in which the narrator reminds readers that even facsimiles of the works in this library differ from one another: "cada ejemplar [es] único, irremplazable, pero (como la Biblioteca es total) hay siempre varios centenares de miles de facsímiles imperfectos: de obras que no difieren sino por una letra o por una coma" (96).

Alongside these more marked references to the material aspects of the book, a number of the stories contained in *Ficciones* contain smaller, subtler allusions to their physical qualities.

For instance, at the start of “El acercamiento a Almotásim,” the first edition of the work of the same name is printed on paper that “era casi papel de diario” and within the first few months of its publication “el público agotó cuatro impresiones de mil ejemplares cada uno” (38). The narrator of this short story also mentions the publication of an “edición ilustrada... que acaba de reproducir en Londrés Víctor Gollancz,” which was a *real* major British publishing house of the twentieth century (38). The fact that Borges chose to include the name of an authentic publishing house, as opposed to fabricating one highlights his interest in distorting not only the line of division between reality and fiction, but also the world of print culture, specifically its production. A few additional, minor references to books in this collection include mentions of the “primer tomo de las Mil y Una Noches” in “El Sur” and the presence of errors in manuscripts “que la negligencia de los copistas ha introducido” in “El jardín de senderos que se bifurcan” (199; 114). Although both of these remarks are quite modest, they increase the overall number of bibliographic details in the work as a whole and convey a sustained interest in books as physical objects.

The question of materiality and the physical qualities and components of books also arises in *Seis problemas para don Isidro Parodi* (1942), which Borges co-wrote with his close friend Adolfo Bioy Casares. The fact that certain bibliographic details crop up in this work, which is not Borges’s alone, is quite telling. One particular instance within the story “Las previsiones de Sangiácomo” contains very precise references to a work written by one of the main characters, Ricky San Giacomo. At one point in the story we find out that Ricky’s father, “para puntotfinalizar la murria del hijo, apresuró a lo somorgujo la impresión de la obra [*La espada al medio*], y, en menos que trepa un cerdo, le sorprendió con seiscientos cincuenta ejemplares *en papel Wathman [sic], formato Teufelsbibel*” (71, emphasis mine). Though the

mention of a precise type of paper, in this case Whatman, which normally is credited as the first example of wove paper, or paper without chain lines, wire lines, or watermarks, is intriguing, the given format of the work, in “Teufelsbibel,” is much more puzzling.<sup>48</sup> With the help of a German dictionary, one is able to decode this odd term to “Devil’s bible,” which is a common name for the Codex Gigas, the largest extant medieval manuscript in the world. For an idea of the size of this work, consider the following image:



**Figure 3:** The Codex Gigas

[Source: Braun, David Maxwell. “Devil’s Bible Darkest Secrets Explained.” 17 Dec 2008.  
[http://voices.nationalgeographic.com/2008/12/17/devil\\_bible/](http://voices.nationalgeographic.com/2008/12/17/devil_bible/)]

As with many of the other bibliographic details included in Borges’s essays and short stories discussed, this description raises a number of questions regarding the printing of Ricky San Giacomo’s book: What do Borges and Bioy Casares intend the term “format” to mean in this

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<sup>48</sup> According to Bill Steiner, “Whatman was an old and trusted English paper manufacturer that by 1826 had become two companies... The Whatman paper... was high-quality wove paper. All of the Whatman paper is heavy with a rich texture” (29-32).

specific context? Does this detail indicate that Ricky San Giacomo's work is also in folio format like the "Devil's Bible"? Are all six hundred and fifty copies of *The Sword at Noon* this large? Why would Ricky's father have such a large run of this work made? How do we deal with the inherent tension between the Whatman wove paper discussed and the fact that the Codex Gigas is, in its original form, composed of vellum or animal skins? Do Borges and Bioy Casares intend these inconsistencies to be some sort of inside joke among friends with a heightened interest in attention to detail? These questions (and any number of others) highlight the potential richness in studying the question of materiality in Borges's work (and also that which he co-authored).

Along with *Ficciones*, one of the better-known collections of short stories that would later help Borges attain his international fame is that of *El Aleph*. Much like all of the other collections of fiction and non-fiction examined up to this point, several of the writings in this work contain references to the physical qualities of books.<sup>49</sup> The story that opens *El Aleph*, "El inmortal," introduces the familiar conceit of the "found manuscript," the contents of which will form the text to follow. That being said, in setting up this common trope, the narrator goes to great length to describe the place where this supposed manuscript that will serve as the basis for this short story was found: "En Londres, a principios del mes de junio de 1929, el anticuario Joseph Cartaphilus, de Esmirna, ofreció a la princesa de Lucinge *los seis volúmenes en cuarto menor* (1715-1720) de la Iliada de Pope... En el último tomo de la Iliada halló este manuscrito" (7, emphasis mine).<sup>50</sup> Similar to what we find in the pages of "Tlön, Uqbar, Orbis Tertius," "La

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<sup>49</sup> The Editorial Losada first published *El Aleph* in 1949. When this same firm published the second edition of *El Aleph* in 1952, four new stories were added: "Abenjacán el Bojarí, muerto en su laberinto," "Los dos reyes y los dos laberintos," "La espera," and "El hombre en el umbral."

<sup>50</sup> In light of the fact that the manuscript in question was found in a physical book raises the question of whether or not these additional pages were tipped-in (glued or bound with the other pages) or simply inserted loosely after the textblock was bound. If this phrase is understood as meaning that the manuscript

biblioteca de Babel,” and “Historia de la eternidad,” Borges turns to the bibliographical concept of format in this passage by mentioning the fact that the six volumes of Alexander Pope’s work are in *small quarto*. This detail becomes even more intriguing when one considers the publishing history behind this *real* book and that fact that it was printed with subscribers funding the process, thus freeing up a great deal of capital for authors, publishers, printers, and all other parties involved in the book trade industry.<sup>51</sup> Moreover, the specific choice of Alexander Pope is intriguing since, much like a number of other eighteenth-century English writers, he tended to include a great deal of bibliographic detail in his *own* work and showed a definite interest in the physical aspects of books.<sup>52</sup>

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pages were *physically* bound into the book, then we must also take into consideration that the reader might have bound these pages in separately after purchase.

<sup>51</sup> Instead of being released all at once, each of the six volumes came out annually, which “allowed the publisher, Bernard Lintot (1675-1736), to pay for the production of only one volume, the sales of which would eventually provide the capital for the second volume, and so on to the sixth and last. Indeed, the success of this system depended on the abilities of authors and publishers to gather a fair number of subscribers in order to finance the projected volumes.” (<http://www.library.rochester.edu/rbscp/3948>). In addition to the financial advantages that Pope’s *Iliad* introduced to England, the selection of a quarto format (offered in both ordinary and thick paper) introduced a change in aesthetics since, prior to its publication, most major works tended to appear in folio format. In addition to the (regular) quarto options for Pope’s *Iliad*, there were also small- and large-paper folios available. The fact that Borges describes this book as a “small quarto” seems to indicate its size relative to the folio format option.

<sup>52</sup> Consider the following examples from eighteenth-century English literature: “Thou hast uttered volumes, folios, in less than *decimo sexton*, my dear Lacedemonian” (William Congreve, *the Way of the World*, Act IV, Scene IX); an intriguing, anonymous work dating from 1849 entitled *Duodecimo; or The Scribbler’s Progress* in which the title main character is, as suspected, a *book in duodecimo*: “My readers will doubtless wish to be informed by I, who has existed hitherto only in the form of an ill-written, and blotted manuscript, spread over a mass of coarse foolscap, and disfigured with countless erasures and corrections, could have any possible objection to be exhibited in all the embellishment of a handsome type, to be habited in a gorgeous binding of green, or pink cloth, and emblazoned with a rich gilding on my back, and perhaps on my edges” (2-3). In addition to these references, there is also a trend toward “bibliomysteries,” or mystery writings (such as detective fiction, crime novels, murder mysteries, etc.) in which the crimes usually involve books or use physical evidence from these objects to help solve crimes. G. Thomas Tanselle points to the importance of analyzing these works by opening his essay “A Description of Descriptive Bibliography” with a passage from R. Austin Freeman’s “The Apparition of Burling Court” that contains a lengthy description of the material aspects of a book, which will ultimately aid the protagonist, Dr. Thorndyke, in solving a pending crime.

The last short story in *El Aleph*, which shares the collection's title, also weaves a few bibliographic details into its narrative. More specifically, one of the objects that the narrator, curiously named Borges, sees through the Aleph, "el lugar donde están, sin confundirse, todos los lugares del orbe, vistos desde todos los ángulos," is a book: "un ejemplar de la primera versión inglesa de Plinio, la de Philemon Holland, vi a un tiempo cada letra de cada página (de chico, yo solía maravillarme de que las letras de un volumen cerrado no se mezclaran y perdieran en el decurso de la noche)" (165). As opposed to just stating that he saw a copy of one of Pliny's books, the narrator includes precise details (of the edition, the language, and the translator) that make the work easily identifiable as his *Historia Naturalis*.<sup>53</sup> Another detail that might go unnoticed by the untrained eye is the passing reference in the postscript to an invented publishing house that published the work of the protagonist, Carlos Argentino Daneri: la Editorial Procusto (en "la calle Garay" (167)).<sup>54</sup> Once again, much like Borges's writings in *Ficciones*, there seems to be a clear interest in blurring the line between what is real and what is fiction.

### *Sorting through the Stacks: Borges as Librarian*

*Lo cierto es que me crié... en una biblioteca de ilimitados libros ingleses.*

– Jorge Luis Borges, "Prólogo" (*Evaristo Carriego*)

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<sup>53</sup> The fact that Pliny's *Historia Naturalis* was included and described in such detail within the pages of a Borges story should not shock or surprise readers since it was one of his most beloved books on a personal level. That being said, it raises the question of whether or not *all* of the specific (and *real*) books that Borges mentions are ones contained (at one point or another) in his personal library. While visiting his library at the Fundación Internacional Borges in Buenos Aires, María Kodama reiterated Borges's affinity for Pliny's work and expressed her sadness at the fact that this exact book had been stolen from the foundation a number of years ago.

<sup>54</sup> This is most likely a joke drawing on the mythological figure of Procrustes to indicate that Daneri's work is either warped or distorted to fit an arbitrary standard in order to be published. This allusion might also be an erudite reference to the guillotining of the edges of paper of books after binding.



Along with the bibliographic references made to books throughout his writings and his affinity for specific editions within his own personal collection, it is imperative to take into account one of the only *true* professions that Borges exercised during his lifetime: that of a librarian. As mentioned previously, libraries, and their physical manifestation, are a constant presence in Borges's life. In addition to that of his father, two other libraries impressed Borges throughout his lifetime: that of Rafael Cansinos Asséns, which he described as a forest, and that of Alfonso Reyes (Rosato and Álvarez 21). According to Laura Rosato and Germán Álvarez, “las características atribuidas a estas tres bibliotecas: infinitud, la cultura universal y espejo de la memoria, definen la identidad de su propia biblioteca y se reflejan en cada una de las que prefiguró en la ficción” (21). Even though he made regular contributions to a number of literary magazines and newspapers during the 1930s, most notably *SUR*,<sup>55</sup> Borges's longest-running source of employment during this early phase of his career was working at the municipal Miguel Cané Library.<sup>56</sup> He secured the job of first assistant through Adolfo Bioy Casares's father and received two hundred and ten pesos a month, which would later increase to two hundred and forty pesos.<sup>57</sup> In his “Autobiographical Notes” published in *The New Yorker*, Borges remembers that this job entailed “very little work” and for that reason he was somewhat disenchanted, at the onset, by the position and, more notably, by his peers:

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<sup>55</sup> Borges published a total of 21 articles (or short stories) in *SUR* from 1931-1939, the first decade of the magazine's existence.

<sup>56</sup> Given that my dissertation focuses primarily on the years 1930-1951, I will not discuss Borges's employment as director of the National Library (1955-1973). That being said, it is an important moment in his life and the longest paid position he ever held. It should also be noted that Borges was already fully blind by the time he took this position at the National Library and, as a result, that they also hired José Edmundo Clemente to work alongside Borges and help him as needed with his duties.

<sup>57</sup> Alejandro Vaccaro makes the source of Borges's employment quite clear in his *Borges: vida y literatura*: “Por recomendación del padre de Adolfo Bioy Casares, Borges obtuvo su primer empleo regular en la Biblioteca Miguel Cané” (353).

There were some fifty of us doing what fifteen could easily have done. My particular job, shared with fifteen or twenty colleagues, was classifying and cataloguing the library's holdings, which until that time were uncatalogued. The collection, however, was so small that we knew where to find the books without the system, so the system, though laboriously carried out, was never needed or used. The first day, I worked honestly. On the next, some of my fellows took me aside to say that I couldn't do this sort of thing because it showed them up... I told them I had classified four hundred titles instead of their one hundred... For the sake of realism, I was told that from then on I should do eighty-three books one day, ninety another, and one hundred and four the third. (80-83)

Borges held this position at the Miguel Cané for about nine years, until his "promotion" to inspector of rabbits and poultry by Perón's administration in 1946. He has often remarked how they were years of unhappiness working alongside individuals who were unaware of his literary reputation and instead "were interested in nothing but horseracing, soccer matches, and smutty stories" ("Autobiographical" 83). Although the company he kept at Miguel Cané might have been trying for Borges, he used his time wisely and was known to have both read and written extensively once he finished his cataloguing duties for the day. As a result some of his most beloved stories came from the time he spent at this municipal library: "My Kafkaian story 'The Library of Babel' was meant as a nightmarish version or magnification of that municipal library, and certain details in the text have no particular meaning. The numbers of books and shelves that I recorded in the story were literally what I had at my elbow... 'The Lottery in Babylon,' 'Death and the Compass,' and 'The Circular Ruins' were also written, in whole or part, while I played truant" ("Autobiographical" 84). Thus, much like the impact of his father's impressive library, the stacks at the municipal Miguel Cané library played a large role in Borges's development as a

writer and his interest in the physical medium of the book since, in both of these places, he was surrounded by these objects and worked with them.<sup>58</sup>

*Borges behind the Scenes: Journalism and Magazine Production*

Borges himself seems to echo the fact that the production of any given book is a complex set of interactions and exchanges: “El libro no es un ente incomunicado: es una relación, un eje de innumerables relaciones” (“Nota sobre (hacia) Bernard Shaw”, *Otras inquisiciones* (1952)). Interestingly, from a very early time in his literary career, Borges was very much involved with not only the initial stages of crafting a manuscript to be sent to a publisher, but also entrenched in the more editorial tasks of correcting proofs and even setting type to be printed. During an interview with Antonio Carrizo, recorded in *Borges el memorioso* (1979), the Argentine writer recalls the following from his time as co-director of the *Revista Multicolor de los Sábados*, the literary supplement to the newspaper *Crítica*: “Yo estaba en la misma sala en que estaban los dibujantes, y me hice amigo de todos ellos. Y además me gustaba mucho trabajar con los obreros en el taller, con los linotipistas. Y aprendí a leer los linotipos, como un espejo. Y aprendí a armar una página también. Yo podía armar una página, entonces” (218). In this same interview Borges was asked if he *enjoyed* this environment to which he responded, tellingly, “Sí; me gustaba mucho. El ambiente de una imprenta es muy, muy agradable. *Armar páginas, corregir pruebas:*

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<sup>58</sup> Curiously, not much aside from his tedious task of cataloguing is known about his work at Miguel Cané. Virtually all of his biographies (and autobiographical articles) cite the same passages and anecdotes about his uninteresting peers and the fact that he would spend most of his time reading and writing. The only addition piece of information regarding this position is the fact that “su legajo personal número 57.323 del Registro Personal de la Administración de la Municipalidad de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires, consta entre sus datos personales el manejo fluido de castellano, inglés, alemán y francés” (Vaccaro 353-4).

*todo eso lo hacía yo y me pagaban la suma, entonces – no sé si muy pródiga, pero en todo caso, suficiente – de trescientos pesos por mes*” (Carrizo 218, emphasis mine).<sup>59</sup> Ulises Petit de Murat, Borges’s co-director of the *Revista Multicolor de los Sábados*, confirms this sentiment in his memoir about him: “Borges accede a un mundo nuevo. Se le exige en la imprenta, junto a mí, que disponga la colocación de un grabado; que complete una página; que redacte allí mismo, cosa que no hubiera nunca soñado en hacer, un epígrafe o la referencia acerca de un autor” (140-1).

Even though these job positions and interviews from coworkers and friends might attest to Borges’s interest in creating and manipulating the physical aspects of his books (and not simply fine tuning his prose or poetry), extant archives from his time working for the *Revista Multicolor de los Sábados* are not known.<sup>60</sup> That said, the newest manuscript acquisition for the University of Virginia Collection, which to date is the only known material of its kind, supports the claim that this meticulous Argentine author was very much involved in the *physical* presentation of his works. Although this document predates Borges’s job as co-director of the *Revista Multicolor de los Sábados*, the contents still tell us a great deal about his knowledge of and involvement with the precise formatting of his books. Unlike other surviving Borges manuscripts (both from the Virginia Collection and from private collections in other parts of the

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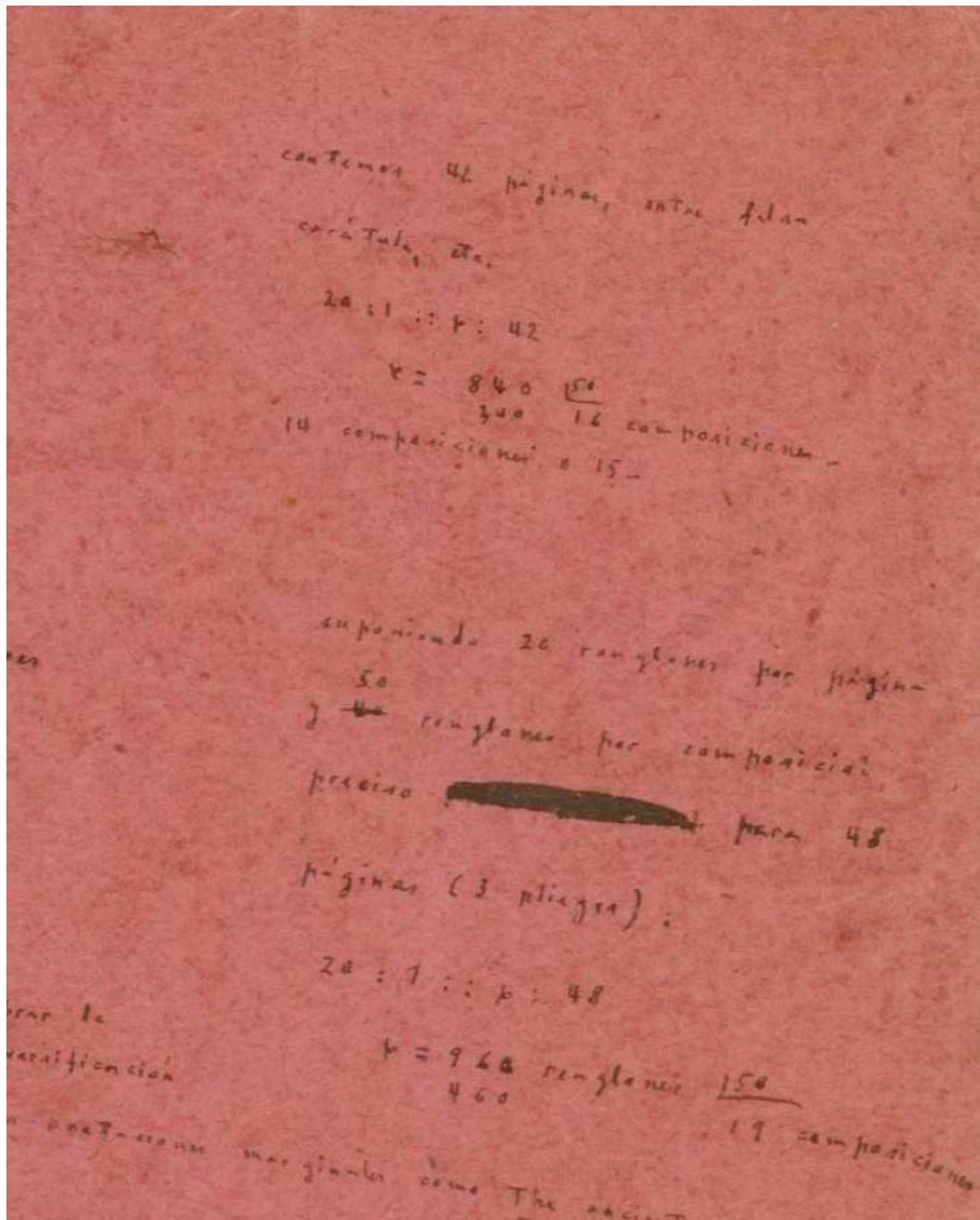
<sup>59</sup> The sum Borges received for his position as co-director of the *Revista Multicolor de los Sábados* is notably quite a bit more than his salary while employed at the Municipal Miguel Cané library. This difference in earnings might be the result of the types of positions he held at each of these establishments as well as the overall revenue that each of these places earned and could, as a result, pay to their employees. In others words, it is important to keep in mind the fact that Borges was a co-*director* of the literary supplement for *Crítica*, which would have sold a fair number of copies on a weekly basis, while, at the library, he was one of *many* assistants cataloguing books (and was reprimanded by his peers for working too hard).

<sup>60</sup> Certain critics are convinced that such archives might be housed somewhere in the labyrinths of material held at the National Library in Buenos Aires, but it would take a miracle actually to locate such material (if it does truly exist).

world) that, more often than not, have the author's distinctive "insect-like handwriting" precisely printed on either ruled notebook paper or high-quality paper, the item in question is what appears to be a smattering of unconnected passing thoughts scribbled hastily on the covers of a notebook.<sup>61</sup> More specifically, as the first page of the manuscript clearly indicates, this is a "Cuaderno Chacabuco," which must have been a typical schoolbook, or exercise book, used for practicing handwriting, but we only have the front and back covers of this book that Borges has written on (and the interior pages are missing). In general terms each of the four pages of this document contains unique hand-written material. The first, second, and fourth pages contain fragments of phrases or numerical equations while the third page contains two drawn figures. It goes without saying that each of the pages of this manuscript deserves a more detailed description; that being acknowledged, for reasons of time and space, I will devote my attention here to the second page (or verso of the front cover), which, given its contents, is crucial to the present study.

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<sup>61</sup> See Balderson, "'His Insect-Like Handwriting': Marginalia and Commentaries" (2011).



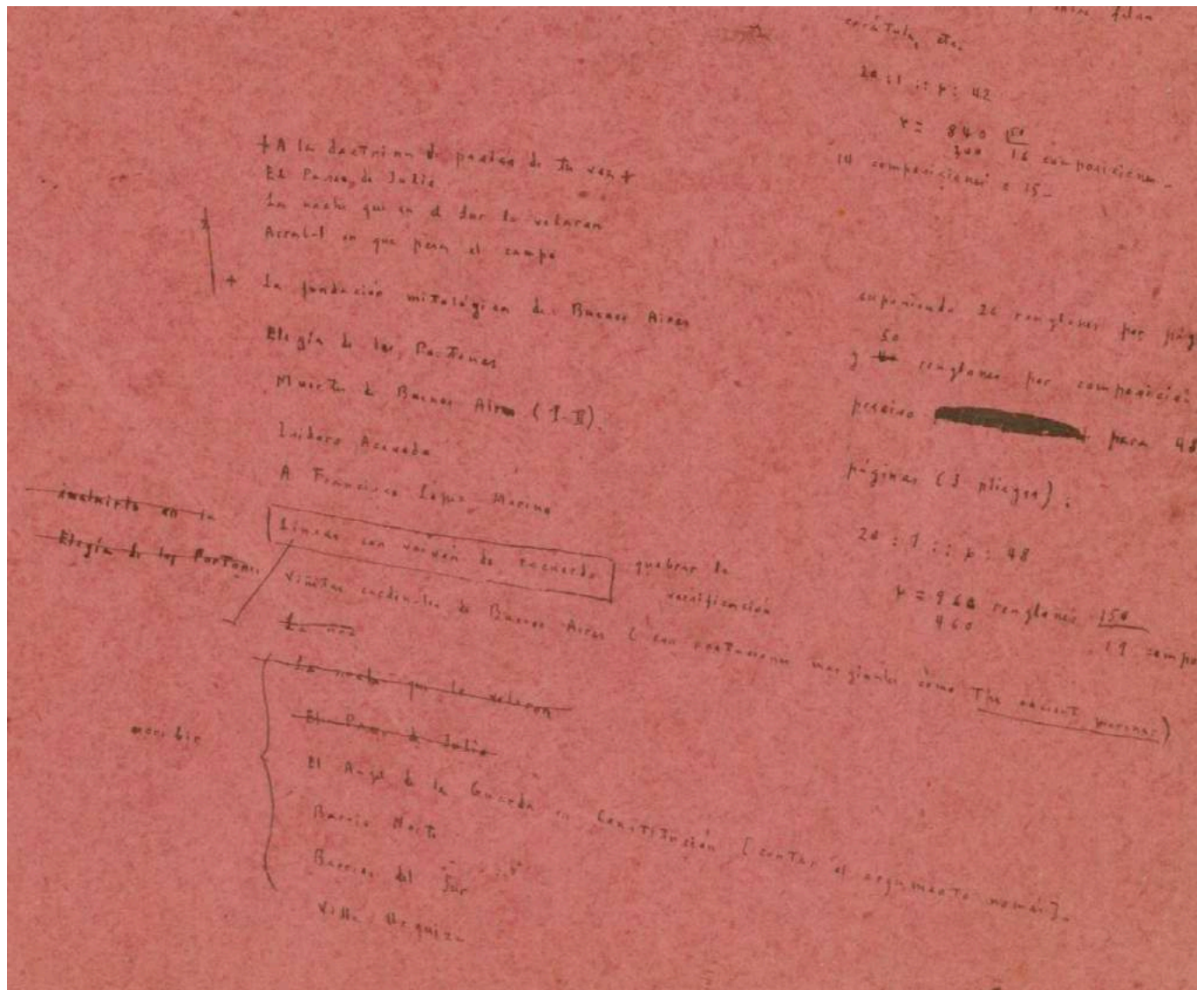
**Figure 4:** Mathematical equations for *Cuaderno San Martín* (1929) in Borges's hand (MSS 16040)

[Source: Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia]

In the above photographic reproduction of the page in question we find a series of numerical calculations that, out of context, might seem strange and quite random. However, by



looking to the second half of this page, which contains an original (later changed) table of contents for *Cuaderno San Martín* (1929), their meaning and importance soon become clear:



**Figure 5:** A potential list of contents for Borges's *Cuaderno San Martín* (1929) (MSS 16040)

[Source: Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia]

In other words, these numerical calculations reflect Borges's calculations as to how he wanted the *physical* layout to be organized for this work of poetry. It might be commonplace for an author to decide on the individual works to be included in a collection of poetry and their order, but unless an author was also an editor or self-financing the work, it seems somewhat rare for an

author to decide on the number of lines per page and, as a result, how many pages will be necessary for the entire book. This is exactly the type of computation, clearly written in Borges's distinctive hand, that we find in the above manuscript: "suponiendo 20 renglones por página y 50 renglones por composición, preciso para 48 páginas (3 plieges [*sic*]):  $20 : 1 :: \alpha : 48$ .  $\alpha = 960$  renglones 19 composiciones." Besides the already mentioned peculiarity of an author designating a specific number of lines per page, the fact that Borges has already converted his total number of pages into groupings of gatherings ("3 plieges [*sic*"]) is undoubtedly a very bibliographic detail.<sup>62</sup> When we read the colophon from the first printed edition of *Cuaderno San Martín*, we discover that it was printed by a high quality printer (Francisco A. Colombo), was the product of a specific publishing firm (Editorial Proa<sup>63</sup>), and was also part of a particular series ("Cuadernos del Plata"), which was directed by Alfonso Reyes.<sup>64</sup> These facts make Borges's personal calculations all the more suspect and seem to indicate that he (or his father) may have been the party responsible for funding the production of this book. Thus, this newfound material evidence highlights the need to describe and analyze the physical features of Borges's various

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<sup>62</sup> Although it is quite difficult to determine the format of the first edition copies of this work from the UVa collection (both of which have been rebound), they each have 64 pages, plus an additional insert of a drawing of Borges by Silvina Ocampo, which would indicate that a fourth "pliege," or gathering, was added to Borges's initial calculations. Even more puzzling is the fact that, of the list of possible poems in this manuscript, only ten appear in the printed first edition of *Cuaderno San Martín*, which seems to suggest a *reduction* in necessary number of pages, as opposed to an increase.

<sup>63</sup> The Editorial Proa, or the Sociedad Editorial Proa, was an Argentine publishing house founded by Oliverio Gironde, Ricardo Güiraldes, and Evar Méndez in 1924. An article in the Argentine literary journal *Martín Fierro* (no. 34, Oct. 5, 1926) describes the key aspects of this firm: "abatar el libro nacional, revolucionado el mercado al lanzar a la plaza ediciones al menor precio posible, de un tipo de libro especialmente estudiado, con carácter propio, de primera calidad como papeles, tipografía, impresión, estilo y, en las mejores condiciones de presentación por medio de prospectos críticos, fajas anunciadoras, carteles de propaganda, organización de exposición en vitrinas de librerías, garantizando de tal modo una excelente difusión, beneficiosa para autor, librero y editor" (259).

<sup>64</sup> It should also be noted that it was produced in a relatively small print run: "De esta obra se han impreso doscientos cincuenta ejemplares sobre papel pluma, numerados del I al 250, diez sobre papel de puro hilo, numerados del I al X, y veinte sobre papel de puro hilo 'vergé', marcados A a Q, fuera de comercio."



publications, especially since he might have had more of a role in their production than initially thought.

Another interesting aspect of this manuscript (that might be slightly unclear from the above images) is the following parenthetical note that appears alongside “Viñetas cardinales de Buenos Aires,” one of the possible titles to be included in the collection: “(con anotaciones marginales como *The ancient mariner*).” Generally speaking, before the arrival of book designers toward the end of the nineteenth century, the way in which individuals talked about how books *looked* was by comparing them to other books that already existed. In other words, authors might go to their publishers, or even to a printer, and explain that they wanted their work printed *in the style of* some other volume they had seen. Thus, the fact that Borges wishes this poem to be annotated *in the style of* Samuel Taylor Coleridge’s well-known poem highlights this trend in book design and, perhaps, either the lack of book designers in Argentina at the time or his strong preferences toward the physical presentation of the words on the page. Even though it would be fascinating, and quite telling, to attempt to track down the specific edition to which Borges was referring with this comment, the fact that “Viñetas cardinales de Buenos Aires” was cut from the contents of *Cuaderno San Martín*, and only later included in the *Textos recobrados (1919-1929)*, makes it virtually impossible to narrow down the particular edition (since there would be no point of design comparison in Borges’s work of poetry).

In addition to his time as co-director of the literary supplement to *Crítica*, Borges also honed his editorial proficiency from working as an editorial assistant for the monthly illustrated magazine *Obra*, whose first issue appeared in December of 1935. Even though his main position with this publication was as an editorial assistant, he also published several articles and book reviews, some of which appeared under the pseudonym Daniel Haslam (Vaccaro 315).

Alongside his time editing and publishing for *Obra*, Borges also started working at *El Hogar* in October 1936 (Woodall).<sup>65</sup> Though this magazine was directed primarily toward middle-class women, as can be seen in the various advertisements for beauty products or household cleaners, Borges's very own section, "Libros y Autores Extranjeros," allowed him to write about some of his most important passions in life. In his biography of Borges, Emir Rodríguez Monegal notes that under the Argentine writer's watch, certain sections of the magazine were "truly encyclopedic" and "the best possible introduction to his mind and work" (287-8). Even though he only contributed to this venue a few times a month, every two weeks to be exact, and his page was shrunk and eventually phased out altogether by July of 1939, his contribution to *El Hogar* was the fact that "he had practically created a new form: the book review page, which is sort of a literary microcosm, a magazine inside a magazine" (Monegal 342). The skills he acquired from directing and editing these larger scale projects might explain the ease with which he and his close friend Adolfo Bioy Casares were able to edit and publish not only a magazine of their own, *Destiempo* (October-November 1936), but also establish a (phantom) publishing house, *Oportet & Haereses*, that produced well-made, beautiful editions that seem to echo many avant-garde tendencies toward art for art's sake.<sup>66</sup> In addition to *Oportet & Haereses*, there was also a publishing house linked to *Destiempo*, which appears in one of the two advertisements in the final number of the magazine: Editorial Destiempo. To my knowledge, nothing besides a passing reference to *Destiempo*, Editorial Destiempo, and Oportet & Haereses exists, indicating a need

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<sup>65</sup> Borges's knowledge of the ins and outs of publishing could also be traced to his involvement with a number of different avant-garde magazines from the 1920s including *Martin Fierro*, *Proa*, and *Prisma*, not to mention his involvement with a variety of similar projects in Spain (during his family's residence overseas).

<sup>66</sup> It should be noted that Bioy Casares was usually the main source of funding for these personal editorial endeavors.

for a detailed study of these documents and publishing houses, especially since they were all initiatives that Borges (along with the help of his close friend Bioy Casares) headed and played an important role in. Specifically with regard to the two publishing houses, an in-depth analysis of these firms will provide a great deal of insight into the editorial interests of Borges (and Bioy Casares) and perhaps also highlight any important relationships that existed in the publishing, printing, or binding world at the moment in time.<sup>67</sup>

*Bibliographic Dead Ends: References to (Un)Real Books in Borges*

As we have seen up to this point, books, as both physical objects and containers and conveyors of information, play an important part in Borges's writings. From the list of references to material aspects of books gathered in the first part of this chapter, it is quite clear that this Argentine writer had a keen eye for detail. That being said, some of these details can be quite deceiving. Take, for instance, the mention of the first edition of *Acercamiento a Almotásim* described in the short story of the same name in *Ficciones*. The narrator goes to great lengths to provide the reader with precise and extensive information regarding the physical book in question, even the fact that it sold out quite quickly, yet this work does not actually exist outside of the pages of *Ficciones*. In addition to masking this reality in detailed descriptions of the paper, Borges also makes sure to mention the "edición ilustrada... que acaba de reproducir en Londres Víctor Gollancz", who, as previously mentioned, is a real life publisher, thus blurring the line even further between reality and fiction. What this example shows is the need to disentangle the real from the apocryphal in any given writing by Borges. Silvia Molloy parses out these types of

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<sup>67</sup> See Chapter Five, *Elite Circles as a Constant Source of Framing (1933-1951)*: Editorial Sur, Emecé Editores, Editorial Losada, Editorial Nova.

citations and references in her *Signs of Borges*: “it is equally pointless to systematically doubt all references and quotes. The irreverence and irony underlying Borges’s erudition are not necessarily proof of its spurious nature. Borges makes no claim to authenticity; he goes beyond it, and even seems to invite the discovery of fraud, precisely because such a discovery in no ways signals failure... It is therefore vain to impose ethical criteria on an erudition that aspires to be literary, in the richest sense of the term” (106).<sup>68</sup> This critic also comments on Borges’s tendency to distort citations and mix the real with the invented: “to quote irreverently as Borges does, vigorously shaking the problematic edifice of erudition, combining in wise disorder well known references and quotations with unknown or invented ones, does more than question the limits of that culture: it suppresses them, not through outright condemnation but through exaggeration and parody” (Molloy 110-11). Thus, Borges’s unique fusion of quotes and citations is both dizzying and, to a certain extent, alienating for his readers.

Moreover, and perhaps more interestingly, the fact that Borges is able to invent such convincing bibliographic detail with ease, especially bibliographic detail that matches up with the *real* publishers and their trends during a given historical moment, speaks volumes.<sup>69</sup> The inverse of this example is also true as we saw with “Tlön, Uqbar, Orbis Tertius,” in which Borges no longer relies on true facts of the publishing world (such as publishing houses, printers, etc.) to spin the fictitious, but instead uses an existing book, the *Anglo-American Cyclopaedia*, as

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<sup>68</sup> Molloy also discusses Marcial Tamayo and Adolfo Ruiz Díaz’s attempts to best describe Borges’s erudition through a classification of his quotations.

<sup>69</sup> The selection and use of specific, *real* publishing houses in these instances might be akin to what Bourdieu terms “symbolic capital.” In other words, each of these well-established, recognizable, and highly visible publishers (or even bookshops for that matter) “occupies a specific position with respect to every other depending on its relative wealth in rare resources (economic, symbolic, technical, etc.) and on the power that it confers upon the field” (124). Thus, the largest, oldest, and most prestigious publishing firms have the greatest amount of symbolic capital.

a jumping off point and, in the process, raises suspicion about the contents and state of this real-life object. When, as in the two cases above, books are used as the part of the central plot of a story, they seem to allude to the creation of another world.<sup>70</sup> Although the specific details used to reference these (imaginary) works are comprehensible given our standardized system of citations, they do not match up with anything in our own world and, as a result, hint at Borges's desire to signal something *beyond* our material reality.<sup>71</sup>

Along with the need to keep an eye on bibliographic “evidence” in these writings and the mentions of (un)real books, one of the more intriguing aspects in much of Borges's work is the unique citation style that he adopts throughout each essay or short story. Here I am not speaking to punctuation, but rather to substantive referents made after a quoted passage of another work. I was first struck by the fact that there is *no* regularity akin to MLA or Chicago style standards, which caused me to think critically about *why* Borges might have written his essays and short stories in such a way. Is there a deeper meaning or significance to the presence or absence of standards? If he includes a precise date or publisher for one work referenced, but not another, does that reveal anything to readers? Given that Borges is frequently characterized as the master of labyrinths, mirrors, and constantly forking paths, not to mention an authority on fiction in the form of short stories, I quickly realized that these inconsistencies, and even *misquotations*, are his way of playing with his readers. One might say that his imprecision with regard to citation is

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<sup>70</sup> For similar work on the blurring of boundaries between the real and the fictitious see White, *The Content of the Form. Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (1990); Echevarría, *Myth and Archive: A Theory of Latin American Narrative* (1990); *Between Truth and Fiction: A Narrative Reader in Literature and Theology* (2010); *Philosophy of History After Hayden White* (2013).

<sup>71</sup> See Tcherepashenets, *Place and Displacement in the Narrative Worlds of Jorge Luis Borges and Julio Cortázar* (2008); Block de Behar, *Borges: Passion of an Endless Quotation* (2014); Wolf, *Building Imaginary Worlds: The Theory and History of Subcreation* (2014); Sasson-Henry, *Borges 2.0: From Text to Virtual Worlds* (2007).

a virtue of sorts. Moreover, if we keep Tanselle's distinctions between "works," "texts," and "documents" in mind, it is *very* questionable to read too much into not only the constantly changing style of citation in Borges's writings, but also any printed aspects of his texts that might vary from story to story.

In the most general sense, the citations referring us to other, real works that appear throughout the pages of any Borges short story or essay reveal his interest in placing himself within an existing body of knowledge or becoming part of what T. S. Eliot deems the "historical sense" in his famous essay "Tradition and the Individual Talent," thus acknowledging an understanding of the relationship between the (literary) past and present.<sup>72</sup> In a similar vein, the continual use of citations to existing works or bodies of knowledge, most notably in his essays, indicates the limits of time and space and the fact that it is virtually impossible to engage all aspects of a given work in one's writings. As a result, Borges appears to be encouraging his own readers not only to check the validity of his sources, and, by extension, his arguments, but also to familiarize themselves with the works that have influenced him most as a writer and serve as the literary and philosophical foundation for his works.

In addition to actual quotations from other sources, Borges also tends simply to reference entire books.<sup>73</sup> At times these mentions of supporting or consulted materials are nothing more than a title, lacking both author and place of publication; other times, our Argentine author adds more detail with the inclusion of a date of publication. Although this extra piece of information might not seem terribly helpful at the onset, it allows readers to narrow down specific editions to

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<sup>72</sup> Borges undeniably echoes T. S. Eliot's conception of the historical sense throughout his essay "Kafka y sus precursores."

<sup>73</sup> Fishburn, "A Footnote to Borges Studies: A Study of the Footnotes" (2002). See also Waisman, *Borges and Translation: The Irreverence of the Periphery* (2005).

which he was either referring or personally consulted while crafting his prose. Keeping this in mind, one can form a list of particular editions that Borges most likely worked with to write his essays and short stories.<sup>74</sup> Nevertheless, it is important to keep in mind that any one of these cited sources (or piece of information from them) might be nothing more than an apocryphal text, invented by Borges himself.<sup>75</sup> Take, for instance, the page of consulted sources found at the end of *Historia universal de la infamia*. Although virtually all of the titles can be confirmed as *real* (after thorough bibliographic checking), Borges has, indeed, included one false entry: Alexander Schulz's *Die Vernichtung der Rose*. As one critic notes, "Alexander Schulz is a masked rephrasing of the name of Borges's friend, the Argentine artist Xul Solar, who never wrote such a text, and especially not in German" (Waisman 231, n. 10). Alongside such references to (un)real physical books, many critics have also commented on Borges's tendency to used established *forms* of writing (such as the book review, the biography, or even the detective story) as a type of parody or subversion of not only these genres, but also the types of people writing them (i.e. academics).<sup>76</sup> Monegal highlights this trend in the Argentine writer's

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<sup>74</sup> This line of thought is complementary to much of Daniel Balderston's work in *Out of Context* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993): "The research and writing of this book have followed two contrary directions, both of which are discussed in 'Pierre Menard, autor del Quijote': the desire to recover the fullness of Borges's knowledge of his historical subjects at the time of the composition of the stories discussed here and the recognition that historical knowledge of those subjects has advanced in the last few decades and that I am situated in my own time, not in Borges's" (14).

<sup>75</sup> The most comprehensive study of such apocryphal books is Allen Ruch's "The Crimson Hexagon: Books Borges Never Wrote" (1996), which seeks to catalogue all of the imaginary books that Borges mentions throughout his writings. In addition to just merely listing this fake books, Ruch also provides readers with "a few general descriptions of the book's binding and cover," but these details are nothing more than what can be found in the stories (or essays) themselves, nor does this critic attempt any further analysis of these invented works or their possible significance.

<sup>76</sup> See Gene H. Bell-Villada, *Borges and His Fiction: A Guide to His Mind and Art* (1981); René de Costa, *Humor in Borges* (2000); Marina Martín, "Humor y parodia en Borges: Versiones de lo inverosímil" (2004); Mariela Blanco, "Parodia y política en la escritura en colaboración de Borges" (2007); José Eduardo González, *Borges and the Politics of Form* (2013).

work: “In parading his scholarship, Borges undermines it by introducing not only false leads but false sources, apocryphal books, misquoted texts” (80-90). Thus, Borges’s engagement with books is both concrete (physical features, printings, publishers, etc.) and abstract (compositional and editorial theories, genres and forms of writing, etc.).

One of the possible ways to interpret the varying citation practices and references to (un)real books in Borges’s writings is the fact that this writer’s ultimate desire was for his work to remain anonymous. He expresses this sentiment in his own work as early as *Evaristo Carriego* (specifically within the essay “Las inscripciones de los carros”) and continues to reiterate these thoughts throughout his life.<sup>77</sup> For instance, in a recorded phone conversation between Borges and C. Jared Loewenstein, the librarian responsible for starting and developing the University of Virginia collection, the Argentine writer comments that he hopes his writings will “continue to survive” and, as a result, be read by many, but, at the same time, he preferred that “they do so anonymously” (Borges to Loewenstein, April 1980).<sup>78</sup> Why, one might ask, would Borges not want his name attached to such canonical texts as “La biblioteca de Babel” or “El jardín de senderos que se bifurcan” that are almost always immediately evoked with the sheer mention of Borges’s name? Perhaps we should consider Borges’s own fascination for works that have remained anonymous over the years, especially *The Battle of Maldon* and any of the Icelandic sagas that he dedicated such a large portion of his (later) life to studying. By removing any type

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Borges was also known to detest a good deal of criticism about his works since he felt that most individuals missed the central point or “don’t see what they’re looking at. Instead of simply reading what’s on the page, they read something else into it,” which might explain his general sentiments toward academics (Costa 25).

<sup>77</sup> This idea is also echoed in the above-mentioned essay by Borges, “Kafka y sus precursores,” first published in his 1952 collection of essays *Otras inquisiciones*.

<sup>78</sup> “I am sick of Borges” he even went on to say during this same conversation with Loewenstein.



of authorial voice from these writings, readers are forced to focus solely on their content, which might be the idea behind Borges's desire for anonymity. Instead of *Ficciones*, *El Aleph*, or even *Historia universal de la infamia* appearing on recommended reading lists or syllabi for the sheer fact that their author is Jorge Luis Borges, this Argentine author might have wished for his writings to crop up in literary circles because of their carefully crafted messages in poetically precise prose.

As we have seen throughout this chapter, Borges seems to have always had a keen interest in books and the printed text. From the formative years he spent within the walls of his father's library to his places of employment during this period (1930-1951), the physical mediums of books (as well as newspapers and literary journals) are always a constant. What is more, by dissecting and analyzing the ways in which he makes references to the physical features of these mediums in his own writings reveals a deep-seated engagement with books. By extension, it can be argued that he uses this detailed knowledge of the physical features and components of books to aid in his creation of the apocryphal texts and imaginary volumes that crop up throughout his works, most notably in *Ficciones*, since virtually every short story in this collection centers around a desire to have the reader question their own conceptions of reality and contemplate the notion that history is not very different from fiction. Thus, it is the book (both in terms of its production process and its completed physical form) that lies at the heart of Borges's works. It is the book that speaks volumes about not only his formation as a writer and his intricate creation process, but also the historical and social moment in which he was writing. In a somewhat ironic turn of events, it is through the analysis of the physical features of Borges's *own* books that we discover details not only about the imaginary worlds that lie beyond our own

reality (as so many critics have discussed), but also the *real* constraints and pulls existing in this writer's contemporary Argentina.

Chapter 2 – Publishing for a Wide Audience (1930-1936): Manuel Gleizer, Viau y Zona, Francisco A. Colombo, *Crítica*, and Editorial TOR

“Clásico no es un libro (lo repito) que necesariamente posee tales o cuales méritos; es un libro que las generaciones de los hombres, urgidas por diversas razones, leen con previo fervor y con una misteriosa lealtad”

-- Jorge Luis Borges, “Sobre los clásicos” (*Otras inquisiciones*)

Borges’s literary production at the very start of the established timeline (1930-1951) reveals a great deal of diversity in terms of the publishers and printers that he worked with, as well as the possible readers he might have had at that time. Thus, my aim for the current chapter is to describe, as fully as possible, the various relationships that Borges had from 1930-1936 with Argentine publishers and printers, identify the types of works he was producing (as well as their physical features), and analyze how these initial interactions and publications helped shape his widespread popularity later in life. What is most notable from this early period in his career is the fact that he established close ties with fine printers and publishers known for their luxury editions (Francisco A. Colombo and Viau y Zona) and publishers whose work was also of a higher quality because they frequently sent their editions to these same luxury printers (Manuel Gleizer). In addition, at the same time he worked for mass-media publications (*Crítica*) and published his first piece of fiction with a publisher whose only interest was monetary gain (Editorial TOR). In essence, this early stage in Borges’s literary career is one that is marked by a large amount of activity and variation from one work to the next. Moreover, his decision to

publish his writings in such disparate contexts and communities is notable and, to date, is something that has yet to be analyzed in detail.<sup>79</sup>

In her study dedicated to Borges's earlier works, and the author's constant manipulation of these texts, Annick Louis highlights the importance of contextualizing the venue in which he published these initial writings: "El fenómeno se observa en lo que respecta a las editoriales; en este sentido, la elección de Colombo para *Las Kenningar* en 1933 y de TOR para *Historia universal de la infamia* en 1935 marca dos momentos radicalmente opuestos en cuanto a la calidad material de la edición, el precio del ejemplar y el circuito de difusión" (25, emphasis mine). This critic goes on to pose several significant research questions, which have yet to be fully fleshed out or answered: "*¿Dónde publicar qué?* Parece haber sido una de las cuestiones que inquietaban al escritor de la época. Pero, llegado el momento de fabricar las antologías, el problema parece haber sido: *¿qué recuperar y qué orden otorgar a lo que se arranca al olvido, y por lo tanto, a su primer contexto de publicación?*" (Louis 28, emphasis mine). In general terms, Louis's study of Borges's career during the early 1930s, specifically his time at the *Revista Multicolor de los Sábados* as well as the production of his *Historia universal de la infamia*, is extremely thorough. That being said, in addition to the research gap discussed above, Louis also highlights several other areas that deserve further attention: "La relación entre 'la biografía literaria', un género que Borges frecuentará en los años '30, y el surgimiento del relato bajo la forma de biografías en *Historia universal de la infamia* también debe ser estudiada" (29). As a result, these are some of the issues I hope to address and gaps I hope to fill in throughout this

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<sup>79</sup> While there have been several excellent, in-depth studies of individual venues in which Borges published during the early 1930s, there is no *comparative* study that looks at all of these firms collectively. Furthermore, virtually none of these studies touches on the physical features of the works he was producing during this early period.

chapter, especially in light of the fact that two of the works that Borges published during the pre-established time frame (1930-1936) fall into the genre of biography (*Evaristo Carriego* (1930) and *Historia universal de la infamia* (1935)).

The need to parse out fully the diverse publishers and printers that Borges engaged with during the early 1930s is even more important when we consider the fact that this decade marks the start of what is often deemed the “Golden Age” of publishing in Buenos Aires. In general terms, “this period was characterized by a substantial increase in domestic publishing output, a marked trend toward professionalization and specialization of labor (printing, editing, binding, distribution) in the book industries, and the internationalization of Latin American literature within the countries of the region and abroad” (Calvo 148). At the beginning of the twentieth century, virtually all books written in Spanish that were sold in Buenos Aires were printed in Europe, mainly Germany and France.<sup>80</sup> Even though a few local publishing firms emerged during this time, the high cost of paper and the large amounts of shipping taxes did not bode well for their success.<sup>81</sup> In addition, there was a general lack of interest in this market in Buenos Aires (de Diego 66). That said, several factors aided in the growth of Argentine publishing houses as well as the modern editor. First, there was a significant expansion and improvement of the education system from elementary to university programs. Second, a more detailed version of the

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<sup>80</sup> “Incluso las contadas ediciones nacionales a menudo se mandaban a imprimir a Europa, cuyos talleres superaban a las imprentas locales en precio y calidad. En este sentido, eran las editoriales francesas y alemanas las que dominaban el mercado hispanoamericano del libro, pues gozaban de enormes ventajas competitivas no solo en el campo de producción sino también en el de la comercialización de los bienes producidos. Estas empresas, de vasta experiencia en la gestión editorial, contaban con una amplia red de promoción, distribución y comercialización del libro a lo largo de Hispanoamérica, frente a la cual la pobre organización de los editores nacionales resultaba insuficiente a la hora de competir en un mercado interno de proporciones reducidas” (de Diego 63).

<sup>81</sup> From the publishing houses that operated during this earlier decade (1920s), Editorial Proa, which published mainly avant-garde works, and Manuel Gleizer, which focused on national authors, are two firms that published Borges’s work.

intellectual property law (11.723) was enacted in 1933. Finally, virtually all of the existing libraries received a great deal more funding and, as a result, would become the primary buyers of most published books in Argentina. Another reason for this sudden explosion of activity was the impact of the Spanish Civil War, which caused many exiles to flee from the Iberian Peninsula to certain Latin American countries (mainly Argentina, Mexico, and Chile) (Calvo 149).<sup>82</sup> John King, whose study of Argentine publishers focuses exclusively on *SUR*, which will be discussed in Chapter Five, also highlights this shift in publishing trends: “[t]he war [...] dislocated Spanish publishing and made Argentina the centre of publishing in the Hispanic world” (65).

According to one source, the 1930s were one of the most productive times in Borges’s career (Vaccaro 299). An important fact to keep in mind during this prolific period in Borges’s early career is that virtually all of his writings, whether essays or biographical in nature, were first published in small literary magazines or newspapers before their inclusion in the printed volumes dating between 1930 and 1936, which suggests the importance of examining *all* existing versions of a work not only for differences in physical features, but also for any alterations or variants in the written texts themselves. It was during this decade that he acquired his first *real* jobs with various newspapers (*La Prensa*, *Crítica*, *El Hogar*) and literary magazines (*Sur*) and also published an extensive amount of poetry and prose as well as literary reviews and criticism. Moreover, one of the most notable tendencies in these earlier writings is a marked interest in the form of the biography, considered from a number of different angles. This trend becomes apparent with not only the early publication of *Evaristo Carriego* in 1930, but also his

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<sup>82</sup> Three of the largest publishing firms founded in Buenos Aires by Spanish exiles were Emecé Editores, Editorial Sudamericana, and Editorial Losada; these houses (and Borges’s relations with them) will be discussed in more detail in chapters three and four.

preoccupation with the lives of various well-known criminals (1933-1935).<sup>83</sup> Thus, in this early part of his career, Borges would send a literary biography of an esoteric Argentine poet (Evaristo Carriego) to a well-known publisher (Manuel Gleizer) that would be printed with a boutique luxury printer, Francisco A. Colombo, in a small (almost private) run.<sup>84</sup> A few years later, he would send his first collection of fiction based on the biographies of well-known criminals, *Historia universal de la infamia*, to the mass-market publisher Editorial TOR, known for printing books so cheaply that they were sold by the pound. The former edition was printed in a small run on fine paper, suggesting how the content within the book cohered with its external form and intended readership. In contrast, the affordable copy of *Historia universal de la infamia*, a collection of stories retelling the feats of criminals such as Billy the Kid, speaks to a popular audience. As a result, in this chapter, I aim to investigate how Borges shaped the distinct physical features of his works for specific and specifically different audiences. In addition, this chapter takes an important first pass at the relationship between markets, commerce, and literary audience in multilingual Argentine book production.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> Borges's clear fascination with the form of the biography is another research gap in the field previously mentioned. Since I will not focus on this trend in great detail throughout my project, it still requires further study and analysis.

<sup>84</sup> Although the printed volumes of this edition do not contain information regarding the specific number of copies in the run, similar works produced at the time would range between 250-300, which is a safe guess for this book.

<sup>85</sup> For a more complete description of the physical features of each of these works, see the descriptive bibliography at the end of this chapter.

Date	Title	Publisher	Printer
1930	<i>Evaristo Carriego</i>	Manuel Gleizer	Francisco A. Colombo
1932	<i>Discusión</i>	Manuel Gleizer	Francisco A. Colombo
1933	<i>Las Kenningar</i>		Francisco A. Colombo
1935	<i>Historia universal de la infamia</i>	Editorial TOR	Editorial TOR
1935	<i>Historia de la eternidad</i>	Viau y Zona	Francisco A. Colombo

*Francisco A. Colombo and the Art of Fine Printing*

“Las bellas obras son más el producto de los hombres que de la perfección de las máquinas”

– Agustín O. Larrauri, *El arte del libro*

There were two general trends that emerged within the already described explosion of the book industry during the first half of the twentieth century in Argentina: one of popular culture for the masses (in the form of cheap paperback editions) and one of elite culture for the upper classes (in the form of fine, luxury editions). The latter trend, which starts to materialize in the 1920s, can best be identified by its editions of a limited run, which would be printed on high-quality paper and normally illustrated with original prints or decorated with elaborate typographical elements and unique bindings. In other words, each of these types of volumes would “[aspirar] a la categoría de ‘libro de bibliófilo’” (Cháneton 47). This production style would prove to be a constant during the first half of the twentieth century and can be traced to a number of factors not



only in Argentina, but also throughout parts of Europe.<sup>86</sup> First, since, up to this point, many of the books sold throughout Argentina were printed and produced in Europe (most notably Germany and France), a number of these foreign stylistic tendencies proved to be a large source of inspiration for the South American book market. In addition, the 1920s mark a crucial period in Argentine book history since, during this early decade, several organizations dedicated to the country's artistic production, including the print mediums of books, were formed. The two most notable of these groups were the Amigos del Arte (1924) and the Sociedad de Bibliófilos Argentinos (1928).<sup>87</sup> In order to better understand the output and overall importance of these two organizations, as well as the interest in luxury editions throughout Argentina at this time, I will now turn to one of the linchpins of this specialized industry, Francisco A. Colombo, a printer whose work is central to any investigation into the Argentine "libros de bibliófilos" during the twentieth century.

A native of Buenos Aires, Francisco A. Colombo (1878–1953) was best known for his typographical artistry.<sup>88</sup> Even though he was self-taught in the field of book production and had no professional training, the books that he printed over the years "are superior by any standards" and can be considered nothing short of works of art (Thompson 396). At the beginning of the twentieth century in Argentina, luxury editions were rare and, as a result, the work of Colombo

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<sup>86</sup> We will consider the question of luxury editions and printed material for the elite classes in Chapter Five: Elite Circles as a Constant Source of Framing (1933-1951): Editorial Sur, Emecé Editores, Editorial Losada, Editorial Nova.

<sup>87</sup> It should be noted that the "Amigos del Arte" began their own "actividades editoriales en 1930," which highlights their specific interest in this artistic form (Cháneton 51).

<sup>88</sup> Even after Colombo's death in 1953, the printing firm continued production, as a family operation, under his name: "Vivos están en ellas el supremo cuidado en la impresión que prodiga Emilio Colombo, el rigor en la diagramación tipográfica de Alejandro A. Zampieri, y la generosa comprensión de Osvaldo Colombo, digno heredero de quien iniciara ésta labor maravillosa" (Larrauri 5).

was all the more exceptional.<sup>89</sup> And what is more, Colombo printed all but two of the books associated with the aforementioned Sociedad de Bibliófilos Argentinos (1928), whose objectives align perfectly with much of this printer's work:

La Sociedad tiene por objeto cultivar y fomentar el arte tipográfico y las artes decorativas complementarias de los buenos libros, no solamente entre sus asociados, sino en interés público. La acción... consistirá principalmente en editar exclusivamente para sus asociados, publicaciones que contribuyan al progreso y arte del libro en el país; en organizar reuniones, conferencias, exposiciones, etc., relativas a la bibliofilia; y facilitar la [*sic*] relaciones de los bibliófilos de la Capital Federal con el resto del país y con el extranjero. (Thompson 396, *Encyclopedia of Library and Information Science: Volume 38, Supplement 4*)<sup>90</sup>

Prior to his association with the Sociedad de Bibliófilos Argentinos, Colombo was sought out by a well-known Argentine writer and bibliophile: Ricardo Güiraldes.<sup>91</sup> In his speech marking the fiftieth anniversary of Colombo's work, Ricardo E. Molinari recognizes the importance of this chance meeting of Güiraldes and the Argentine printer that would forever change fine printing in Argentina in the early part of the twentieth century: "Le debemos a Güiraldes el descubrimiento de este distinguido artesano gráfico, que se une a su esclarecido nombre de escritor, como una

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<sup>89</sup> The only other printer that produced luxury editions in Argentina during this time was Ghino Fogli, "el artesano de vocación y profesión, el técnico de rica experiencia y ciencia, el discípulo fiel a las severas enseñanzas de ese magnífico instituto de artes gráficos que se llama Escuela del Libro de Milán" (Buonocore 189).

<sup>90</sup> The first work printed for the Sociedad de Bibliófilos Argentinos was Domingo F. Sarmiento's *Facundo* in 1933 (1935 according to the book's colophon), which Colombo printed on Japanese paper in a run of 105 copies with etchings by Alfredo Guido; from that moment forward each print run would be limited to 100 copies, which indicates their primary function as collectors items.

<sup>91</sup> One important aspect of the commercial relationship between Colombo and Güiraldes is the influence of Parisian stylistic tendencies. Previously mentioned as an important factor in the emergence of luxury editions in Argentina in the 1920s, the use of French design techniques in Colombo's editions can be traced directly to Güiraldes, since he wrote his novel *Don Segunda Sombra*, which would later be published with Colombo, in Paris. Thus we can equate his preference for (and desire to have) special paper as well as a specific number of *numbered* copies to his exposure to such luxury editions in France.

flor a muchas hojas” (10)<sup>92</sup>. Their friendship commenced in 1922 and from that moment forward Colombo was marked as a luxury printer in the elite circle of many literary groups:

Desde la primera edición de ‘Rosaura’<sup>93</sup>, hasta nuestros días, innumerables trabajos son testimonio de una singular dedicación en la realización del libro, como obra de arte. Desde la generosa dimensión de la tipografía de ‘Interlunio’ de Gironde, con las magníficas aguafuertes de Spilimbergo, hasta la bella edición del ‘Matadero’ de Echeverría, ilustrada por Melgarejo Muñoz, pasando por las exquisitas ediciones de Ricardo E. Molinari y Raúl Veroni, una sucesión de obras imperecederas, son testimonio de esa vocación por el arte gráfico, sentido como creación. (Larrauri 4)

Along with the successful printing of *Rosaura* in 1922, Colombo also had great success with Güiraldes’s *Don Segunda Sombra* in 1926. The first run of the novel, of 2,000 copies, “se agotó en treinta días,” which triggered a second printing of 5,000 copies that same year (Ros 71). The popularity of this work continued throughout the decade with two other runs in 1928 and 1930, each of 5,000 copies.

In terms of the specifics of his printing and typographical style, Francisco A. Colombo is known for instituting the following standards: a cover with centered, upper-case typography (normally the old typeface of Garamond or the modern typeface of Bodoni) printed on white or neutral paper, a title page with the same typeface with information about the publishing house and/or printer centered at the bottom of the page, typography of the text throughout in Garamond (size 10 or 12), and a justified colophon on the last page with hand-written numbering (Marqués

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<sup>92</sup> Even though Colombo started printing in 1902, other critics, in chronicling the life and achievements of Francisco A. Colombo, also note this chance encounter between the printer and Güiraldes in 1922 as the moment that marks the “verdadero inicio de la saga de Colombo” (Ros 70).

<sup>93</sup> According to one of Colombo’s catalogues, Güiraldes’s *Rosaura* was “el primer libro en edición de lujo compuesta a mano e impresa por Francisco A. Colombo en San Antonio de Areco.” It had a cover design by Alberto Güiraldes and 200 copies were printed “fuera de comercio, numerados de 1 a 200.”

21).<sup>94</sup> In other words, any one of Colombo's books printed during this time was known "por la pulcritud de su tipografía, compuesta a mano, por la habilidad de la puesta en página y por la calidad del papel" (Cháneton 55). This style is exactly what we find throughout the pages of Borges's works that Colombo printed during the 1930s (discussed in detail below).<sup>95</sup>

It is quite clear from the authors and literary genres that Colombo gravitated toward and tended to produce that he was an elite printer. In addition to Borges's works and a number of translations of foreign works, some of the authors that Colombo frequently printed during the 1930s and 1940s included Adolfo Bioy Casares (*La nueva tormenta*, 1935), Leopoldo Lugones (*Romances del Río Seco*, 1938), Evaristo Carriego (*La canción del barrio*, 1933), Oliverio Girondo (*Espantapájaros*, 1932), Victoria Ocampo (*Homenaje argentino a Claude Debussy*, 1928), Ricardo E. Molinari (*El pez y la manzana*, 1929 (illustrated by Borges's sister Norah); *La tierra y el héroe*, 1936; *La muerte en la llanura*, 1937; among others), and Ricardo Güiraldes (*Mi caballo y el hombre*, 1929). Besides the fact that the majority of these authors are poets, which in itself creates a narrowing of readership, virtually all of them also come from wealthy families and privileged backgrounds. Furthermore, each of these writers appears to have had some type of close relationship with Borges. This could mean being an intimate and lasting friend of Borges (Bioy Casares), starting a literary magazine with him (Ricardo Güiraldes), or even serving as a

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<sup>94</sup> Prior to Colombo, the main printers of fame were Guillermo Kraft, Jacobo Peuser, Lorenzo J. Rosso, and F. G. Profumo y Hno. While certain lines of Kraft's works were elegantly printed, they were nowhere near the quality of Colombo's books, and none of these earlier printers were ever described as luxury printers

<sup>95</sup> In addition to Borges's works that Colombo printed in the 1930s, one of his early books, published by the Editorial Proa in the 1929, was also printed by Colombo (*Cuaderno San Martín*). Strangely, two other works published by the Editorial Proa in the 1920s were printed with two *different* printing houses: Imprenta "El Inca" (*Inquisiciones* (1925) and the Talleres G. Ricordi y Cía (*Luna de enfrente* (1925)). This seemingly arbitrary selection of printers (and perhaps publishers) is an issue that will be studied more throughout this project. That being said, since the scope of my dissertation does not deal with the publishing history of these earlier works, future investigations will be necessary.

great source of inspiration for the Argentine writer (Lugones). Regardless of the specifics of these relationships, it is an interesting fact that connects most of Colombo's printed work during this period.<sup>96</sup> Furthermore, Borges's support and interest in the high-quality works printed by Colombo is clear not only from the fact that his first four books from the 1930s are a product of this artist's handiwork, but also when we consider that both Georgie and his sister, Norah, are listed as "supporters" of the Argentine printer on the advent of his fiftieth anniversary of graphic work.<sup>97</sup>

Given that Colombo's printed books circulated in the upper echelons of Argentine society, they would rarely find their way into the hands of the middle or lower classes due to questions of price and aesthetics. This is certainly the case when we take into consideration the fact that Colombo was the party responsible for printing the first issue of Victoria Ocampo's literary magazine, *SUR*, on "special paper" with "clear, bold print and twenty-four full pages of photographic illustrations" (King 46). Buonocore describes the quality of Colombo's work in greatest detail: "En efecto, en los tipos de letras escogidos, en las iniciales de capítulos, en el espaciado justo, en la intensidad uniforme de las tintas, hasta en la misma calidad del papel y en mil detalles, adviértese, indudablemente, junto a la acendrada preocupación por la belleza de cada libro, un dominio seguro e impecable del tecnicismo gráfico" (189). In short, what we find

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<sup>96</sup> Vicente Ros stresses the fact that Colombo's shop in Buenos Aires was a common meeting place for a number of these authors and artists, which highlights the link between this luxury printer and elite literary circles: "La estrecha amistad anudada con escritores, artistas y bibliófilos, generó inolvidables reuniones en la calle Hortiguera, en las cuales era dable encontrarse con Alfonso Reyes, Jorge Luis Borges, Ricardo E. Molinari, Jorge [sic] Martín Furt, Oliverio Gironde, Juan Pedro Ramos, Leopoldo Marechal, Daniel Devoto, Roberto Levillier, Horacio Jorge Becco, León Benarós, Mario Binetti, Adolfo Bellocq, W. Melgarejo Muñoz y tantos otros cuya enumeración sería casi interminable" (77). Given this description, the setting and regular reunions seem comparable to a tertulia.

<sup>97</sup> See *Francisco A. Colombo en sus cincuenta años de labor gráfica: palabras pronunciadas en su homenaje*. Buenos Aires: Colombo, 1942: 41-2.

in the works printed by Colombo are a keen attention to detail and a knack for sheer artistic beauty.

As previously mentioned, Colombo printed four of Borges's books during the early part of the 1930s: *Evaristo Carriego* (1930), *Discusión* (1932), *Las Kenningar* (1933), and *Historia de la eternidad* (1936). In contrast with his equal distribution of published volumes of poetry and prose in the 1920s (three volumes of poetry and three volumes of prose), these four works highlight a notable shift in Borges's writings in favor of prose that would continue throughout the 1930s and into the 1940s.<sup>98</sup> In addition, the specific publication of *Evaristo Carriego* is often seen as somewhat of an anomaly in the Argentine's *oeuvre* and, as a result, overlooked (and understudied) by many critics; yet, as we shall see, it is an important early work that thematically echoes several other of Borges's writings during the 1930s. Thus, in an effort to best describe the relationship between form and content in these works, specifically in terms of their printer and publisher, I will first briefly detail the subjects of *Evaristo Carriego*, *Discusión*, *Las Kenningar*, and *Historia de la eternidad* (also noting any important critical studies of these works), and then move onto a description of their physical features and attributes that will help to complement and flesh out more fully questions of markets, audience, and general reception in Borges's early works.

*Evaristo Carriego* is a biography of the minor Argentine poet of the same name, who happened to be a close friend of Borges's father. Yet, as Norman Thomas Di Giovanni rightly notes, "it is not and never set out to be a conventional biography" (94). As a result, readers who are more familiar with Borges's *Ficciones* or *El Aleph* will take comfort in the common tropes

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<sup>98</sup> In fact, the *only* collection of published poetry during this time frame (1930-1951) is a reissuing (with slight changes) of his previous three collections (*Fervor de Buenos Aires* (1923), *Luna de enfrente* (1925), and *Cuaderno San Martín* (1929)): *Poemas* (1922-1943) (Losada, 1943).

and themes that emerge in this early work (and that will later serve as the crux of these more canonical collections of fiction). In fact, instead of presenting readers with the traditional biography, “writing about Carriego was a roundabout way of writing about himself and his old neighborhood” (Monegal 226). Thus, from the very first section we find a lengthy description of Borges’s native Buenos Aires, instead of material specifically related to the life of Carriego. Moreover, as previously mentioned in the first chapter, the entire opening of the third part of this book, which deals with Carriego’s *Misas herejes*, is dedicated to explaining the physicality of books and how any first book should appear (a fact that critics have, to date, never analyzed nor noted). In an interview, Borges emphasizes his dislike of *Evaristo Carriego*, which is a common trend with regard to much of his early writings:

Me he arrepentido de ese libro. Pero sin embargo, si no lo hubiera escrito, no hubiera escrito muchos cuentos ulteriores, cuyo tema es esencialmente el mismo. Digamos, un Palermo mítico, que existió en la memoria de Carriego, y luego en mi memoria de la memoria de Carriego; y que posiblemente no existió nunca. Y que yo tomé, en buena parte, de mis muchos diálogos con don Nicolás Paredes, que había sido caudillo en Palermo y que era muy embustero, además. (Carrizo 181)

That being said, this was the *only* work of prose that Borges allowed to remain in print throughout his lifetime, which seems strange since it was considered a “flop” (Woodall 76-7).<sup>99</sup> In addition, when we consider the fact that this work was anticipated before its first printing (by being listed in the front matter of his *El idioma de los argentinos* (1928) as a forthcoming work), it is clear that there was a great level of planning and dedication. In addition, one of Borges’s biographers confirms the claim that “it is in the Carriego book too that Borges for the first time borrowed, or recycled, bits of his earlier work, a habit he was later to make himself famous for”

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<sup>99</sup> Borges adds several pieces, mainly essays, to the work in 1955 for the reprinting with Emecé Editores (Woodall 77).

(Di Giovanni 100). Thus, much like his other collections of writings that appear during the early 1930s, *Evaristo Carriego* has its precedents in earlier works that Borges published throughout the 1920s. In the case of this specific book, an early short essay, “Carriego y el sentido del arrabal,” initially collected in *El tamaño de mi esperanza* (1926), as well as an anonymous column printed in the literary journal *Martín Fierro*, “Homenaje al Carriego” (1927), both serve as initial drafts for this longer literary biography.<sup>100</sup> Even though all of these ideas would suggest a greater level of critical attention to *Evaristo Carriego*, there are hardly any studies solely dedicated to this early literary biography.<sup>101</sup>

It is important to highlight the source of inspiration (and funding) for this particular volume, which Borges discusses in his “Autobiographical Notes” for the *New Yorker*. With his winnings from the Second Municipal Prize in 1929, Borges not only purchased his own set of the Eleventh Edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (discussed in Chapter One), but also “was ensured a year’s leisure and decided [he] would write a longish book on a wholly Argentine

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<sup>100</sup> Di Giovanni also suggests an earlier precedent in Borges’s *Luna de enfrente* (1925) where Carriego is referenced and serves as a key link to understanding a few of the poem in the collection.

<sup>101</sup> In addition to Di Giovanni’s study, “Evaristo Carriego: Borges as Biographer” (*The Lesson of the Master: On Borges and His Work* (2003): 89-109), there seems to be a recent resurgence of interest in this early biography. Two separate articles in the journal *Variaciones Borges* (issue 13, year 2014) are dedicated to tracing the various editions of this book, but for the authors, this does not include discussing their publication history or any differences in physical features among the editions. That being said, Juan Pablo Canala’s contribution to the journal, “Lecturas y relecturas de un comienzo: sobre las ediciones de *Evaristo Carriego*,” (pp. 99-120) offers a wonderful foray into the history of the relationship between Borges and Carriego, as well as the rationale of Borges’s selection of this figure. Interestingly, although Canala’s study references the fact that the 1930 edition was published with Manuel Gleizer, there is no other detail added about this first printing. Furthermore, no study to date (to my knowledge) touches on the passage at the opening of the third chapter concerning the physical features of a book that I discuss at length in the first chapter (“Un libro, para él, no es una expresión o una concatenación de expresiones, sino literalmente un *volumen*, un prisma de seis caras rectangulares hecho de finas láminas de papel [...] Escribo esas miserias características de todo primer libro, para destacar las inusuales virtudes de este que considero.”).



subject” (74).<sup>102</sup> Borges goes on to describe the specifics of this “longish book”: “My mother wanted me to write about any of three really worthwhile poets – Ascasubi, Alfonsín, or Lugones. I now wish I had. *Instead, I chose to write about a popular but minor poet, Evaristo Carriego*” (74, emphasis mine). Thus, Borges’s choice of Carriego is a very personal matter that allows him to write about himself and his own experiences through the guise of this popular Argentine poet (Monegal 1978; Di Giovanni 2003). Although both the earlier short essay and the unsigned newspaper column appear quite different from the full biography, there are definite resonances and the general emphasis on Palermo and Borges’s Argentine neighborhoods is easily recognizable. One of the main differences between the earlier versions of this biographical essay and the first print version of 1930 is the level of detail and description in depicting his native Buenos Aires. There are also a larger number of poems analyzed in the book form of this work as well as several additional, somewhat tangential, essays (“Páginas complementarias”) that do not appear as part of either initial essay.

Many of the physical features of the first published edition of *Evaristo Carriego* reflect Borges’s aesthetic preferences for clean lines and simplicity.<sup>103</sup> Thus, the soft-bound cover of this book reads: “JORGE LUIS BORGES | EVARISTO | CARRIEGO | M. GLEIZER – EDITOR | TRIUNVIRATO 537 | BUENOS AIRES – 1930.”<sup>104</sup> There is no cover art and the particular typeface is modern with almost hairline serifs and an extreme level of vertical stress

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<sup>102</sup> Besides the production and printing of *Fervor de Buenos Aires* (1923), which was completely financed by his father, this is the only other (personal) reference to the monetary backing of one of Borges’s books.

<sup>103</sup> Sara Del Carril, who worked closely with Borges at Emecé Editores, notes that virtually all of his earlier books that this firm re-published in the 1950s and 1960s “salieron con tapa gris tipográfica (a Borges no le gustaban las tapas ilustradas)” (125). When I met with Sara during the summer of 2015, she confirmed this statement and shared several anecdotes about Borges’s dislike of such visual ornamentation on the covers of *any* of his books.

<sup>104</sup> See the annexed materials at the end of this chapter for a complete descriptive bibliography of *Evaristo Carriego*, *Discusión*, *Las Kenningar*, *Historia universal de la infamia*, and *Historia de la eternidad*.

and contrast, which has the effect of drawing the eye up and down, rather than side to side.<sup>105</sup> In addition, the amount of balance in each of these kerned letterforms gives the words on this page a level of elegance. This pronounced type stands out even more with the soft, pastel colors of the cover (which appears to have been available in both light pink and light blue). Overall, these external features echo what we find in Borges's earlier *Inquisiciones* (1925) and *El tamaño de mi esperanza* (1926), suggesting a certain level of uniformity of style for this Argentine writer, especially when we take into consideration the fact that each of these works was produced not only by different publishing houses (*Evaristo Carriego* vs. *Inquisiciones* and *El tamaño de mi esperanza*), but also different printers.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> The specific typeface used throughout the cover of *Evaristo Carriego* is most likely a specific variant of either Garamond or Bodoni, which was fairly widespread among fine printers at this time.

<sup>106</sup> According to each of their respective colophons, *Inquisiciones* (1925) was printed by the Talleres Gráficos "El Inca," *El tamaño de mi esperanza* (1926) was printed by the Talleres Gráficos de E. A. Petenello, and, as we have already established, *Evaristo Carriego* (1930) was printed by Francisco A. Colombo.



**Figure 6:** *Evaristo Carriego* (M. Gleizer, 1930), *Inquisiciones* (Editorial Proa, 1925), *El tamaño de mi esperanza* (Editorial Proa, 1926)

[Source: Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia]

Even though these three covers possess many of the same design qualities, which suggests a certain stylistic preference that Borges might have conveyed to either his publishers or printers, the high quality of Colombo's typographical work clearly surpasses that of the printers of *Inquisiciones* and *El tamaño de mi esperanza*. Consider, for instance, not only the already mentioned *kerned* letters (perfectly spaced, thus adding to the visual appeal), but also the more adequately used space on the cover (in comparison with the other two books, whose titles are slightly too close to the author's name at the top of the page). In terms of the other physical features of *Evaristo Carriego*, inside the pages of this book the wove paper is very thick and lacks both chain and wire lines, enhancing the modern feel of this volume (from the clean cover to the sleek choice of typeface). Furthermore, there are four image plates (in black and white) inserted throughout the text: a portrait of Evaristo Carriego, an example of one of his manuscripts, and two street scenes of Buenos Aires (photographed by Horacio Coppola).

Borges's second volume from the 1930s printed by Francisco A. Colombo (and also published by the same firm as *Evaristo Carriego*, Manuel Gleizer) was *Discusión* (1932). Covering a large number of philosophical and rhetorical questions, "the book is a compendium of Borges's tastes and reading up until this point [...] The tone is not scholarly, but speculative and self-consciously subjective" (Woodall 90). Serving as the first work in Gleizer's series of "Nuevos Escritores Argentinos," the publication of *Discusión* would result in a great deal of critical attention for Borges in Argentina (Vaccaro 291). More specifically, following the publication of this book (July 30, 1932), the literary journal *Megáfono* would dedicate in August of 1933 an *entire* issue to the Argentine writer ("Discusión sobre Jorge Luis Borges," *Megáfono* 11 (1933): 13-33). This centers on his then recent publication of *Discusión*, described as a "libro en que consigue una completa identificación entre su pluma y su cerebro, por lo que, siendo el

más conceptual, es el de más fácil lectura entre todos sus libros de prosa” (19).<sup>107</sup> The introductory blurb from this special issue explains the rationale of choosing Jorge Luis Borges: “He elegido a Borges por tres razones: primero, porque me parece importante su obra literaria; segundo, por lo que este escritor representa y ha representado dentro de la ‘nueva generación’; y tercero, porque es el autor argentino que más influencia ha ejercido sobre los escritores más jóvenes” (13). Given that this special issue of *Megáfono* highlights the important role of Borges in the lives of the younger generation(s) of Argentine writers, it is only fitting that a large portion of the pieces are written by such voices. What is more, several of these writers would have a direct (literary) connection with Borges during this time. Most notably is Ulyses Petit de Murat (1907–1983), who would not only help Borges in gaining his editorial position at the *Revista Multicolor de los Sábados*, but also serve as a co-director alongside him.<sup>108</sup> Two other young (Argentine) writers who stand out in this issue of *Megáfono* are Ignacio B. Anzoátegui (1905–1978) and Sigfrido A. Radaelli (1909–1982). In addition to being perfect representatives of this new group of young writers, Anzoátegui’s and Radaelli’s works would later form part of the same collection in which Borges *Historia universal de la infamia* would be published (“Colección Megáfono,” Editorial TOR):

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<sup>107</sup> Although there is no lack of articles or critical investigations dedicated to the essays and *contents* of this collection, there are virtually no studies dedicated to the entire collection as a whole (or its publishing history for that matter), aside from this very early critical response. I was only able to find one piece dealing with all of *Discusión*: James Irby, “Textual Series in *Discusión*,” *Variaciones Borges* 31 (2011): 1-12. It goes without saying that there was no discussion (no pun intended) of the publishing history or the physical features in this study.

<sup>108</sup> Petit de Murat writes the following about Borges in this special issue of *Megáfono*: “Creo que la obra de Jorge Luis Borges es una de las más importantes que se registran en la historia literaria del país” (14).

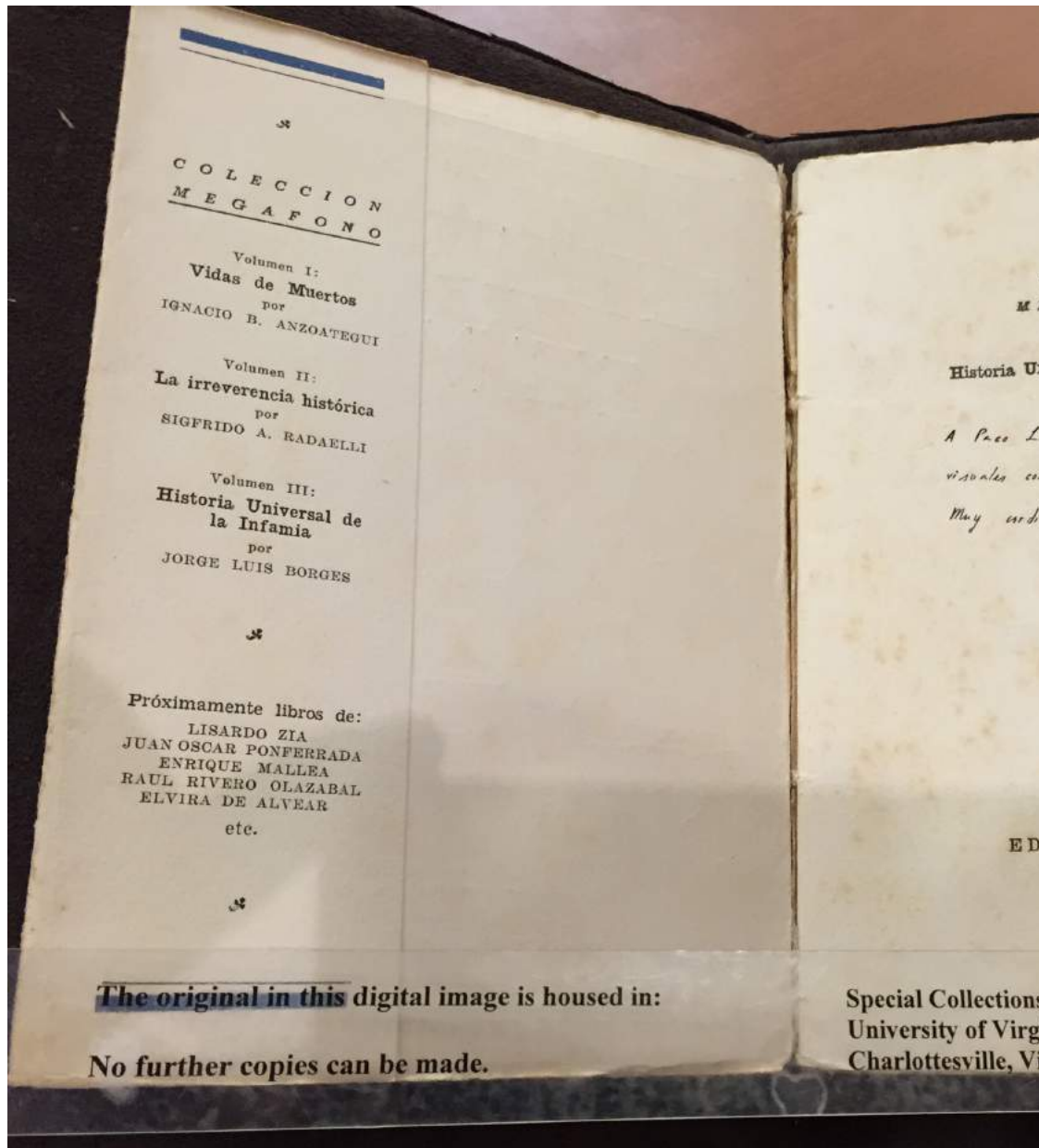


Figure 7: *Historia universal de la infamia* (Editorial Tor, 1935)

[Source: Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia]

One will immediately note not only the presence of Anzoátegui and Radaelli alongside Borges, but also the forthcoming works of Lisardo Zia, Enrique Mallea, and Raul Rivero Olazabal, all of whom also contributed to the special issue of *Megáfono*.

Given that *Discusión* comprises a series of essays, it is important to highlight the fact that the majority of these writings were previously published in a variety of literary journals or

newspapers during the 1920s and early 1930s, a fact that Borges himself points out in the very prologue of the first edition by calling the collection a series of “páginas recopiladas” (9).<sup>109</sup>

Titulo del ensayo en <i>Discusión</i>	Revista Literaria/ Periódico
"Prólogo"	
"Nuestras imposibilidades"	<i>Sur</i> 4 (1931): 131-34
"La penúltima versión de la realidad"	<i>Sintesis</i> 2.15 (August 1928): 293-97
"El coronel Ascasubi"	<i>Sur</i> 1 (1931): 128-40
"La supersticiosa ética del lector"	<i>Azul</i> 2.8 (January-February 1931): 11-14.
"El <i>Martín Fierro</i> "	<i>Sur</i> 2 (1931): 134-35.
"El otro Whitman"	<i>La Vida Literaria</i> 14 (January 1929); <i>Repertorio Americano</i> [San José, Costa Rica] 19 (1929): 280-2 [reprint].
"Una vindicación de la cábala"	
"Una vindicación del falso Basilides"	<i>La Prensa</i> (January 1, 1932): 4th section, p. 4 [titled “Una vindicación de los gnósticos”]
"La postulación de la realidad"	<i>Azul</i> 2.10 (June 1931): 13-18.
"Films"	<i>Sur</i> 3 (1931): 171-73.

<sup>109</sup> As with most of Borges’s published works from these earlier years, the re-edited, re-published editions from the 1950s and 1960s show several marked differences. In addition to emendations to the already included essays in *Discusión*, many of the later editions include new essays such as “La poesía gauchesca,” “Nota sobre Walt Whitman,” “Avatares de la tortuga,” “Vindicación de ‘Bouvard et Pécuchet’,” “Flaubert y su ejemplar,” and “El escritor argentino y la tradición” (Emecé Editores 1957). Since I am only interested in the time frame 1930-1951 for this current project, I will only consider the contents of the first edition of *Discusión* (1932).

"El arte narrativo y la magia"	<i>Sur</i> 5 (1932): 172-79.
"Paul Groussac"	<i>Nosotros</i> 23.65 (July 1929): 79-80; <i>Repertorio Americano</i> [San José, Costa Rica] 20 (1929): 162 [reprint].
"La duración del infierno"	<i>Sintesis</i> 2.25 (June 1929): 9-13.
"Las versiones homéricas"	<i>La Prensa</i> (May 8, 1932): 1.
"La perpetua carrera de Aquiles y la tortuga"	<i>La Prensa</i> (January 1, 1929): 4th section, p. 1; <i>El Sol</i> [Madrid] (December 1932): 2.

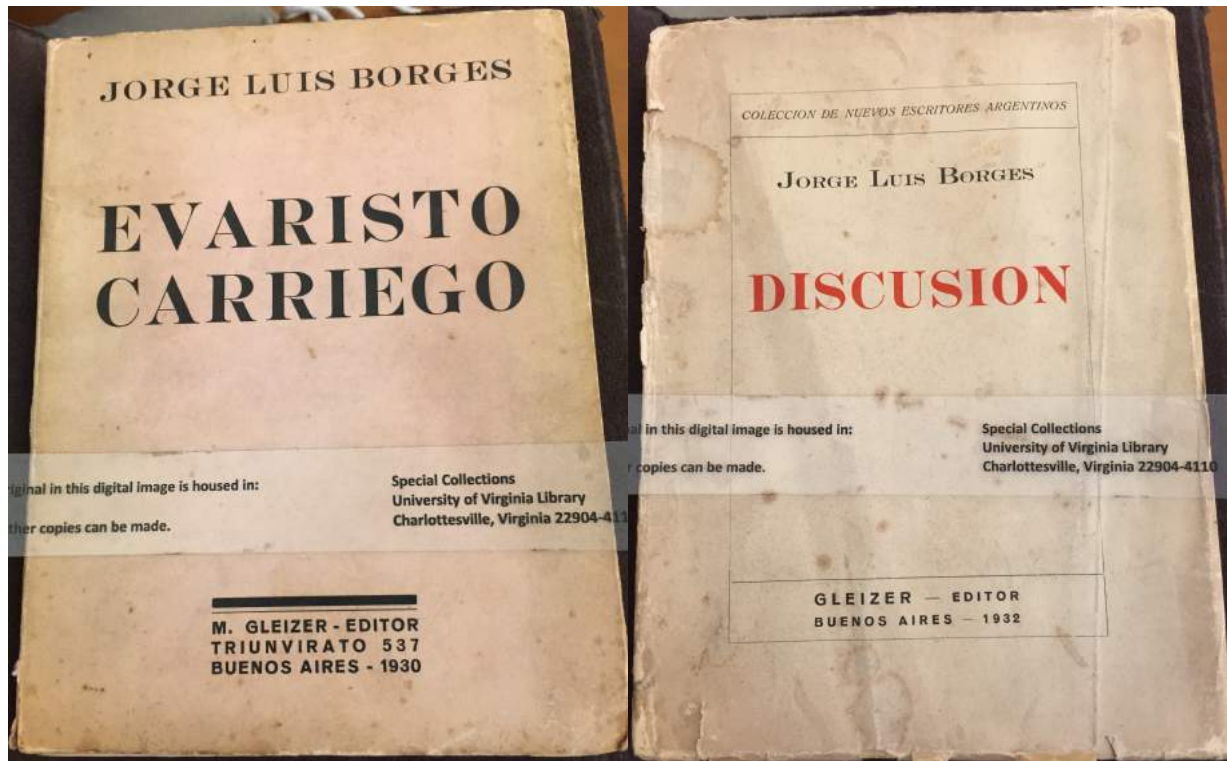
Even though *Discusión* had not only the same publisher (Gleizer), but also the same printer (Colombo) as *Evaristo Carriego*, this collection of essays differs, in terms of its physical features, from the earlier literary biography. First, and most notably, this collection of essays is the first book in a larger series, “Colección de nuevos escritores argentinos,” that Gleizer instituted in the 1930s. Strangely, the collection does not appear to have gained much traction since the titles that “sucesivamente irán apareciendo en esta colección” by Eduardo Mallea, Julio Fingerit, and Armando Cascella, according to the inside flap of the first edition of *Discusión*, never appeared, making Borges’s work all the more curious (and rare). In contrast with the typographical details on the cover of *Evaristo Carriego*, the title of *Discusión*, while printed in a similar, modern typeface, is printed in a deep orange-red color.<sup>110</sup> This striking use of color, and the larger size of the typeface, immediately draws the reader’s attention to the title. The muted color of the cover (a light grey) also heightens the visual impact of the title of *Discusión*. In addition, all of the text on the front cover (the name of the collection, the name of the author, the

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<sup>110</sup> This use of color echoes what we find in the separate publication of *Las Kenningar* (1930).



title of the work, and the publisher's information) is boxed in, immediately creating a different feel than *Evaristo Carriego* (or any of his earlier titles mentioned above). Moreover, the two black bars above the publisher's information on the cover of *Evaristo Carriego*, which also appeared in the earlier editions of *Inquisiciones* and *El tamaño de mi esperanza*, have disappeared on the cover of *Discusión*. In addition, the differences in typeface size throughout the printed areas of the cover of *Discusión*, which created an almost graded or scaled effect, are quite striking when compared with those of *Evaristo Carriego*:



**Figure 8:** *Evaristo Carriego* (M. Gleizer, 1930), *Discusión* (M. Gleizer, 1932)

[Source: Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia]

In a certain sense, by echoing the design features found on many of the covers from his previous works of the 1920s, *Evaristo Carriego* creates a bookend with this earlier period, which suggests both the closure of this initial stage of writing and production as well as the beginning of something entirely new. This idea is directly echoed in the physical presentation of the above

two volumes; even though they have the same publishers and printers, there is a marked difference in the organization of space (and use of color) on the title page as well as the stress on certain information (through size variations and bolded and non-bolded words).

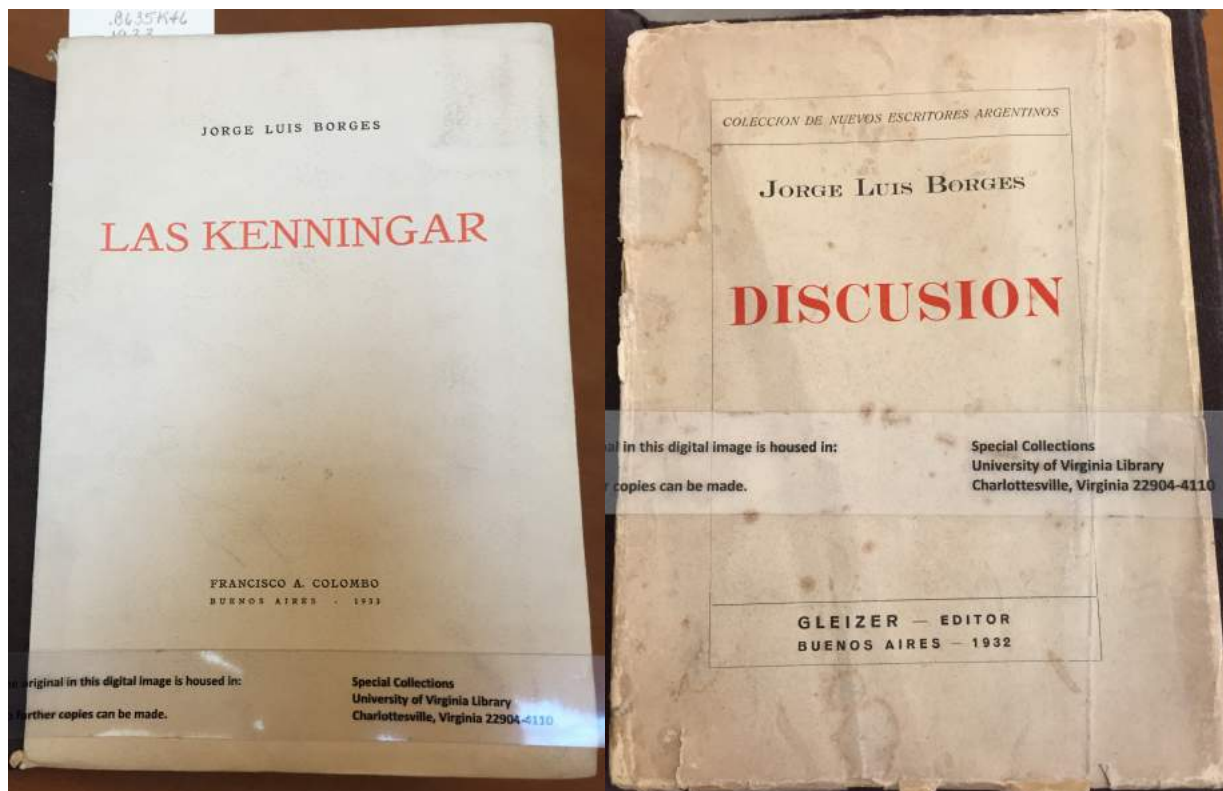
In line with all of Borges's writings discussed in this chapter, *Las Kenningar* was first published in a literary magazine before Borges had it printed separately with Colombo, which some critics explain as a desire, on the part of Borges, to eliminate a previous error in the title (Picazo and Zangara 790).<sup>111</sup> Echoing the erudite level of philosophical topics and themes found within the pages of *Discusión*, *Las Kenningar* takes the Old Norse linguistic formation most closely associated with our modern-day metaphor (the kenning) and examines its place in Anglo-Saxon poetry as a point of departure for this long essay. If this esoteric subject matter does not signal an elite, well-educated audience, the fact that Borges includes extensive examples in a myriad of languages, including Latin, English, and Old Norse, *without* translations, makes the connection quite clear. In terms of the critical studies devoted to this work, there is a great deal of material (especially that authored by Borges himself) on Anglo-Saxon literature and Borges's interest in it, but there is not much commentary that parses out this early essay. In other words, the existing studies make passing references to it, but nothing in depth.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> "Noticia de las kenningar," *Sur* 6 (1932): 202-8. This essay was also later included in Borges's collection *Historia de la eternidad* (Viau y Zona, 1936), which will be discussed below.

<sup>112</sup> The only solo piece of criticism that I was able to locate on this specific essay (Karen Lynn and Nicolas Shumway, "Borges y *Las Kenningar*," *Texto Crítico* 28 (1984): 122-30) only refers to the version of the work included in *Historia de la eternidad* (1936); the authors of this piece assign the collection an incorrect publication date of 1933, which possibly alludes to their knowledge of the earlier appearance of this essay, but there is no mention of Gleizer, Colombo, or any of the physical details of the text. Instead, as with any passing references to *Las Kenningar* in critical studies, Lynn and Shumway focus on the influence of Icelandic sagas and Old Norse on Borges's writings and how this essay can be seen as an early antecedent for his later writings on these cultures.

Unlike the two previous works discussed, *Las Kenningar* was *not* published by Manuel Gleizer and bears no imprint or sign of any other publisher, which seems to imply that Borges edited and had this volume printed at his own expense. Echoing the cover of *Discusión* for its modern typography, *Las Kenningar* also presents readers with the striking use of an orange-red ink for the title. Although the letterforms are not kerned and appear much more streamlined and slender, there is a definite level of elegance in the spacing and overall modern simplicity of the cover:



**Figure 9:** *Las Kenningar* (1933), *Discusión* (M. Gleizer, 1932)

[Source: Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia]

This same attention to detail is carried over to the modern typeface used on each and every page of the work. Moreover, the large margins and high quality paper (with visible chain lines) further emphasize the artistry of Colombo.

The last work printed by Colombo from this time frame is *Historia de la eternidad* (1936). First and foremost, it is important to highlight the fact that Borges's long essay, *Las Kenningar*, is included in this collection. Alongside this earlier essay are three others and two notes.<sup>113</sup> Virtually all of these writings are philosophical in nature, evoking the ideas of Plotinus, Plato, Saint Augustine, Nietzsche, Schopenhauer, among others. Unlike the tendency found in *Evaristo Carriego* and *Discusión* to include previously written essays (usually slightly changed), *Historia de la eternidad* consists of virtually all previously unpublished material (with the notable exception of *Las Kenningar*). In addition to the work and ideas of these great thinkers, Borges also presents readers with two of his other favorite topics, translation and the review of literary works, both of which foreshadow the types of contributions he would write for the *Revista Multicolor de los Sábados* (1933-1934) as well as the columns he would start writing for *El Hogar* in 1936 ("Libros y autores extranjeros").

Before moving directly to the physical features of *Historia de la eternidad*, I must first provide a short history of its publisher, Viau y Zona, since their publications, known for their quality of hand-set type, justification, margin and line spacing, ink color, and paper, are very much in line with the luxury work of Francisco A. Colombo.<sup>114</sup> According to one critic, the official start of Viau y Zona was "el 23 de Julio de 1925...por un plazo de dos años y con un capital de \$40.000 m/n de curso legal aportado por los socios por partes iguales. Inmediatamente la sociedad arrendó el local bajo de la finca Florida 639 y 641" (Velarde 52). In addition to the publishing house of Viau y Zona, Domingo Viau and Alejandro Zona also started their own

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<sup>113</sup> Emecé's later edition of this work adds two further essays: "El tiempo circular" and "La metáfora" (1953).

<sup>114</sup> Buonocore confirms these characteristics in his *Libreros, editores e impresores de Buenos Aires*: "Textos en gran papel, con amplio márgenes, caracteres exclusivamente diseñados, tintas de calidad en dos o más colores e ilustraciones originales a cargo de artistas de notoria reputación" (187).

bookstore, “El Bibliófilo,” which would soon become a “centro de arte y de cultura, a la cual concurríon los estudiosos y amigos de las ediciones preciosas y raras” (Buonocore 196). Given that Viau y Zona did not have their own printing house, they relied on outside printers for the production of their works. That being said, besides five works that were printed in France or Berlin, all of their other works were published in Argentina, and were all normally limited to between 50 and 100 copies. Over the years many different names were created for (or can be associated with) the firm, including “Viau y Zona,” “El Bibliófilo,” “Domingo Viau y Cía,” and “Domingo Viau-Editor.”<sup>115</sup> Between 1927 and 1947

publicaron poco más de 150 libros. Muchos de ellos se distinguen por la calidad y elegancia de su construcción cumpliendo estrictamente las reglas de oro para la perfecta composición a mano, el adecuado tipo y cuerpo, la justificación proporcionada al formato, los márgenes e interlineados que hacen placentera la lectura, las tintas, los colores, los papeles y las ilustraciones que acompañan y comentan plásticamente al texto irreproachable como forma y contenido. (Velarde 47-8)

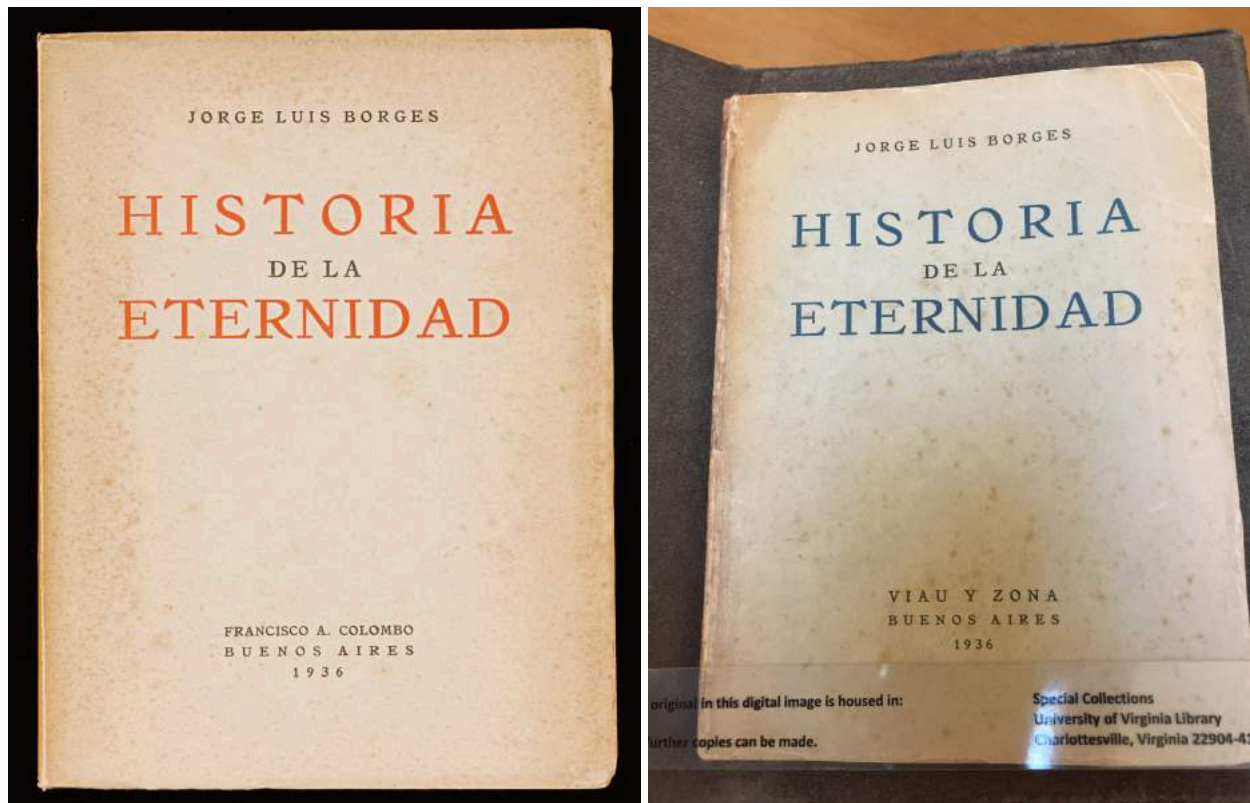
Parisian models were the clear influence on most of these techniques and tendencies since, starting in the 1920s, Viau frequented the city of lights (Velarde 47). By the middle of the 1940s, Viau y Zona faced a number of problems that ultimately resulted in the closing of this firm in 1947.

Returning to the work in question, much like *Discusión* and *Las Kenningar*, *Historia de la eternidad* contains the hallmarks of Colombo’s perfected aesthetics. Moreover, the typeface and use of space on the cover are virtually identical to what we find with *Las Kenningar*; the only blatant distinctions being the use of blue ink (as opposed to an orange-red color) and the

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<sup>115</sup> There were sixty-eight published under the name “Viau y Zona” (1927-1937), twenty-two published under “Domingo Viau y Cía” (1934-1942), nineteen published under “El Bibliófilo” (1937-1945), thirty-five published under “Domingo Viau-editor” (1936-1947), and eight published with the description of “editados por la casa” (included in the 1935 catalogue).

kerning of the letterforms. Although the only copy of this book that I have analyzed is the one in the University of Virginia Borges collection, there appears to be a variant copy of this same work that was in circulation at the time and shows an even more striking resemblance to *Las Kenningar* with the same orange-red ink used for the title as this earlier printed essay (pictured on the left next to the known Viau y Zona edition)<sup>116</sup>:



**Figure 10:** *Historia de la eternidad* (Viau y Zona & Colombo, 1936)

[Sources: Sotheby's (<http://www.sothebys.com/fr/auctions/ecatalogue/2011/music-and-continental-books-and-manuscripts/lot.54.html>); Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia]

<sup>116</sup> The only place I have been able to track down a copy of the rare imprint of *Historia de la eternidad* (pictured on the left) is through a Sotheby's auction in France: <http://www.sothebys.com/fr/auctions/ecatalogue/2011/music-and-continental-books-and-manuscripts/lot.54.html>. Since I have yet to find a copy of this edition printed only by Colombo (without the publisher Viau y Zona), I will not be able to compare and contrast the interior aspects of each of these works.

If *Historia de la eternidad* was already assigned to Viau y Zona, how was Colombo able to print this same work with no mention of this publishing house? Moreover, what would be the benefits of printing a separate edition that was most likely financed by the printer himself (as opposed to the publisher)? Would this edition have been a small run for private use only? Until the entire contents and structure of this rare edition are analyzed, it is virtually impossible to answer these questions, especially since the only visible change here (aside from the different attribution) seems to be the ink color. Inside Viau y Zona's edition we find same modern typeface throughout the text itself, but the paper used is of a much lesser quality than other editions printed by Colombo.<sup>117</sup> In terms of the distribution and sale, this work was seen as a failure at the time since it was produced in too small of a run (Monegal 266). That said, Borges himself did not see the lack of sales as a failure and, shortly after its publication, "proudly announced that he had sold exactly thirty-seven copies of *Historia de la eternidad*" (King 89).

*Accidental Publishers: Manuel Gleizer and Juan Torrendell*

At the start of this new, expansive wave of publishing in Argentina, many editors focused on producing affordable books that would sell well. The majority of these early editors/publishers were, for the most part, only interested in marketing strategies and attracting new clientele in so far as it would help their profits. Since a large portion of these publishers came from immigrant families and were self-educated, this meant that most of their training in the book world was through experience and trial and error; it was not driven by an interest in the

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<sup>117</sup> Since I have not been able to analyze any copies of this work printing solely for Colombo, it is hard to parse out the differences or reasons for the creation of two distinct versions of this edition. That being said, a likely possibility might be that Colombo's version was printed on a paper of higher quality (that Viau did not want to pay for).



artistic qualities of these objects or a deep-seated desire to produce luxury items for specific readers. The profession of publisher thus came to Manuel Gleizer by accident.<sup>118</sup> Born in Russia at the close of the nineteenth century, Gleizer arrived in Entre Ríos, Argentina with his parents around 1906 and would remain there, working the land, until 1918 when he moved to Buenos Aires (Goldenberg 320). In this larger metropolis he started a business selling lottery tickets but soon realized that the odds were stacked against him and, as a result, turned to selling books to eliminate his debt from lack of sales:

tuvo la mala suerte de que le quedaran sin vender unos enteros que no pudo devolver y debió afrontar el pago de unos trescientos pesos, cifra monumental en la época para un hombre de escasos recursos y comercio limitado. ¿Cómo obtener el dinero para pagar? Se le ocurrió traer de su casa 230 libros de la Biblioteca Blanca de Sempere y los puso a la venta a un precio bajo, indicado en un cartelito: “0,40 el ejemplar”. Los vendió rápidamente. Al día siguiente repitió la operación, pero al revés: puso un nuevo cartelito que rezaba: “compro libros”. La desesperación y la responsabilidad de honrar su deuda lo habían convertido en un librero de viejo. (Costa 5)

After this accidental encounter with book markets, Gleizer opened his own bookstore, Librería La Cultura, which soon evolved into a common hangout for young intellectuals (Borges was, of course, among them). Not long after, in 1922 to be exact, Gleizer turned to the publishing profession. It should be stressed that, prior to this period in Argentina, it was very rare to find publishers. Even though there were any given number of printers and bookstores, publishers were a scarcer trend: “Antes de Gleizer, de Jacobo Samet, de Glusberg, de Antonio Zamora, en la Argentina no existía la figura del editor” (Bär). As a result, the work of publishers such as

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<sup>118</sup> As one source notes, Gleizer “va a transformarse en librero por azar” y después “en 1922 pasó de librero a editor” (de Diego 82-3).



Gleizer was paramount for many young new Argentine authors in the early part of the twentieth century.<sup>119</sup>

At the start of his career Gleizer was known as a precursor for the phenomenon of cheap books by Argentine authors, which was a successful tactic in the book market. In fact, the second book he published, Arturo Cancela's *Tres relatos porteños*, quickly became a "best seller" shortly after its initial publication "ya que en menos de 4 años se publicaron 18 mil ejemplares" (<http://museo.bn.gov.ar/museo/mapa-celeste-de-editoriales>). His success can also be measured by the fact that, in less than a decade, "lanzó al mercado alrededor de 200 volúmenes" (<http://museo.bn.gov.ar/museo/mapa-celeste-de-editoriales>). However, many writers and associates of Gleizer have noted the serious lack of marketing or commercial strategies for this Argentine publisher and, more broadly speaking, his terrible financial decisions. For instance, Bernardo Ezequiel Koremblit recalls his experience upon visiting and selecting several books to buy in Gleizer's bookstore and, when he asked the bookkeeper how much he owed him, his response was simply "Dénme lo que quieran" (cited in Goldenberg 329). Helvio I. Botana, the son of Natalio Botana (founder of *Crítica*), recounts a similar situation when his father wanted to purchase several of his wife's early works from Gleizer: "A mi requerimiento de cuanto le debía, contestó, no es nada, ¿por qué? – seguí insistiendo –. No recuerdo sus palabras exactamente pero su gesto al regalarme los libros era natural, los libros ya habían sido pagados al editarse. – Así, bueno como el pan era el viejo Gleizer" (cited in Goldenberg 330). As a result, even though Gleizer arrived at the profession of bookkeeper and editor somewhat accidentally, it appears that he was not in it for the money, but rather, for the love he soon developed for his art.

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<sup>119</sup> One of the interviewees in Raquel Goldenberg's study of Gleizer emphasizes the impact of this publisher on Argentine culture: "No puede dejar de recordarse la valiosa obra de difusión cultural de aquel pionero de las impresiones de libros en nuestra ciudad que se llamó Manuel Gleizer" (322).

In general terms, Gleizer published books within three collections he established early on in his career: those dealing with Jewish topics, those touching on current (political) events, and any remaining books (that could be termed more of a miscellany). It was this third collection “la que pasó a la historia. En ella pronto aparecieron *El idioma de los argentinos*, de Borges; *Molino rojo*, de Fijman; *No todo es vigilia la de los ojos abiertos*, de Macedonio [...] y tantos más” (Bär). More often than not, this third collection was comprised of young, lesser-known Argentine authors (usually those involved in avant-garde movements) and, as a result, “muchas de las primeras ediciones de escritores que luego adquirirían renombre nacional (y a veces también internacional) llevan su sello editorial,” which is most certain true in the case of Borges (Bär). Thus, “[la editorial] Gleizer terminó siendo identificada como aquella que apostaba a los autores jóvenes” and, more often than not, helped them in some way with their literary careers (Bär). The question still remains of how such an accidental publisher crossed paths with the likes of Francisco A. Colombo, an elite, luxury printer. Since Borges’s first two works in the time frame in question (1930-1951) contain not only Gleizer’s recognizable insignia, but also the clear indication of Colombo’s printing presses in their colophons, the question is a valid and important one. According to Osvaldo Colombo, Francisco’s son, who took over the family business following his death,

[m]i padre tuvo con él [Gleizer] relaciones comerciales entre 1930 y 1933, hasta que pudo. Los ‘pagarés’ firmados a mi padre no los podía cancelar, ya que los libros no se vendían y menos aún los de poesía y los de poetas argentinos, las librerías los rechazaban. Al no poder pagar sus ediciones a la imprenta de Francisco Colombo éste se desvincula de Gleizer como imprentero. Don Osvaldo Colombo recuerda el año ’33 como el último de sus visitas acompañando a su padre a la librería de la calle Triunvirato. (cited in Goldenberg 328)<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> Goldenberg also notes that Colombo’s son, Osvaldo Colombo, told him that “guardo aún en la casa de Areco, documentos comerciales ‘pagarés’, firmados y nunca ‘protestados’ – los he guardado por

Although many of Borges's readers today may not recognize the name of Manuel Gleizer, he published a few of the Argentine writer's works during the 1930s (*Evaristo Carriego* (1930) and *Discusión* (1932)) and undoubtedly played an important role in the Argentine writer's literary career.<sup>121</sup>

Another such accidental publisher who saw the book industry more for its potential profit margins was Juan Carlos Torrendell. Born in Barcelona, this Spaniard first worked at a bookstore before opening his own publishing house, Editorial TOR, on June 16, 1916.<sup>122</sup> This shift in profession was a general trend in the first half of the twentieth century and many publishers often would maintain their bookshops in conjunction with their publishing houses (as we also saw not only with Manuel Gleizer, but also the more luxury firm of Vial y Zona). During the first years of Editorial TOR's existence, the publishing house was somewhat indistinguishable from other firms throughout Buenos Aires since its focus was on Spanish literature and "best sellers." With the purchase of its first rotary press in 1930, TOR soon became synonymous with cheap paperbacks, usually of extremely poor quality.<sup>123</sup> One critic describes the majority of TOR's

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conservar la firma de Gleizer—. Este tenía un olfato muy especial para descubrir el talento de los jóvenes poetas argentinos" (328).

<sup>121</sup> Given the fact that the (short-lived) commercial relationship between Gleizer and Colombo started in 1930 and ended in 1933 raises the question of whether or not Borges was a key link in their connection, especially when we consider the fact that all three of Borges's works from 1930-1933 were printed by Colombo, and all but one (*Las Kenningar*) were published by Gleizer.

<sup>122</sup> Akin to other publishing houses that were named after their founders (Emecé, Losada, etc.), the Editorial TOR was originally called "Editorial Torrendell, pero ante los frecuentes errores por parte de los clientes y proveedores...se optó por la versión simplificada" (Abraham 34).

<sup>123</sup> "El uso de rotativas permitió que la empresa publicase libros y revistas en cantidades masivas y a muy bajo precio. Por ejemplo, si en la etapa anterior el precio promedio de los libros oscilaba entre 1 y 3 pesos, en esta oscila entre 20 y 30 centavos...Y, en vez de publicar solo cuando aparecía un texto interesante o provechoso, se debió hacer funcionar las máquinas de modo constante y regular a fin de aprovechar la capacidad instalada, lo que obligó a buscar constantemente nuevos textos para las diversas colecciones" (Abraham 67).

books during this period as “mal diagramados en papel de baja calidad, a un precio ínfimo, en algunos casos 50 centavos,” which, of course, made ample circulation much more possible (de Diego 73). In comparison with other publishers that emerged during this period, TOR was very interested in “el aspecto comercial” and “no poseía una motivación intelectual,” which is evident by looking at the extreme diversity of their catalogues, the great variety of titles, and their constant production of books (Abraham 45). In addition, they were also known to invent unique marketing strategies, such as advertising fake books and creating fictitious publishing firms, to help sell more books. Their most memorable (and radical) attempt to increase profits of book sales was a campaign in the 1930s during which they sold their books by *weight*:

**El peso de un buen libro...**

Hace inclinar las preferencias del público hacia los

**LIBROS TOR DE UN POCO**

**OBRAS DE QUEVEDO**  
 Vida del Boscón. Pica-  
 rescos. y Romances Pica-  
 rescos.  
 Discursos Festivos. Pica-  
 rescos. y Sátiras Pica-  
 rescos.

**OSCAR WILDE**  
 El Ruiseñor y la Rosa.  
 Salomé.  
 De Profundis.  
 La Tragedia de mi Vida.

**EPISODIOS NACIONALES DE BENITO PEREZ GALDÓS**  
 1. Trafalgar. — 2. La Corte de Carlos IV. — 3. 19 de Mayo.  
 4. Bailén. — 5. Napoleón en Chamartin. — 6. La  
 zagoza. — 7. Gerona. — 8. Cádiz. — 9. Juan Martín el Empe-  
 nado. — 10. La batalla de los Arapiles. — 11. El equipaje del  
 rey José. — 12. Memorias de un cortesano 1815. — 13. La  
 gunda casaca. — 14. El Gran Oriente. — 15. 7 de Julio. — 16.  
 Cien mil hijos de San Luis.

**OBRAS DE GIOVANNI PAPINI**  
 Dante. Notable estudio. — Boccaccio. Vida y obras. — Don  
 vivo. Biografía. — Crepusculo de los filósofos Geg. Narración  
 simbólica. — Historia de Cristo. — Hombre acabado. Confesión.  
 — Memorias de Dios. — San Agustín. Biografía. — Los  
 tigos de la Pasión. — Razon de Italia. Actual.

**OBRAS DE STEFAN ZWEIG. EXCLUSIVIDAD "TOR"**  
 Amok. — Casanova. — El candelabro enterrado. — Freud. —  
 La tragedia de una vida. — 24 horas de la vida de una mujer.  
 — Los ojos del hermano eterno. — Momentos estelares. — Co-  
 fusión de los sentimientos. — La lucha contra el democio. —  
 Stendhal. — Tres maestros. — Tolstoi. — Verhaeren. — Los  
 crendores.

**Editorial TOR - Rio de Janeiro**  
 LIBRERIA CENTRAL:  
 DIAGONAL NORTE 580 - BUENOS AIRES

**TOR**

Figure 11: Advertisement for the Editorial TOR

[Source: *Papel, Libro, Revista* 10 (1942)]

Given TOR's constant obsession with profit and monetary gain, as opposed to the quality or content of the product they were selling, it is quite curious that Borges would turn to this publishing house for his first collection of fiction.<sup>124</sup> *Historia universal de la infamia*, which first appeared over the course of several weeks throughout the *Revista Multicolor de los Sábados*,

<sup>124</sup> It is even *more* curious when we consider the fact that Borges himself cites this collection of fictions as the start of his literary career: "The real beginning of my career as a story writer starts with the series of sketches entitled 'Historia universal de la infamia' ('A Universal History of Infamy'), which I contributed to the columns of *Crítica* in 1933 and 1934" ("Autobiographical Notes" 78).

was one of the four works, published between 1934 and 1935, that formed TOR's "Colección Megáfono." In general terms, this collection "[e]staba dedicada a ensayos más o menos orientados a la biografía...Eran libros de formato grande, con tapa blanca y sin ilustraciones, con un promedio de 140 a 200 páginas de extensión" (Abraham 91).<sup>125</sup> Although the presence of a figure such as Borges in the collection seems odd, the fact that his *Historia universal de la infamia* is a series of biographies of certain historical figures fits perfectly with the most important criterion for inclusion in the collection: the topic. Furthermore, the previously mentioned fact that these essays were originally published in the literary supplement of *Crítica* (the *Revista Multicolor de los Sábados*), which speaks to their appeal to the masses, is another factor that might have influenced TOR's decision to publish the work.<sup>126</sup> Finally, a connection can be made between the journal *Megáfono*'s previously described publication of a special issue dedicated to Borges's work for not only the contributors who appeared there, but also for the fact that the Editorial TOR frequently published in this journal (and even possibly financed it). Moreover, Raul Rivero Olazabal, one of the young contributors, recalls that "los bourgeois no leen MEGÁFONO," which seems to speak not only to the journal, but also TOR's collection, thus highlighting the popular audience for each of these venues (18).

*Historia universal de la infamia* is Borges's first published foray into the genre of fiction. According to the Argentine writer himself, "I [...] read up on the lives of known persons and then deliberately varied and distorted them according to my own whims" (cited in Monegal 255). This distortion and variation is most evident when we study the included bibliography ("índice

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<sup>125</sup> In addition to Borges's *Historia universal de la infamia*, the "Colección Megáfono" also included Ignacio Anzoategui's *Vidas de muertos* (1934), Julio Irazusta's *Ensayo sobre Rosas: en el centenario de la suma del poder 1835-1935* (1935), and Sigfrido Radaelli's *Irreverencia histórica* (1934).

<sup>126</sup> It is unknown whether or not the Editorial TOR selected Borges's work and approached the writer, or if Borges himself approached Torrendell to publish his writings in book form.

de fuentes”) at the end of the work, which contains the first mention of apocryphal works, namely *Die Vernichtung der Rose* by Alexander Schulz, whose name turns out to be a cloaked reference to Borges’s close friend, Xul Solar (Oscar Agustín *Alejandro Schulz* Solari). In addition to this clearly fictitious source, Borges also takes many liberties in recounting the exploits of the criminals he has chosen to spotlight. Take, for instance, what one critic calls the “acculturation” of Borges in “appropriating and recontextualizing the narratives” he uses as the base for his own creations (Waisman 91). Thus aspects from *Life on the Mississippi* and *Mark Twain’s America*, both cited as sources for “El atroz redentor Lazarus Morell,” are twisted in such a way as to refer to South American demographics: “El Mississippi es río de pecho ancho; es un infinito y oscuro hermano del Paraná, del Uruguay, del Amazonas y del Orinoco” (597).<sup>127</sup> Given that many critics have studied these slight alterations of supposed sources in *Historia universal de la infamia*, I will not dwell on this point any further.<sup>128</sup>

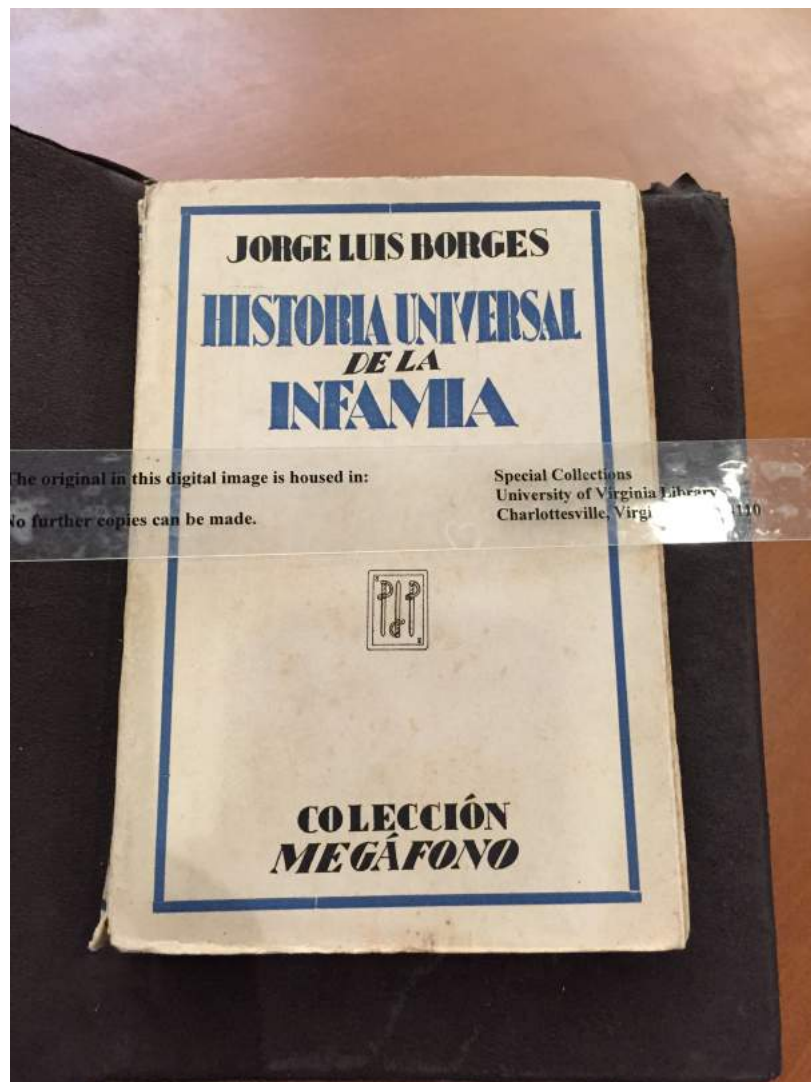
In terms of the physical features of *Historia universal de la infamia*, there are initial echoes of Borges’s earlier publications from this period, especially with the use of modern typefaces and a muted color for the softbound cover. However, on closer inspection, we soon realize that the artistic elements of this volume have been completed quite hastily and lack the attention to detail that we saw with Colombo’s works. Thus, the cover page’s modern letterforms are neither kerned nor properly inked; instead, the bottom edges bleed onto the cover and give the title a blurred effect. In addition, the thick blue border that frames the cover has several gaps where one piece of type ends and another begins, which adds to the unpolished look of the edition. When we open the book itself, we find similar sloppy tendencies. The wove paper

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<sup>127</sup> All citations from *Historia universal de la infamia* come from the critical edition (Emecé, 2009).

<sup>128</sup> See Caillois (1964), Molloy (1979), Alazraki (1983), Balderston (1993), Waisman (2005), and Mualem (2012).

is of an extremely poor quality (high-acid content) and almost feels like it will break or tear with the slightest touch. Moreover, although the pages have been cut, they are anything but uniform, suggesting a certain level of carelessness. In a similar vein, the aesthetic feel of the wide margins is minimized by the constantly smudged text as well as the extraneous ink smears outside the central area of the text. All of these features speak to the reputed quality of books that TOR produced through the twentieth century in Argentina.



**Figure 12:** *Historia universal de la infamia* (Editorial Tor, 1935)

[Source: Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia]



*Mass-market Audiences and Larger Print Runs: Crítica and Revista Multicolor de los Sábados*

In examining the physical features of TOR's publication of *Historia universal de la infamia*, it is important to take into consideration its origins (for a more chronologically sound breakdown) and discuss not only its appearance in the *Revista Multicolor de los Sábados*, but also Borges's editorial role in this literary supplement. Looking at TOR's publication of *Historia universal de la infamia* in the context of the periodical *Crítica*'s literary supplement helps to shed light on the differences from Borges's earlier works in terms of their physical features and intended audience. As described in the first chapter, Borges's short stint as the co-director of this literary supplement (1933-1934) allowed him not only to interact with various writers and artists when they submitted their works, but also to interact with linotypists and more technical professionals. Moreover, according to Borges's one of co-workers, *Crítica*'s founder, Natalio Botana, wanted a specific type of editor/director for his literary supplement: "el que iba al taller y conocía de memoria el catálogo de tipos, la posibilidad de titulación, los que suministraba la máquina Ludlow. Borges [no] había estado en imprentas de libros; pero prontamente se asimiló a las que daban tarea a las gigantescas rotativas Hoe" (Murat 140). In addition to working closely with the formatting of these pieces of the *Revista Multicolor de los Sábados*, Borges was also able to "dar la última leída a los textos para suprimir las últimas erratas, que eran una de sus obsesiones," an observation that speaks to his critical eye and attention to detail (Salas 8).

Natalio Botana, the founder of the daily periodical *Crítica*, was most known for his continual search for the *newest* (and, at times, most attention-grabbing) trends for his publication: "a Botana, siguiendo la línea que imponen los directores yanquis y los grandes Sindicatos de la historieta, no le basta en algunos casos con una sola 'tira'" (Rivera 20). Thus, what we find not only in *Crítica*, but also in its weekly literary supplement, the *Revista*

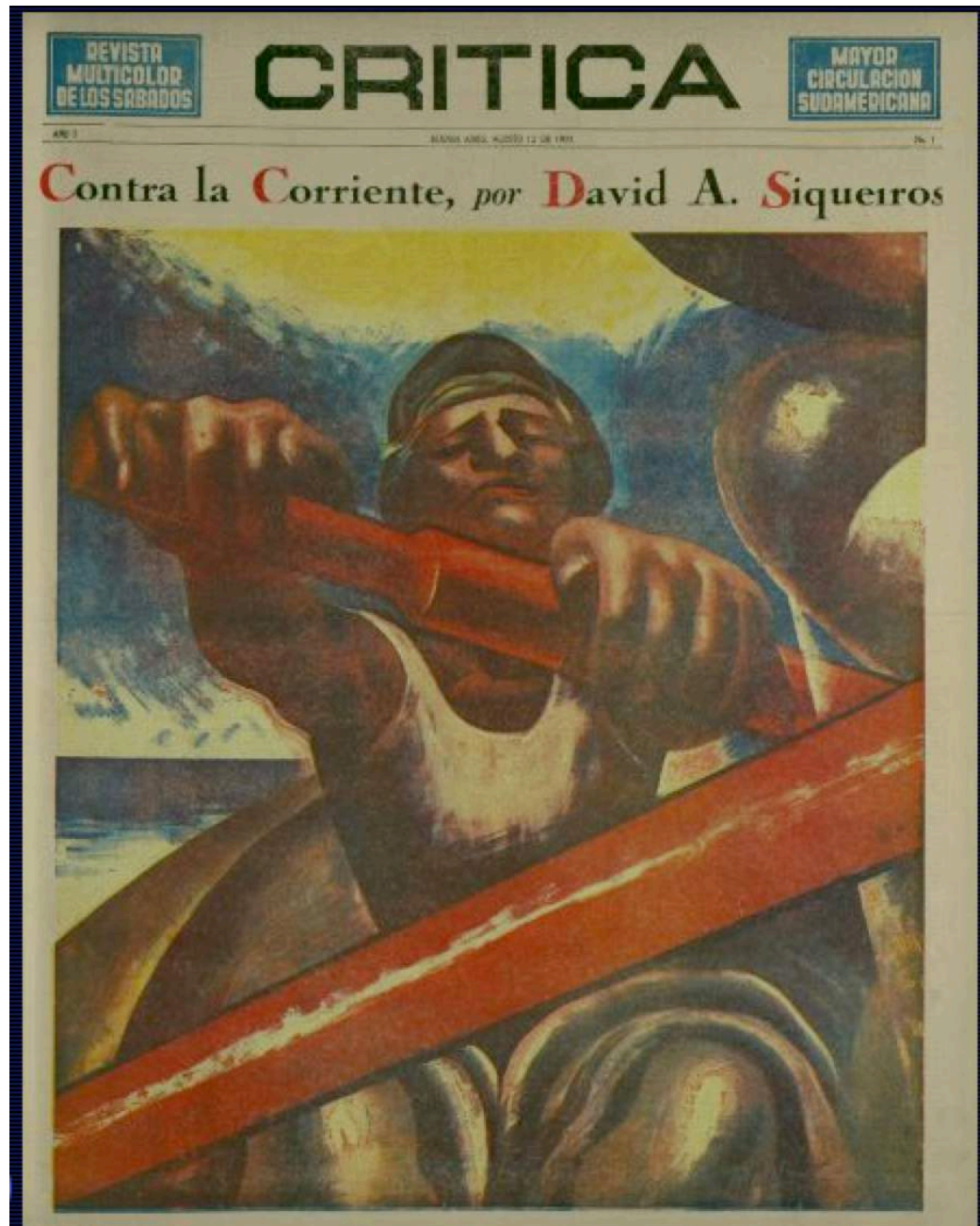
*Multicolor de los Sábados* (1933-1934), is nothing short of a spectacle.<sup>129</sup> One of the recognizable aspects that set *Crítica* apart from other Argentine daily newspapers of the time, such as *La Prensa* or *El Hogar*, was the degree of advanced technology employed for the production of each issue. In short, this specific newspaper was an extremely *modern* print medium. Thus, in order to keep up with the needs of its mass-market audience, “it acquired a building of its own and began to compete with *La Nación* in the areas of printing and Linotype equipment. *Crítica* adopted photoengraving a year before *La Nación* did, and in 1927 the newspaper” even acquired “a Hoe rotary press that turned out 160,000 copies per hour... High technology was carving out both a concrete place and a virtual myth in the organization presided over by Natalio Félix Botana” (Sarlo 59). Alongside this use of modern technology for production purposes, many of the articles included in the text of each issue centered on contemporary issues of science and technology, which highlights the fact that this newspaper was very attuned into the interests of its modern-day readers. Another noticeable feature of *Crítica* was its impressive use of images: “At *Crítica*, the use of graphics – photographs, diagrams, drawings, and cartoons – was just short of lavish” (Sarlo 60).<sup>130</sup> This claim appears to speak directly to what we find in *all* of the issues of the *Revista Multicolor de los Sábados*. Consider, for instance, the first page of the first issue with its full-page color illustration by David A. Siqueiros, a Mexican painter best known for his large murals<sup>131</sup>:

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<sup>129</sup> Part of the sensational and larger-than-life aspects of the *Revista Multicolor de los Sábados* can be traced logically to Botana’s desire to compete with *La Nación*’s various supplements, which had appeared in print starting in 1902. As a result, Botana ensures his loyal readers that the supplement for *Crítica* will also “ser del domingo” just like *La Nación* (Rivera 21).

<sup>130</sup> Borges goes so far as to describe the literary supplement as “heavily and even *gaudily illustrated*” (“Autobiographical Notes” 80, emphasis mine).

<sup>131</sup> All of the images reproduced here from the *Revista Multicolor de los Sábados* come from Nicolás Helft’s CD-ROM of the Critical Edition of the literary supplement. Attempting to track down the



**Figure 13:** *Revista Multicolor de los Sábados*

[Source: Helft, Nicolás. *Crítica: Revista Multicolor de los Sábados, 1933-1934. Edición completa en CD-ROM*. Buenos Aires: Fondo Nacional de las Artes, 1999.]

appropriate operating system to gain access to the material on this CD-ROM (produced in 1999) was quite an endeavor and surely speaks to many of the current bibliographical debates regarding print editions versus digital editions, as well as the ever-growing popular field of digital humanities. In short, I discovered that, in order to use this, in its day, “state of the art” edition, I needed to know quite a bit about computer programming, coding, and simulation platforms, which was no easy task for a beginner like me.

The presence of vibrant imagery is not just reserved for the front page of this literary supplement, but rather spills onto virtually every interior page. As a result, one of the most striking aspects of Borges's writings published here is their visual accompaniment, which has only been glossed briefly by critics.<sup>132</sup> Thus, one finds this impressive juxtaposition of text and image throughout the "8 páginas de gran formato impresas a todo color" of the *Revista Multicolor de los Sábados* (Saitta 10). Several studies have given an overview of the literary supplement and included transcriptions (or entire digital editions in the case of Helft), but very few critics enter into the *physical* details of this early periodical and Borges's role in it.<sup>133</sup> Annick Louis's more recent work, *Jorge Luis Borges: Obra y maniobras* (2013), mentions certain physical aspects of the *Revista Multicolor de los Sábados*, yet there is virtually no analysis of the physical medium of this periodical nor the obvious changes involved with publishing several of the writings under the title *Historia universal de la infamia* with Editorial TOR. For instance, she notes that "la diagramación del texto e imagen ocupa tres cuartos de la página," yet leaves this somewhat vague idea hanging without further explication. That being said, she does (obscurely) include Borges's own personal sentiments toward TOR's publication of his *Historia universal de la infamia*: "Este volumen (*de no muy gloriosa presentación, aunque muy superior a otros productos de la culpable editorial que sabemos*) no admite un juicio

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<sup>132</sup> See Saitta (1999), Green (2010), and Louis (2013).

<sup>133</sup> In addition to Helft's digital edition on CD-ROM (that, consequently, is unreadable unless you happen still to possess a PC with a Windows 95/98 operating system or know how to code a simulating program to read the CD-ROM on a more modern computer), Irma Zangara's *Borges en la Revista Multicolor* (1995) contains "obras, reseñas y traducciones inéditas de Jorge Luis Borges" that appeared in the literary supplement, yet no discussion of the physical qualities or aspects of it. Moreover, it should be noted that Zangara's work does not discuss the very canonical writings that first appeared in the *Revista Multicolor Color de los Sábados*: those that would later make up Borges's *Historia universal de la infamia* (1935). Raquel Atena Green's *Borges y Revista Multicolor de los sábados: confabulados en una escritura de la infamia* (2010) focuses almost entirely on the writings that become part of *Historia universal de la infamia*, yet does not discuss the *material* changes from one medium to the next (newspaper to book), nor does she discuss any variants or alterations in the texts themselves.

general” (cited in Louis 164, emphasis mine). Louis goes on to flesh out this statement with a general overview of the reputation of Juan Torrendell’s publishing house for its poor quality, mass-market books, and even mentions the other titles included in the same collection as *Historia universal del la infamia* (“Colección Megáfono”). However, we, as readers, are left with several questions: Do all four works exhibit the same “poor quality”? What elements of the book can be described as poor in quality?<sup>134</sup> The paper? The bindings? The typeface? How many copies were included in each printing run? How much did these volumes cost and were they, therefore, easily accessible to a large audience? These are the types of questions that help to best understand the relationship between form and content in Borges’s work.

Returning to the original publication of these articles, it is clear from the introductory text included with the first issue of this literary supplement that its contents were intended for the widest (and most popular) group of readers possible:

Nuestra costumbre es innovar. La nueva publicación de CRITICA significará un esfuerzo no igualado en el periodismo nacional. CRITICA, *REVISTA MULTICOLOR*, le proporcionará lectura para una semana, sin que su ejemplar le cueste un solo centavo más... Desde el 12 de Agosto Todos los Sábados 8 Págs. De Gran Formato Impresas a Todo Color Una publicación moderna, destinada a todos los hogares argentinos. Se repartirá con las ediciones del día. La mejor lectura para el más numeroso público. Exija su ejemplar de SÁBADO: Revista Multicolor. (Helft 3)

Moreover, according to one source, Borges’s series of fictions (“Historia Universal de la Infamia,” that would form the contents of the book of the same name a few years later), which would begin in the first installment of the supplement, figured prominently in its initial publicity:

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<sup>134</sup> This question could be parsed out further: Is this poor quality more of a reflection of (the lack of) preservation tactics in Argentina?

“el de Jorge Luis Borges [...] *anunciado excesivamente en el aviso* del 8 de agosto como ‘Vida, esplendor y muerte del espantoso redentor Lazarus Morell’” (Rivera 21, emphasis mine).

The following chart chronicles the original publication dates of all of the pieces that were first published in the *Revista Multicolor de los Sábados* and then later collected in *Historia universal de la infamia* (noting any title changes that occurred from their first published form to any subsequent editions; the most obvious change from this newspaper supplement to a book format is the elimination of any images that accompany the writings in the *RMS*).<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> The *physical* difference between the *Revista Multicolor de los Sábados* and Editorial TOR’s publication of *Historia universal de la infamia* will also be discussed below.

Short Story	<i>Revista Multicolor de los Sábados</i>	<i>Historia universal de la infamia</i>	<i>Los anales de Buenos Aires</i>
"El espantoso redentor Lázarus Morell"	No. 1; August 12, 1933	Slight edits and renamed "El atroz Lazarus Morell"	
"Eastman, el proveedor de iniquidades"	No. 2; August 19, 1933	No changes	
"La viuda Ching"	No. 3; August 26, 1933		
"El brujo postergado"	No. 4; September 2, 1933	Included under heading "Etcétera"	
"Hombres en la orilla"	No. 6; September 16, 1933	Edited and renamed "Hombre de la esquina rosada"	
"El impostor inverosímil Tom Castro"	No. 8; September 30, 1933		
"El espejo de tinta"	No. 8; September 30, 1933	Included under heading "Etcétera"	
"La cámara de las estatuas"	No. 17; December 2, 1933	Included under heading "Etcétera"	
"El incivil maestro de ceremonias Kotsuké no Suké"	No. 18; December 9, 1933		
"El rostro del profeta"	No. 24; January 20, 1934	Edited and renamed "El tintorero enmascarado Hákim de Merv"	
"El teólogo"	No. 46; June 23, 1934	Included under heading "Etcétera"	
"Dos que soñaron"	No. 46; June 23, 1934	Included under heading "Etcétera"	
"El asesino desinteresado Bill Harrigan"		Published for the first time	
"Un doble de Mahoma"		Published for the first time	1946

In order to give readers a better idea of the *physical* changes between the original publication of these pieces and their later inclusion in *Historia universal de la infamia*, consider each of the following images that appeared alongside the texts in the *Revista Multicolor de los Sábados*:<sup>136</sup>

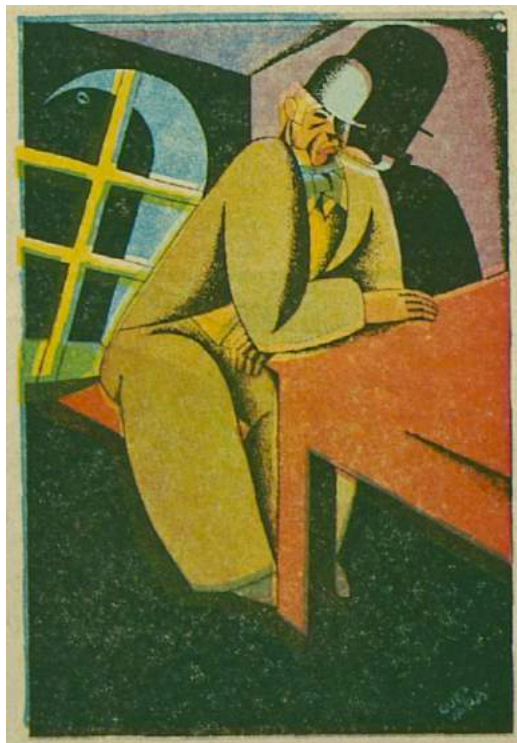
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<sup>136</sup> All of the images used from the *Revista Multicolor de los Sábados* come from Helft's digital edition (1999).



**Figure 14:** Image printed alongside the text for “El espantoso redentor Lázarus Morell”; artist: Bruno Premiani

[Source: Helft, Nicolás. *Crítica: Revista Multicolor de los Sábados, 1933-1934. Edición completa en CD-ROM*. Buenos Aires: Fondo Nacional de las Artes, 1999.]



**Figure 15:** Image printed alongside the text for “Eastman, el proveedor de iniquidades”; artist: anonymous



[Source: Helft, Nicolás. *Crítica: Revista Multicolor de los Sábados, 1933-1934. Edición completa en CD-ROM*. Buenos Aires: Fondo Nacional de las Artes, 1999.]



**Figure 16:** Images printed alongside the text for “La viuda Ching”; artist: Pascual Güida

[Source: Helft, Nicolás. *Crítica: Revista Multicolor de los Sábados, 1933-1934. Edición completa en CD-ROM*. Buenos Aires: Fondo Nacional de las Artes, 1999.]



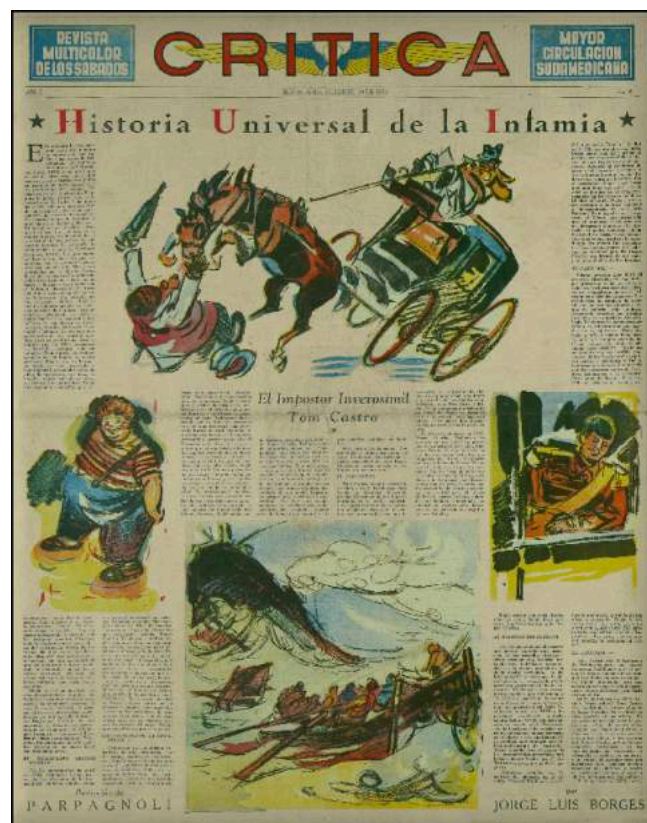
**Figure 17:** Images printed alongside the text for “El brujo postergado”; artist: Lorenzo Molas

[Source: Helft, Nicolás. *Crítica: Revista Multicolor de los Sábados, 1933-1934. Edición completa en CD-ROM*. Buenos Aires: Fondo Nacional de las Artes, 1999.]



**Figure 18:** Image printed alongside the text for “Hombres de las orillas”; artist: Juan Sorazábal

[Source: Helft, Nicolás. *Crítica: Revista Multicolor de los Sábados, 1933-1934. Edición completa en CD-ROM*. Buenos Aires: Fondo Nacional de las Artes, 1999.]



**Figure 19:** Images printed alongside the text for “El impostor inverosímil Tom Castro”; artist: Ricardo Parpagnoli



[Source: Helft, Nicolás. *Crítica: Revista Multicolor de los Sábados, 1933-1934. Edición completa en CD-ROM*. Buenos Aires: Fondo Nacional de las Artes, 1999.]



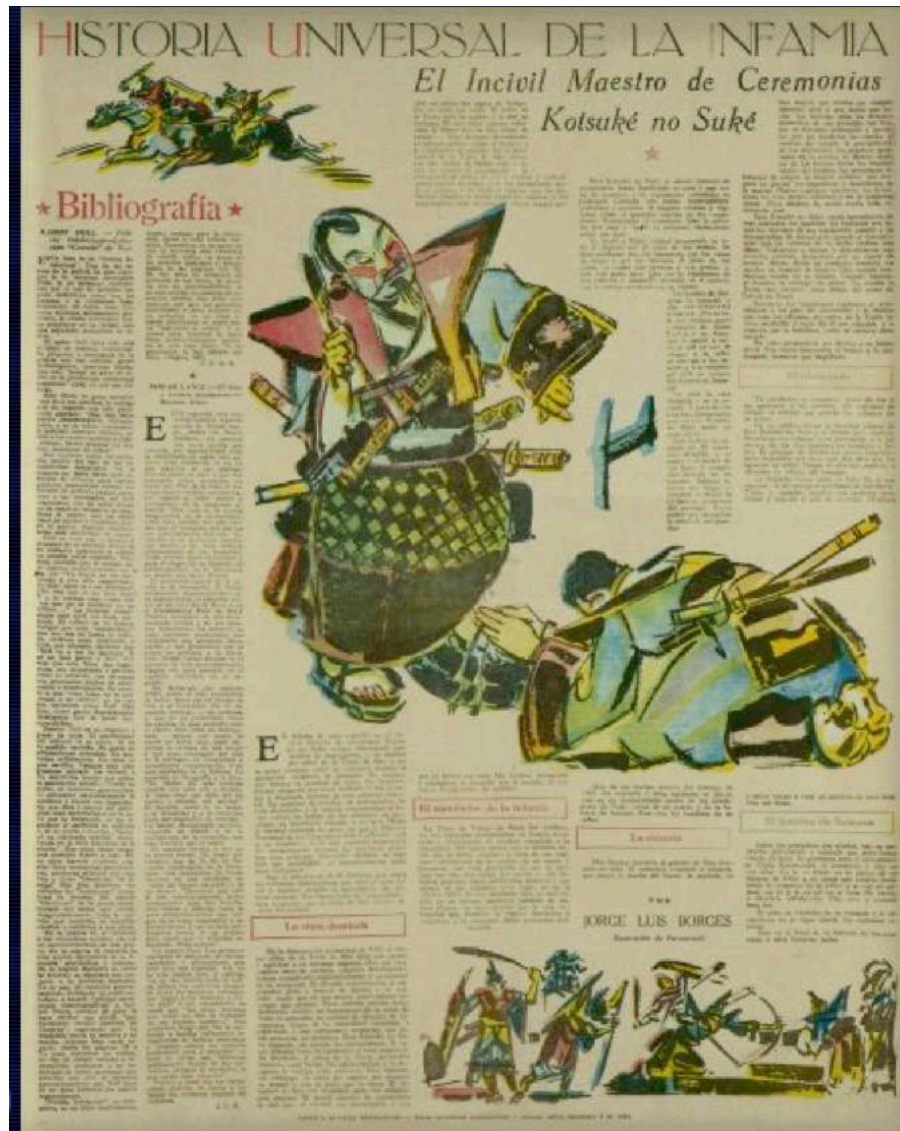
**Figure 20:** Image printed alongside the text for “El espejo de tinta”; artist: Pascual Güida

[Source: Helft, Nicolás. *Crítica: Revista Multicolor de los Sábados, 1933-1934. Edición completa en CD-ROM*. Buenos Aires: Fondo Nacional de las Artes, 1999.]



**Figure 21:** Image printed alongside the text for “La cámara de las estatuas”; artista: Pedro Rojas

[Source: Helft, Nicolás. *Crítica: Revista Multicolor de los Sábados, 1933-1934. Edición completa en CD-ROM*. Buenos Aires: Fondo Nacional de las Artes, 1999.]



**Figure 22:** Images printed alongside the text for “El incivil maestro de ceremonias Kotsuké no Suké”; artist: Ricardo Parpagnolo

[Source: Helft, Nicolás. *Crítica: Revista Multicolor de los Sábados, 1933-1934. Edición completa en CD-ROM*. Buenos Aires: Fondo Nacional de las Artes, 1999.]



**Figure 23:** Images printed alongside the text for “El rostro del profeta”; artist: Pedro Rojas

[Source: Helft, Nicolás. *Crítica: Revista Multicolor de los Sábados, 1933-1934. Edición completa en CD-ROM*. Buenos Aires: Fondo Nacional de las Artes, 1999.]



**Figure 24:** Image printed alongside the text for “El teólogo”; artist: Ricardo Parpagnoli

[Source: Helft, Nicolás. *Crítica: Revista Multicolor de los Sábados, 1933-1934. Edición completa en CD-ROM*. Buenos Aires: Fondo Nacional de las Artes, 1999.]





**Figure 25:** Image printed alongside the text for “Dos que soñaron”; artist: Ricardo Parpagnoli

[Source: Helft, Nicolás. *Crítica: Revista Multicolor de los Sábados, 1933-1934. Edición completa en CD-ROM*. Buenos Aires: Fondo Nacional de las Artes, 1999.]

In addition to the use of extremely vibrant colors, what we see represented in these illustrations are certain key moments in each of Borges’s stories.<sup>137</sup> Thus, in “El impostor inverosímil Tom Castro,” Parpagnoli highlights the dangerous sea voyage in which Tichborne dies (the central crux of the tale), the (physical) transformation of Orton into Tichborne, and the gruesome trampling and ultimate death of Bogle. A similar desire to focus on the more grotesque aspects of these stories appears in the drawings that accompany “El rostro del profeta,” which show the moment “Hákim fue cercado en Sanam por el ejército del Jalifa” and the ultimate climatic reveal of his hideous face: “era en efecto blanco, pero con blancura peculiar de la lepra manchada. Era tan abultada o increíble que les pareció una careta. No tenía cejas; el párpado inferior del ojo derecho pendía sobre la mejilla senil; un pesado racimo de tubérculos le comía los labios; la

<sup>137</sup> The style of these pages, which is very reminiscent of comic books, also calls to mind the covers of the weekly Argentine magazine, *Caras y Caretas* (1898-1941), that more often than not focused on political satire.

nariz inhumana y achatada era como de león” (626-7).<sup>138</sup> As a result there appears to be a certain tendency to emphasize the monstrous or macabre elements of these works in their visual counterparts, which is quite typical of popular material, from the “romances de ciego” to the penny-dreadfuls and on up. Moreover, the direct correlation between text and image suggests that either the illustrators read the texts before completing their drawings or Borges explained them in detail. In a sense, given the nature of the venue and the fact that any literary supplement of its kind would have a large number of deadlines, it would seem that the latter possibility is closer to the reality, thus implying Borges’s participation in all aspects of his work’s production.<sup>139</sup>

Critics frequently latch on to Borges’s affinity for fusing elements of high culture with those more popular in nature, “mixing pulp material – detective stories, sci-fi scenarios – with architectural structures and philosophical preoccupations,” yet, to date, there has been no real discussion of the implication or rationale for such diversity in the work of this Argentine writer with regard to the physical forms that these publications might take (Valdes, cited in Ciabattari).<sup>140</sup> The consideration of the material aspects of Borges’s works published between

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<sup>138</sup> Virtually all of the illustrations show a similar focus on the central figures and themes of the stories they accompany: the sinister depiction of Monk Eastman reflects his status as a New York Gangster; the portrayal of Kotsuké no Suké reflects the importance of honor; the cartoon-like images in “El brujo postergado” correspond with don Illán de Toledo, the bishop, and the role of magic.

<sup>139</sup> Without access to any (possibly) extant publisher’s archives for *Crítica* or the *Revista Multicolor de los Sábados*, it is virtually impossible to determine whether or not these illustrations were welcomed by Borges or simply tolerated by him.

<sup>140</sup> Beatriz Sarlo’s *Borges: a Writer on the Edge* (1993) is the most developed study of the writer’s interest in both elite and popular cultures: “I have wanted to highlight this tension which, in my opinion, runs through Borges work and defines it: a game on the edge of various cultures, which touch on the borders, in a space that Borges’ would call *las orillas*. In this way, a writer emerges who has two sides, who is, at once, both cosmopolitan and national” (2). That being said, her study focuses almost entirely on the 1920s. For more studies on similar topics of high and low cultures, see Monegal (1976), de Costa (2000), and Díaz (2012).

1930 and 1936 reveals a great deal about the writer's interests and journey to become the international literary icon that he is known as today. In more general terms, these varying levels of cultural production suggest the *newness* of the world of book production in Argentina at the time and the fact that many of the country's young writers were still trying to navigate this foreign terrain. Furthermore, one might also conclude that the disparate forms that Borges's works took during this period, ranging from elite, esoteric essays produced with attention to detail to mass-produced, popular tales of criminals' exploits, speak to his own personal interest in the burgeoning world of publishing and his desire to see his works through from start to finish.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> This idea is one that we will see carried through more fully in Chapter Six with the curious case of the Editorial Oportet & Haereses.



Chapter 3 – Collaboration and a Narrowing of Focus (1936-1946): *El Hogar*, *La Nación*,  
*Destiempo*, *Sur*

“Toda colaboración con Borges equivalía a años de trabajo.”

-- Adolfo Bioy Casares, *Memorias* (1994)

After Borges's successful publishing ventures during the first half of the 1930s, he started to branch out and explore new possibilities in the second half of this decade. Throughout this period there were three basic trends in his literary activity: reviews of books alongside brief biographies of new and foreign authors (*El Hogar*), collaborations on anthologies, and collaborations on creative pieces of fiction with his new friend, Adolfo Bioy Casares. Although Borges had written and published pieces for several other newspapers, most notably *La Prensa* and *Síntesis*, he was not a staff member of either of these publications and, as a result, appeared only sporadically in these papers and did not receive much pay for his writings. In contrast, Borges's work for *El Hogar* was a paid position and his contributions were much more regular, similar to what we saw with *Crítica* and the *Revista Multicolor de los Sábados* in the last chapter. More specifically, he was the director of the section “Libros y Autores Extranjeros,” which included “una biografía sintética, en general de un escritor extranjero, ilustrada en el centro de la página con una caricatura del autor del caso” (Vaccaro 336).<sup>142</sup> He first started this “small-paying” job at *El Hogar* on October 16, 1936 and would hold a position there until July 7, 1939 (“Autobiographical” 82). The importance of his publications and his role in reformulating each of his allotted sections in *El Hogar* will be discussed below.

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<sup>142</sup> Ann Keen was the previous director of this section of *El Hogar*. In an interview with Enrique Sacerio-Garí Borges noted that he thought this name was most likely a pseudonym since he had never heard of such a person.

In addition to his monthly contributions to *El Hogar*, and occasional essays and pieces of fiction for *La Nación*, Borges worked alongside several of his close friends during this time period to produce a number of different anthologies.<sup>143</sup> The first of these books, the *Antología clásica de la literatura argentina* (1937), was published by Kapelusz y Cía with selections by Borges and Pedro Henríquez Ureña.<sup>144</sup> There is very little written about this early anthology and the few studies that exist on Borges's collaborative endeavors during the 1930s and 1940s revolve around the anthologies he edited for the Editorial Sudamericana with the help of Adolfo Bioy Casares and Silvina Ocampo. In general terms, we can think of these two early collaborative collections for the Editorial Sudamericana as a type of literary criticism rather than an acceptance of (already) canonical texts, since Borges, Bioy Casares, and Silvina Ocampo had to select, copy, translate, and (at times) shorten the texts to be included.

Following their joint efforts for the Editorial Sudamericana, Borges and Bioy Casares continued to collaborate, but they switched gears to focus on a new genre (detective fiction) with a new publishing house (Emecé Editores). Prior to the first edition of *Los mejores cuentos policiales* (1943), the genre of detective fiction was looked down upon as nothing more than a source of popular entertainment for the masses that could be purchased as cheap paperbacks for next to nothing on virtually any street corner of Buenos Aires. Borges and Bioy Casares changed this common perception and elevated detective fiction, particularly those stories and novels that focused more on enigmatic plots in contrast to the North American and French tendencies

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<sup>143</sup> I will briefly outline here the anthologies and edited collections that Borges worked on during this time frame; detailed discussion of them will be reserved until the next chapter.

<sup>144</sup> Following the initial publication of this work there were multiple subsequent editions (1938; 1940; 1942), which indicates its popularity and high sales.

towards violence and brutality (“hard boiled”).<sup>145</sup> In general terms there are two branches of detective fiction: the enigmatic (or problem) novel and the hard-boiled novel. Borges describes the first as a type of tale that seems “a primera vista, insoluble, un investigador sedentario que lo descifra por medio de la imaginación y de la lógica, el caso referido por un amigo impersonal y un tanto borroso del investigador” (“Prólogo”). In contrast the hard-boiled narrative “se caracteriza por la dureza de su texto, de sus personajes, por cierta brutalidad y un descarnado realismo en la actitud de sus protagonistas” (Giardinelli 17). The majority of the texts chosen for Borges and Bioy Casares’s edited collection align with the first type of detective fiction. What is more, a second edition of this collection was produced a few years after the first, which speaks to the popularity and overall success of the work.

In light of the positive reception of *Los mejores cuentos policiales*, Emecé Editores made the wise decision to accept for publication a separate series, “El Séptimo Círculo” (1945-1983), which produced 366 works of detective fiction by a myriad of authors and, in general terms, was a large success for the publishing house.<sup>146</sup> Along with these works Borges also collaborated

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<sup>145</sup> Interestingly, Pablo De Santis highlights the fact that the Editorial Tor published various French authors that were in opposition to the types of works that Borges and Bioy Casares sought for the “Séptimo Círculo” series: “Gastón Leroux, Maurice Leblanc y George Simenon” (De Santis). What is more, these works were very cheaply produced with their “portadas y páginas amarillas.” Thus, it is quite clear that “[l]a colección Tor – tapas chillonas, traducciones a menudo deficientes – no era la estrategia más adecuada para la revalorización que pretendían Borges y Bioy” (De Santis). Lafforgue and Rivera also highlight the important differences between the publishing efforts of Borges and Bioy Casares and those of the Editorial Tor, with respect to the detective genre: “Entre 1940 y 1945 tanto Borges como Bioy Casares se convierten en cierta forma en referentes y promotores intelectuales del [género], a través de reseñas aparecidas en la estratégica revista *Sur*, dirigida a un público al que no se supone adicto al ‘amarillismo’ folletinesco y pueril de las colecciones de Tor y Rovira” (122). Readers will recall from Chapter Two that the Editorial Tor was known for their cheap paperback editions of popular literature that would sell well; their most famous marketing strategy of selling books by the pound illustrates this firm’s lack of interest in quality editions.

<sup>146</sup> In an interview with James E. Ibry, Borges reflects on how Emecé Editores waited quite some time before accepting the proposed series of detective fiction: “tardaron un año en aceptar la idea de la colección *Séptimo Círculo*, cuyo éxito ha sido enorme, porque decían que la literatura policíaca no era

with several *other* writers to produce an edited collection about the figure of the “compadrito,” the city equivalent to the well-known gaucho, for Emecé Editores as part of their “Colección Buen Aire” (*El Compadrito*) and an anthology of ancient Germanic literature (*Antiguas literaturas germánicas*), which was a personal interest of Borges’s for much of his life.

In addition to selecting, editing, and compiling the works of other writers into their various anthologies and collections, Borges and Bioy Casares also started publishing collaborative pieces of fiction during the early 1940s. The first, and arguably best-known, collection of short stories by these two Argentine authors, *Seis problemas para don Isidro Parodi* (1942), was published by the Editorial Sur under an invented pseudonym: Honorio Bustos Domecq. Borrowing names from their respective ancestors to form new identities became a trend for Borges and Bioy and, as a result, Honorio Bustos Domecq was not the only name under which they produced their collaborative works of fiction. That said, this pseudonym was associated with “amusing satire” while that of B. Suárez Lynch, created by the two writers a few years later as a successor to H. Bustos Domecq, had more serious connotations: “Political developments, in particular the rise of Perón after the military coup of General Farrell in 1943, and his increasingly visible form of populism, gave their satire a sharper edge. They came up with another pseudonym, B. Suárez Lynch, to pen a much more savage satire, *Un modelo para la muerte*, written in 1945 and published in 1946” (King, “Bioy” 50). Regardless of the chosen authorial name for their collaborative works, the end result was a resounding critique of their

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cosa digna de una editorial seria” (1962). The publication of Nicholas Blake’s *La bestia debe morir* in February of 1945 marks the official start of this series for Emecé Editores. Even though the series took quite a bit of time in the initial planning stages, Bioy Casares highlights the fact that “la nuestra era, entre las publicadas por Emecé, la única colección exitosa” (“Memorias” 102). The only other collection that was slightly more successful for Emecé was their “Grandes Novelistas” series, which, coincidentally, had several editions directed by none other than Borges and Bioy Casares, a fact that only further serves to emphasize their role in marketing within the publishing industry.

contemporary Argentina. What is more, this initial collaborative work harmonized perfectly with their previous anthologies and inherent desire to rebrand the detective fiction genre.

In general terms this period in Borges's career (1936-1946) shows a marked shift toward critique, criticism, and marketing, all of which complement the common trend of bringing foreign authors (and national authors who have not received the attention they deserve), works, and genres to Argentina through the anthologies and collected volumes that he produced with his close friends in the late 1930s and early 1940s. More broadly speaking, many of Borges's literary endeavors during this same time show the importance and the impact of the publishing industry in relation to crafting (and branding) a particular product for the Argentine populace. This idea is echoed by Michel Lafon with respect to Borges *and* Bioy Casares's editorial endeavors: "Through these various editorial practices we see their subtle cultural manoeuvring: *writing reviews, compiling anthologies, translating and publishing were ways of configuring a literary landscape in which they came to occupy a key position*" (74, emphasis mine).

*Continued Contributions to Newspaper Columns: El Hogar and La Nación*

"Se me dirá, tal vez, que a muchos les agrada escribir; no a todos les agrada leer, y cuando lo hacen, prefieren, por razones que estoy lejos de censurar, leer a escritores extranjeros."

-- Jorge Luis Borges ("Por qué los escritores argentinos no viven de su pluma?" *El Hogar* (1946))

Periodical publications are a constant in Borges's early career. Prior to collaborating with and editing at *El Hogar*, Borges contributed to *La Prensa*, *Crítica*, and *Síntesis* frequently, not to mention his texts that appeared in the more avant-garde periodicals of *Prisma*, *Proa*, and *Martín*

*Fierro* throughout the 1920s. Thus, it should come as no surprise that Borges developed a more constant periodical presence during the 1930s. As we saw in the last chapter with *Crítica*'s literary supplement (*Revista Multicolor de los Sábados*, 1933-1934), co-directing a newspaper meant not only contributing articles and editing others, but also overseeing linotypists and illustrators. In other words, it was a very involved type of job for this Argentine writer.

Contributing to *El Hogar* was no different. As one critic notes, Borges went “metódicamente a las oficinas de *El Hogar*” and, in the process, revolutionized its literary review page (Vaccaro 335). Most likely drawing inspiration from similar publications, such as the *Times Literary Supplement*, Borges's reviews of foreign authors and their works introduced Argentine elites to new literary trends. In a sense, his regular column at *El Hogar* (1936-1939) can be seen as his way of conditioning a *specific* Argentine public to read and be interested in certain authors and types of literature (just as he was preparing a series of distinct anthologies and collections of literature with different Argentine publishing houses). Thus, after casting his net wide in the early 1930s and publishing works with disparate firms, in terms of their targeted audiences (see chapter two), Borges's shift to working and publishing in venues that zeroed in on a predominantly elite audience shows a narrowing of focus that reflects an understanding of (profitable) book markets. In other words, after identifying a reading public that would be most captivated by his ideas surrounding genre, criticism, and the most important literary trends (both national and international), Borges slowly began to introduce key works to them through initial reviews in *El Hogar*, which would lead to a marked interest in his later edited collections and anthologies.

The majority of the authors featured in Borges's section of *El Hogar*, “Libros y autores extranjeros. Guía de lectura,” hail from either the United States or a select few European

countries, most notably England, France, and Germany. Alongside these reviews of foreign works and synthetic biographies of foreign authors, there are a handful of short original pieces by Borges about Argentine authors and literary trends in Argentina that crop up sporadically outside of his regular review column. Consider, for instance, his article from February 12, 1937, “Los escritores argentinos y Buenos Aires,” in which he discusses the debate between writers from Buenos Aires and those from other provinces in Argentina. A couple of weeks later he publishes “Las ‘nuevas generaciones’ literarias” (February 26, 1937), which focuses primarily on Borges’s own generation (“la nueva generación,” “la generación heroica,” and the generation of *Primsa, Proa, Inicial, Martín Fierro, Valoraciones*) and, as a result, complements the former piece. In addition to these more broadly themed articles about Argentine writers and their works Borges also wrote a few pieces on individual authors from *other* countries including Aldous Huxley (“La dinastía de los Huxley” (15 January 1937), p. 8), Miguel de Unamuno (“Presencia de Miguel de Unamuno” (29 January 1937), p. 8), Rudyard Kipling (“Kipling y su autobiografía” (26 March 1937), p. 9), Jorge Isaacs (“Vindicación de la María de Jorge Isaacs” (7 May 1937), p. 9), Ramon Lull (“La máquina de pensar de Raimundo Lulio” (15 October 1937), p. 14), and Alfred Henschke (“Klabund”) (“Una alarmante Historia de la literatura” (8 April 1938), p. 14).

Unlike many of the other periodicals for which Borges wrote regular pieces during the first half of the twentieth century, such as *La Prensa*, *La Nación*, and even *Crítica*, *El Hogar* stands out as very distinct in terms of its format, physical features, and contents. In contrast to the typical newspapers of the era, *El Hogar* was a magazine targeting middle- to upper-class *women* in Argentina. Thus, at first glance, the cover of any given issue of *El Hogar* looks similar to a popular novel or fashion catalogue rather than a regular periodical:

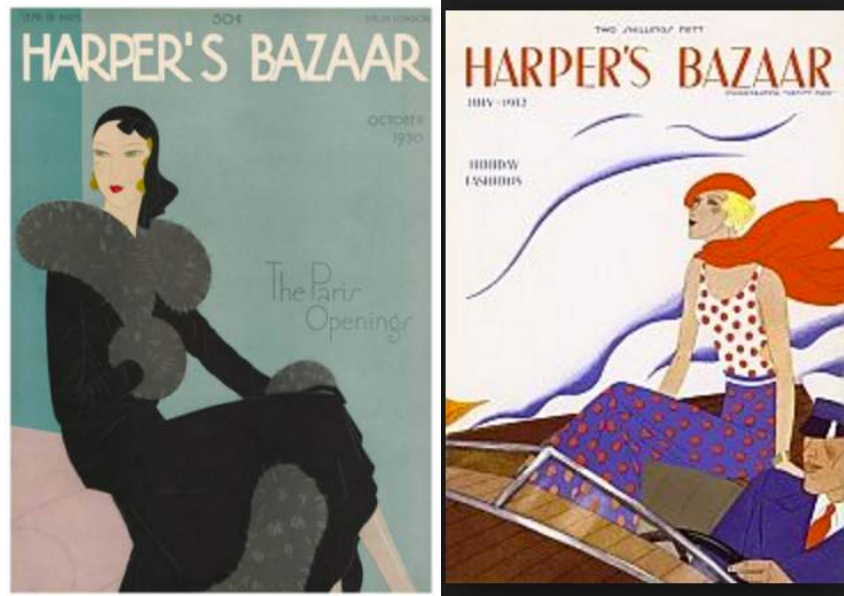


**Figure 26:** *El Hogar*

[Source: Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia]

The flashy, feminine covers of each issue of *El Hogar* call to mind the well-known *Harper's Bazaar* (1867-present) or *Ladies' Home Journal* (1883-2014):





**Figure 27:** *Harper's Bazaar*

[Source: Google Image]



**Figure 28:** *Ladies' Home Journal*

[Source: Google Image]

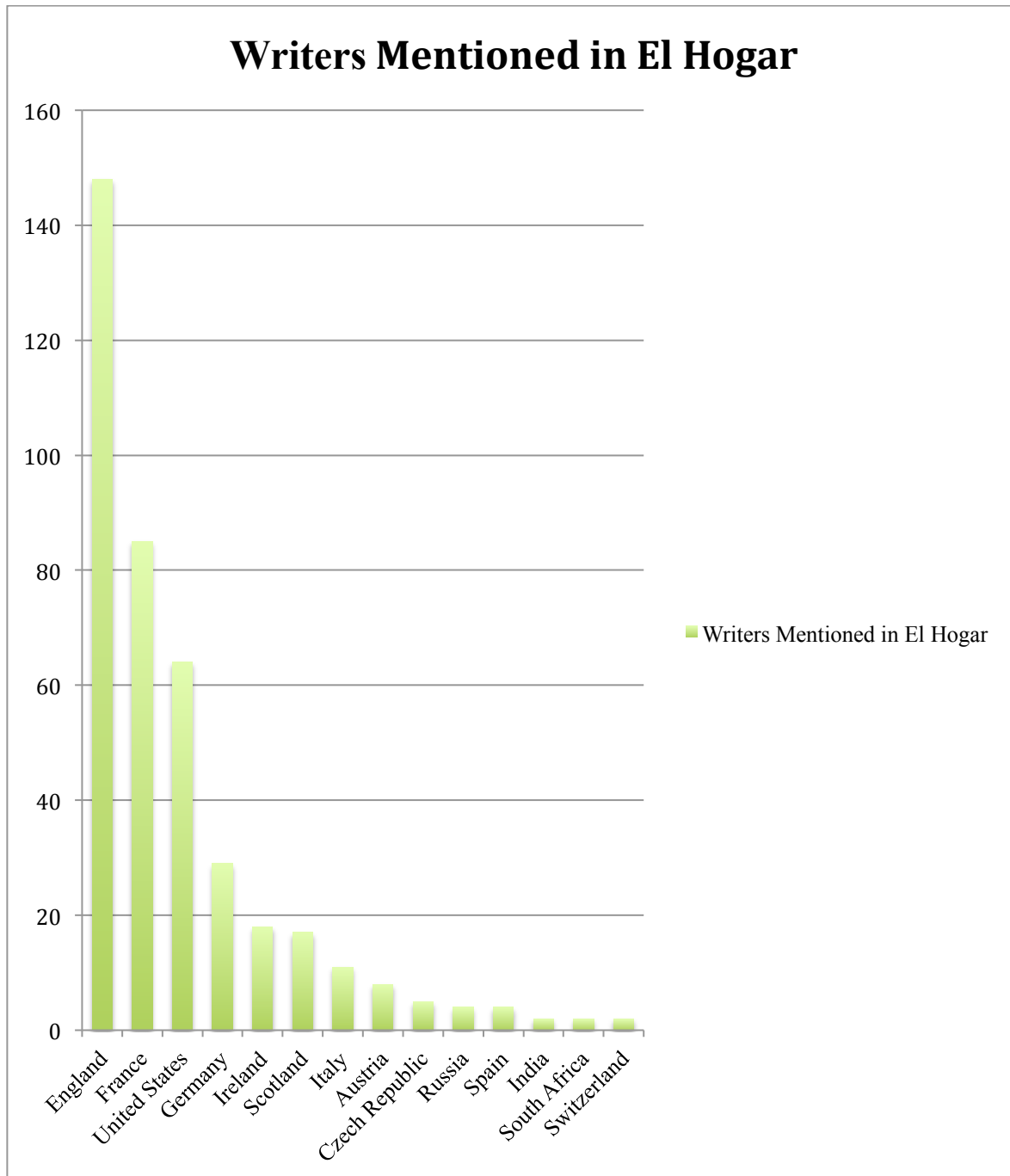
Thus, it might come as a surprise to many readers that Borges contributed a regular column to this periodical from October 16, 1936 to July 7, 1939.<sup>147</sup> Although *El Hogar* aimed for a specifically female audience, a fact that is especially clear from its regular inclusion of dinner party recipes and the newest beauty tips and products, it was within the pages of this periodical that Emir Rodríguez Monegal first encountered Borges's writings; in his biography of the Argentine writer he describes how he was "barely fifteen then and was promptly seduced by Borges's wit and impeccable style and the vast range of his reading" (Monegal 288). He goes on to comment on how Borges's page in *El Hogar* "was, and still is, the best possible introduction to his mind and work" (288). In general terms, each page that Borges contributed to the magazine presented readers with a short "biografía sintética" of one specific author, new publications in various language (mainly French, English, and German), and, at times, tidbits about the lives of sundry writers. Over the course of several months, Borges slowly started to change the original format of this page in *El Hogar*, eliminating particular aspects until they altogether disappeared. This was certainly the case for the "biografías sintéticas," which dissipated after the July 7<sup>th</sup> issue of 1939, a date that coincide with the end of Borges's full-time employment with *El Hogar*. As Monegal notes, Borges "had practically created a new form: the book review page, which is sort of a literary microcosm, a magazine inside a magazine" (342).

Even though different authors and books were highlighted in each issue, the large majority of works and writers, as previously noted, hailed from England, France, and the United States<sup>148</sup>:

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<sup>147</sup> Even though Borges published a few pieces in *El Hogar* after the July 7<sup>th</sup> issue, the above dates mark his official employment with the magazine as a regular contributor.

<sup>148</sup> There are several writers mentioned throughout the pages of *El Hogar* whose countries are not represented in the chart below in an effort to make the findings clearer. All of following countries (not



**Figure 29:** Writers Mentioned in *El Hogar*

included in the chart) are represented by a writer *one time* during Borges's position as director of the "Libros y autores extranjeros" page: Poland, Japan, Colombia, Sweden, Wales, Egypt, China, Brazil, New Zealand, Hungary, Tibet, The Netherlands, and Denmark. A few other critics note this tendency toward European authors, particularly English writers, but to date, none have statistically analyzed these striking preferences nor have they shown the exact degree to which English authors dominated Borges's column (See Yates (1985), Aizenberg (1990), Malamet (1998)).

As the chart above illustrates, Borges shows a strong preference for English-speaking countries (England, the United States, Ireland, Scotland), while Spain and any other Spanish-speaking country are sorely underrepresented.<sup>149</sup> In fact, Spanish and Latin American writers only appear a mere six times throughout the course of Borges's three-year appointment with *El Hogar*:

Review column in <i>El Hogar</i>	Pieces outside of Borges's review column in <i>El Hogar</i>
"Biografía sintética": <b>Jorge Santayana</b> (May 14, 1936)	"Presencia de <b>Miguel de Unamuno</b> " (January 29, 1937)
"De la vida literaria": <b>Jorge Santayana</b> (May 27, 1938)	"Vindicación de la <i>María</i> de <b>Jorge Isaacs</b> " (May 7, 1937)
	"Prólogo de Jorge Luis Borges a la edición alemana de <i>La carreta</i> [por <b>Enrique Amorim</b> ]" (July 9, 1937)
	"La máquina de pensar de <b>Raimundo Lulio</b> " (October 15, 1937)

What is more, of these mentions, two of the six pertain to the *same* Spanish author (Jorge Santayana), three are written *about* Spanish-speaking authors (two from Spain (Miguel de Unamuno and Raimundo Lulio, or Ramon Lull) and one from Colombia (Jorge Isaacs)), and one is a prologue to a novel (*La carreta* by the Uruguayan author, Enrique Amorim).

This lack of selection of writers from Latin America, and Spain, raises the central question of who counts as a *foreign* author and what Borges categorizes as *foreign* literature. In the most general sense, "foreign" is normally used to describe a country that is not one's own.

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<sup>149</sup> In his previously mentioned article from February of 1937 ("Los escritores y Buenos Aires"), Borges even describes England as "el más literario de los países" (5).

Thus, given this particular definition, all other Spanish-speaking countries outside of Borges's native Argentina would in theory fit the bill to appear throughout the pages of "Libros y autores extranjeros." Yet, as the chart above shows, this is certainly *not* the case. In one sense, the small representation of authors and works from Spain might be explained by the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in July 1936, only a few months before Borges's first published page and appointed position at *El Hogar* (16 October 1936). That said, the Spanish Civil War does not explain the glaring absence of virtually any Latin American author or work throughout the run of Borges's column at *El Hogar*. Although Borges dedicates a short piece to Jorge Isaac's novel *María* in May 1937, this work was first published in 1867 and is not representative of the literary scene in Latin America during the early part of the twentieth century either. In a similar vein, the short prologue for Enrique Amorim's novel, *La carreta*, which appears printed on July 9, 1937, is far from representing all of the current trends in Latin American literature. The lack of emphasis placed on authors from other Spanish-speaking countries appears to resonate with the sentiments of another Argentine writer, Ernesto Palacio, in a separate piece written for *El Hogar*: "¿Por qué no se leen libros argentinos?" (19 March 1937).<sup>150</sup> In addition to stressing the lack of profitability for publishers printing local authors,<sup>151</sup> Palacio notes that Argentine literature lacks the tradition and history of criticism afforded to most foreign works and authors:

La verdad es que de los libros extranjeros *se habla*, y de los argentinos, *no*, o se *habla mal*. Aquí, y no en otra parte, está la clave del problema. No es cierto que nuestros libros no se lean por su calidad inferior, ya que el público argentino

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<sup>150</sup> This same issue also contains one of Borges's literary review pages (p. 28).

<sup>151</sup> "El libro argentino *no es negocio*. Salvo contadas excepciones, que no coinciden exactamente con la excelencia literaria, la colocación de nuestros libros en el mercado no da resultados que compensen el esfuerzo de los autores ni es riesgo de los editores. Su publicación significa, pues, casi siempre, un sacrificio realizado en aras de la gloria. Sacrificio que, como es natural, recae sobre el autor mismo, convertido en editor de su obra, ya que ningún negociante acomete la empresa lúrica de invertir un capital, así sea ínfimo, en ediciones argentinas" (32).

consume en abundancia mala literatura extranjera, de todo precio. Lo cierto es que esta literatura es literatura protegida, y la nuestra, en cambio, es literatura desamparada. [...] El problema del libro argentino es, antes que nada, un problema de la crítica literaria. [...] No hay quien señale los valores. No puede saberse cuáles libros son buenos y cuáles no; qué debe leerse y qué evitarse; a quiénes cabe admirar y a quiénes repudiar; en qué consiste la originalidad o la utilidad o la belleza de lo que se publica y por cuáles razones. (32)

Palacio goes on to discuss the fact that Argentine authors themselves are responsible for filling the void of literary criticism in their native country: “la solución de nuestro problema bibliográfico – que es el problema de nuestra cultura – está en manos de los mismos escritores” (32). As we shall see in the next chapter, this is *precisely* the work that Borges undertakes throughout the 1940s in an effort to elevate the “desamparada” literature of his native Argentina.<sup>152</sup> Even though this short article deals solely with *Argentine* literature, Palacio’s arguments concerning a lack of critical tradition and, as a result, a lack of appropriate markets can be extended to Latin American literature more generally.

The claims made by Palacio in his article about the lack of readership for anything by (local) authors in Argentina directly complement a later statement made by Borges himself when asked about his reading public in Buenos Aires during an interview for *El Hogar*: “no a todos les agrada leer, y cuando lo hacen, prefieren, por razones que estoy lejos de censurar, *leer a escritores extranjeros*” (“Por qué los escritores argentinos no viven de su pluma?” (12 July 1946), pp. 167-69, emphasis mine). In line with the observations made by Palacio, Borges stresses the interest of the Argentine reading public (of *El Hogar*) in *foreign* authors as opposed to the works of Argentines, which might extend to, or represent, the works of Latin American authors in a more general sense. Writers such as G. K. Chesterton, Rudyard Kipling, and

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<sup>152</sup> See Chapter Four: “Anthologies and Edited Collections (1937-1951): Kapelusz y Cía, Editorial Sudamericana, Emecé Editores, Editorial Sur, Fondo de la Cultura Mexicana”.

Anthony Berkeley were established not only within their own literary traditions and canons, but they also had an established (publishing) market and, thus, had a higher probability of selling in countries other than their own. In light of the fact that Argentine publishing was just starting to blossom, it is more likely than not that profit-driven publishers would opt for successful and established authors that had high sales elsewhere than take the risky gamble of producing lesser known, or lesser appreciated, locals.

Another curious aspect of Borges's page in *El Hogar* is the selection of several authors that would later become part of the *Antología de la literatura fantástica* (1940), *Los mejores cuentos policiales* (1943)<sup>153</sup>, and even the "Séptimo Círculo" series produced by Emecé Editores and directed by Borges and Bioy Casares. Even though the entries included by Borges in "Libros y autores extranjeros" predate all of these anthologies and collections by some years, these initial reviews can be seen as a type of campaign undertaken by Borges to promote various works of High Modernism and detective fiction. The later inclusion of similar authors in his edited collections and collaborative anthologies throughout the 1940s can be seen as the second phase of this same campaign to promote particular genres and literary tastes. Thus, when viewed together, the combination of his reviews in *El Hogar* and the series of anthologies that he edited later appear to be a sort of conditioning or preparation of readers (in the Argentine middle-to-upper classes) for these types of literature. Most notably is the review of Nicholas Blake's *The Beast Must Die* (24 June 1938), which happens to be the very first book published in the "Séptimo Círculo" series in 1945. This book is the only one mentioned directly by Borges in *El Hogar* and also published in Emecé's series, but other *authors* from the "Séptimo Círculo"

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<sup>153</sup> In light of the fact that there were several different editions, which each contain unique literary selections from distinct authors, the overlaps indicated might be between any of the given editions (but each of the specific editions will be noted for any of the comparisons).

corpus appear throughout Borges's column: Michael Innes, Milward Kennedy, Hugh Walpole, John Dickson Carr, Richard Hull, Eden Phillpotts, Charles Dickens, and Graham Greene.<sup>154</sup>

Similar overlaps of authors appear in the *Antología de la literatura fantástica* and *Los mejores cuentos policiales*. The correlation between the reviews of these authors in *El Hogar* and their later appearance in these three distinct venues also seems to suggest a certain level of indirect attempt to develop certain literary tastes, on the part of Borges, for future readership.<sup>155</sup> More specifically, all three of these publishing ventures deal with the genre of detective fiction, a genre that Borges and Bioy Casares were eager to elevate from its current status as minor literature, which suggests a general promotion of and interest in this type of writing. The following chart displays the overlaps of authors between Borges's "Libros y autores extranjeros" in *El Hogar* (1936-1939), the *Antología de la literatura fantástica* (Editorial Sudamericana, 1940), *Los mejores cuentos policiales* (Emecé Editores, 1943), and the "Séptimo Círculo" series (Emecé Editores, 1945-1951)<sup>156</sup>:

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<sup>154</sup> The presence/absence of several of the more prominent writers in the detective fiction genre that Borges includes in his page in *El Hogar* but do not appear in the "Séptimo Círculo" series can be accounted for in light of royalty issues. Bioy Casares writes at length about this issue in his *Memorias*: "el trabajo en la editorial nos asomó a los problemas de los derechos de autor, que hasta entonces habíamos ignorado. [...] Nos enteramos así de que algunas novelas que deseábamos incluir en El Séptimo Círculo no estaban libres" (101). He goes on to name a few key authors and books they hoped, but ultimately were unable, to include: Agatha Christie, *Asesinato de Roger Ackroyd*; Milward Kennedy, *El socorro de la muerte*; Eden Phillpotts, *Monkshood*; Ellery Queen; Dorothy Sayers.

<sup>155</sup> In chapter five I will analyze similar authors whose work was published around the same time by the Editorial Sur, for which Borges served as part of its original editorial board.

<sup>156</sup> The "Séptimo Círculo" series, and Borges and Bioy Casares's roles as directors of it, extends well beyond 1951, but I have chosen this date as a cut off in light of the scope of my current project. It should also be noted that certain critics have looked at some overlaps between the latter three publications, but, to my knowledge, there has been no inclusion of *El Hogar* in any of these studies (See Vega (1996), Parodi (1999), Miranda (2015)).



	<i>El Hogar</i>	<i>Antología de la literatura fantástica</i>	<i>Los mejores cuentos policiales</i>	“Séptimo Círculo”
Anthony Berkeley	X		X	X
Nicholas Blake (Cecil Day-Lewis)	X			X
Jorge Luis Borges		X	X	
John Dickson Carr	X		X	X
G. K. Chesterton	X	X	X	
Jean Cocteau	X	X		
Wilkie Collins	X <sup>157</sup>		X	X
Lord Dunsany	X	X		
William Faulkner	X			X
James George Frazer	X	X		
Graham Greene	X		X	X
Richard Hull	X			X
Michael Innes	X		X	X
James Joyce	X	X		
Franz Kafka	X	X		
Milward Kennedy	X		X	X
Rudyard Kipling	X	X		
Manuel Peyrou		X		X

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<sup>157</sup> There is no “biografía sintética” dedicated to Wilkie Collins throughout Borges’s pages of *El Hogar*, nor are there any of his books reviewed. That being said, his novels are referenced when discussing *other* authors as a point of comparison: “No en vano la primera novela policial que registra la historia – la primera en el tiempo y quizá en el mérito: ‘The Moonstone’ (1868) de Wilkie Collins – es, asimismo, una excelente novela psicológica” (3 September 1937, p. 30; review of “Sic transit Gloria” by Milward Kennedy)

Eden Phillpotts	X		X	X
Edgar Allan Poe	X		X	
Ellery Queen	X		X	
Georges Simenon	X		X	
Hugh Walpole	X			X

What we find by analyzing the overlaps between Borges's reviews in *El Hogar* and the texts he selects to include in his edited series in the above chart is that the majority of the writers are best known for either their High-Modernist fiction or their crime or detective fiction.<sup>158</sup> Thus, one of the key strategies in reviewing literature and collaborating with Bioy Casares (and also Silvina Ocampo) is the production of a new interest and market in Argentina for the previously overlooked genres of High Modernism and detective fiction.<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> In light of the fact that many of these authors might not be well-known to the reader, I have taken the liberty of including the nationality and type of literature most associated with those that might be less known: Anthony Berkeley (English crime writer); Cecil Day-Lewis ("Nicholas Blake" – Irish writer and poet; wrote mystery stories under the above pen name); John Dickson Carr (American mystery/detective fiction writer); G. K. Chesterton (English writer most known for his "Father Brown" detective series); Jean Cocteau (French writer; fantastic story included in the above-mentioned anthology about death); Wilkie Collins (English writer; his novel *The Moonstone* is considered the first English detective novel); Lord Dunsany (Irish writer known for his fantastic works); Graham Greene (English novelist; thriller-style works); Richard Hull (Richard Henry Sampson – English crime novelist); Michael Innes (the pseudonym under which J. I. M. Stewart (English author) published crime novels); Milward Kennedy (English crime writer); Eden Phillpotts (English writer; various genres – the work published in the "Séptimo Círculo" series is detective fiction); Ellery Queen (American author – pseudonym of Daniel Nathan and Emanuel Lepofsky under which they wrote detective fiction); Georges Simenon (Belgian writer; best known for his detective fiction series that stars Jules Maigret); Hugh Walpole (English novelist; the work published in the "Séptimo Círculo" series is detective fiction).

<sup>159</sup> Of course, the bigger question becomes why champion this genre rather than, say the Argentine writing of a Roberto Arlt or an Eduardo Mallea. I will return to this idea, as well as all of the anthologies in the above chart, in the next chapter, which is dedicated entirely to the collections that Borges edited between 1937 and 1951.

In addition to helping rejuvenate and popularize the detective fiction genre in Argentina, Borges's biweekly page on authors and foreign works in *El Hogar* can also be linked to a number of emerging series with distinct publishing houses. I will first consider the Editorial Losada's "Pajarita de Papel" series, directed by Borges's brother-in-law, Guillermo de Torre, and the Editorial Sudamericana's "Colección Horizonte."<sup>160</sup> Not only do these collections contain works by authors highlighted throughout Borges's pages in *El Hogar*, but they also contain works that were *translated* by Borges himself. In fact, the initial volume of the Editorial Losada's "Pajarita de Papel" series is none other than Borges's translation of Franz Kafka's *La metamorfosis* (1938), which serves to stress the impact of this Argentine's literary criticism on the larger Argentine book market. The chart below lists authors who first appeared in Borges's pages in *El Hogar* and whose books were published later as a part of the "Pajarita de Papel" series:

	Editorial Losada: "Pajarita de Papel"
Franz Kafka	<i>La metamorfosis</i> (1938)
Franz Werfel	<i>La muerte del pequeño burgués</i> (1938)
Paul Claudel	<i>El libro de Cristóbal Colón</i> (1941)
Jorge Santayana	<i>Diálogos en el limbo</i> (1941)
Jules Supervielle	<i>La desconocida del Sena</i> (1941), con ilustraciones de Norah Borges
Aldous Huxley	<i>El joven Arquímedes</i> (1943); <i>El tiempo y la máquina</i> (1945)

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<sup>160</sup> It should be noted that it was quite common to find publishing works as part of a larger series or collection in not only Argentine markets, but also Spanish-speaking markets more broadly. This is most certainly the case for both the Editorial Sudamericana and the Editorial Losada as well as other publishing houses, including Emecé Editores, and still others not analyzed here such as Espasa-Calpe (De Sagastizábal 108).

Thomas Mann	<i>Cervantes, Goethe, Freud</i> (1943)
Paul Valéry	<i>Política del espíritu</i> (1945)

Generally speaking, this collection was one of the most enjoyable, and to some extent successful, for Losada:

“La pajarita de papel —comenta Gonzalo Pedro Losada, el delfín de la casa— ha sido la colección que más satisfacciones nos dio como editores.” Cuando *La metamorfosis*, de Kafka, inició la serie, cuidadosamente encuadernada, el precio de venta al público, por unidad, marcaba tres pesos. Al ser borrada del catálogo en 1951, con *El sitio de Londres*, de Henry James, el tomo se vendía en trece pesos. Hoy, si volviera a los escaparates de las librerías, cada ejemplar treparía muy cerca de los mil pesos, el mejor índice del proceso inflacionario que viene sufriendo el país. (<http://www.magicasruinas.com.ar/revistero/argentina/nace-editorial-losada.htm>)

Many of the titles that fill out this early collection also can be found (with new bindings and physical attributes) within Losada’s “Biblioteca contemporánea,” another series initially started alongside “Pajarita de papel,” which speaks to the publishing house’s marketing strategies. In other words, publishing the same titles with different physical attributes (paper, bindings, etc.) that would affect their prices and accessibility, and also including these same titles within unique collections, suggests a strong promotion of such works. While there are a few studies dedicated to the “Biblioteca contemporánea” collection of works, especially in terms of its existence as an outlet for exiled Spaniards to edit works from their home country, there is no extensive study, to date, focusing on Losada’s “Pajarita de papel” series.<sup>161</sup> More specifically, the only mentions of this series are precisely that, mentions in passing of its existence, but no detailed investigation

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<sup>161</sup> In terms of the transatlantic link made between Losada and Spain, Leandro de Sagastizábal notes the following: “Los editores de la Argentina que habían llegado a estas tierras desde España, volvían allí a través de los libros que aquí editaban” (119).

into the design elements, prices, titles published, or parties involved in its production.<sup>162</sup> In addition to the important role that this series played at the Editorial Losada, another intriguing aspect of the works included in the “Pajarita de papel” collection is the fact that every element of each book’s production, from the selection of the texts to the translation and editing, appears to be somewhat of a family affair. In other words, not only did Borges’s brother-in-law, Guillermo de Torre, serve as one of the directors of the publishing house and the specific person in charge of the “Pajarita de papel” series, but *both* Georgie and his mother, Leonor Acevedo de Borges, contributed translations to the series.<sup>163</sup>

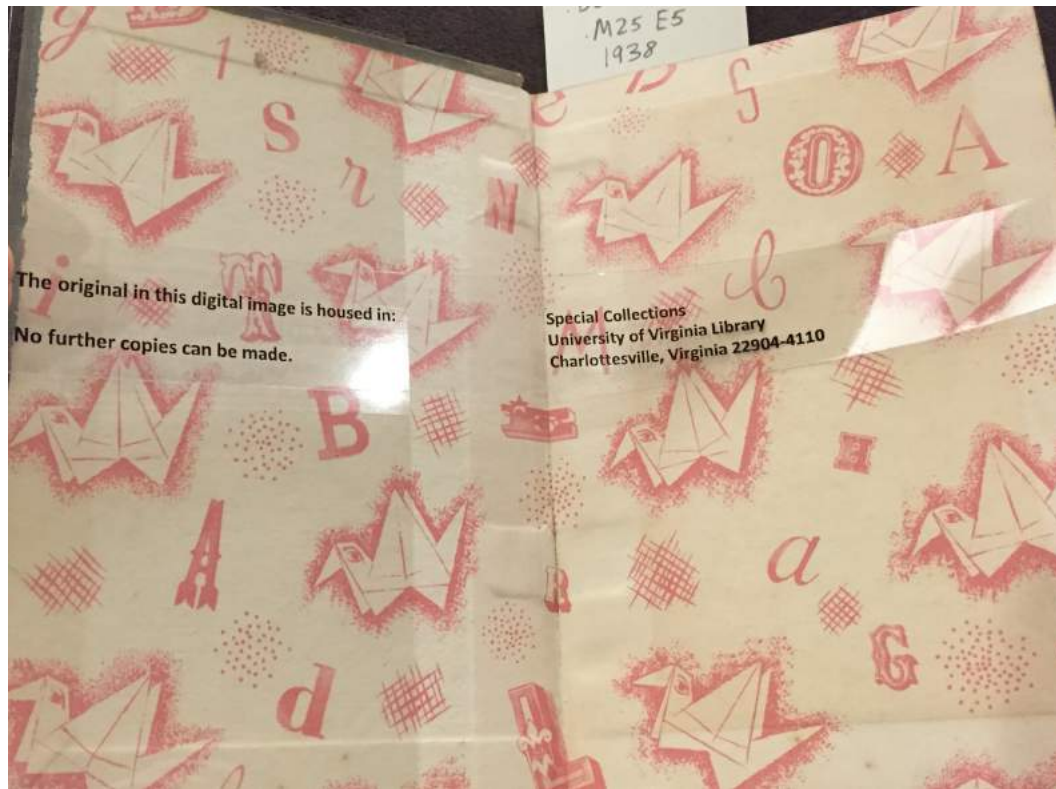
Each volume in the “Pajarita de papel” series was carefully thought out, not only in terms of the specific work chosen, but also the physical features of each book. The fact that the Italian artist, Attilio Rossi, a close friend and collaborator of Borges, was in charge of the design elements of each work published in the series accounts for the unique visual features found throughout the pages of each volume.<sup>164</sup> More specifically, unlike any other of the Editorial Losada’s works published at this time, the volumes within the “Pajarita de papel” series were hard-bound books with a unique emblem of the collection on the front cover and rather flashy endpapers that play with the design concept of the “pajarita de papel,” or origami paper bird:

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<sup>162</sup> The most recent, and most panoramic, study of the publishing industry in Argentina (*Editores y políticas editoriales en Argentina (1880-2010)*), ed. José Luis de Diego (2014)), only cites the “Pajarita de papel” collection as one of many that Losada created during its early years and the fact that Borges’s translation of Kafka’s *La metamorfosis* served as the initial volume in the series (de Diego 100).

<sup>163</sup> Leonor Acevedo de Borges translated the following works for the “Pajarita de papel” series at Losada: Katherine Mansfield, *En la bahía* (1938); D. H. Lawrence, *La mujer que se fué a caballo* (1939); Aldous Huxley, *El joven Arquímedes* (1943). In addition to these works, Borges’s mother also translated Herbert Read’s *El significado del arte* for Losada (1954), William Saroyan’s *La comedia humana* for Inter-americana (1943), and Eden Phillpotts’s *El señor Digweed y el señor Lumb* for Emecé’s “Séptimo Círculo” series (1946).

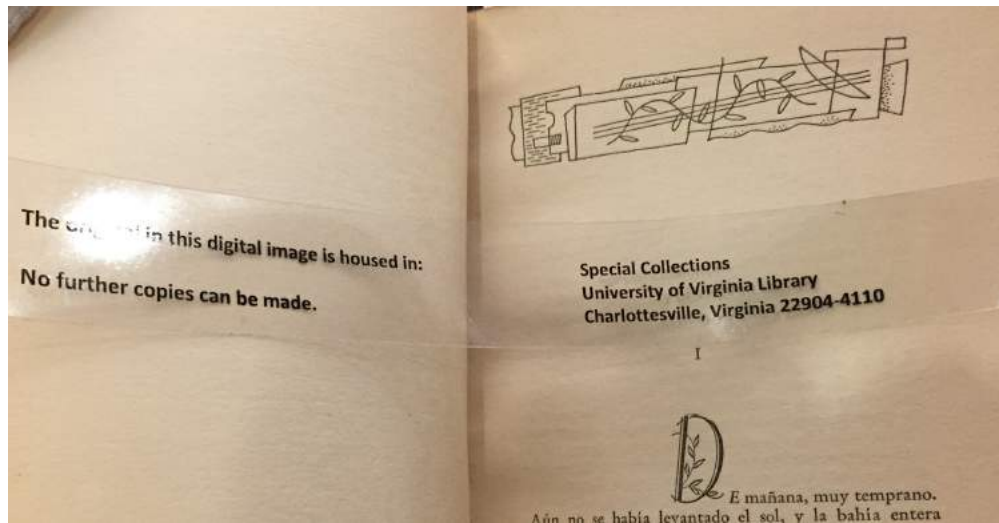
<sup>164</sup> The colophon for the second volume, Katherine Mansfield’s *En la bahía*, reads: “AL CIUDADO GRAFICO DE ATTILIO | ROSSI Y EN LA IMPRENTA LOPEZ, | PERU 666, BUENOS AIRES, ACABOSE | DE IMPRIMIR ESTE LIBRO EL 3 DE | SEPTIEMBRE DE 1938” ([208]).



**Figure 30:** Endpapers found in Borges's translation of *La metamorfosis* for the Editorial Losada (1938)

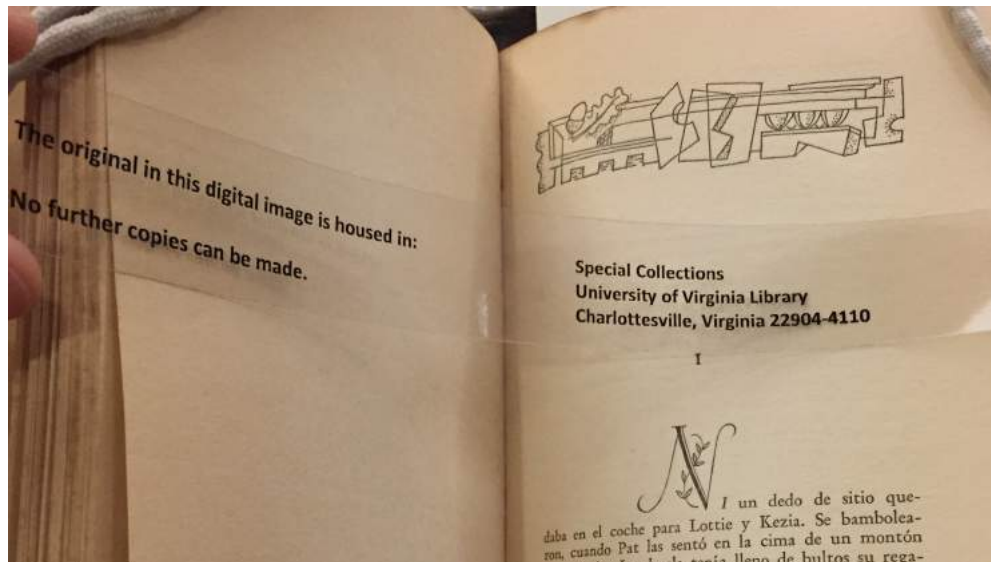
[Source: Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia]

Another aspect that helps these books stand out from other collections produced by competing publishing houses is the use of bright colors. Thus, the covers of each volume in the series range from deep, saturated reds, to bright greens and pinks. In addition, virtually every volume in the collection, whether they contain short stories or more lengthy writings by an author, has unique design headers at the start of every new section. Consider, for instance, the following illustrated headers that appear throughout Katherine Mansfield's *En la bahía* ((1938), translated by Leonor Acevedo de Borges):



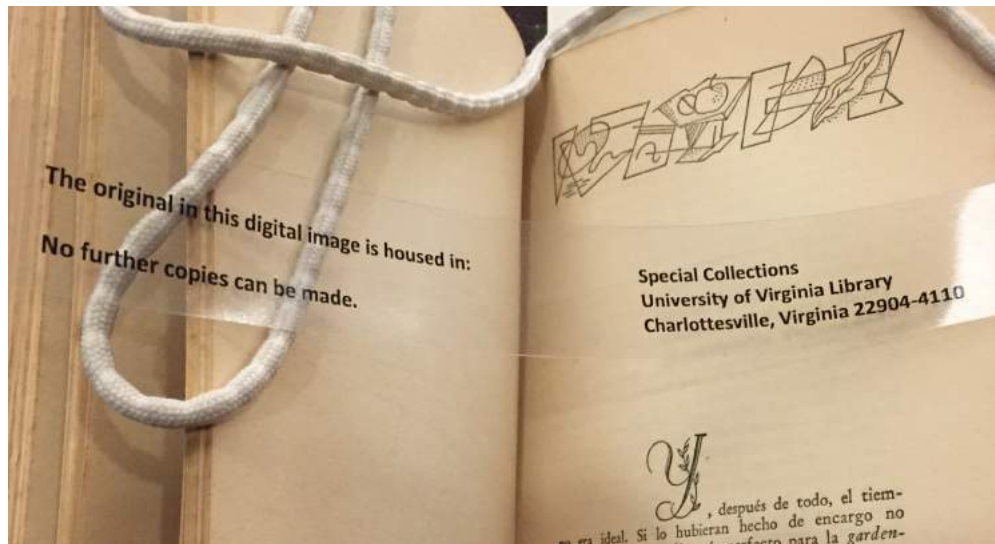
**Figure 31:** Illustrated headers in *En la bahía* (Editorial Losada, 1938)

[Source: Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia]



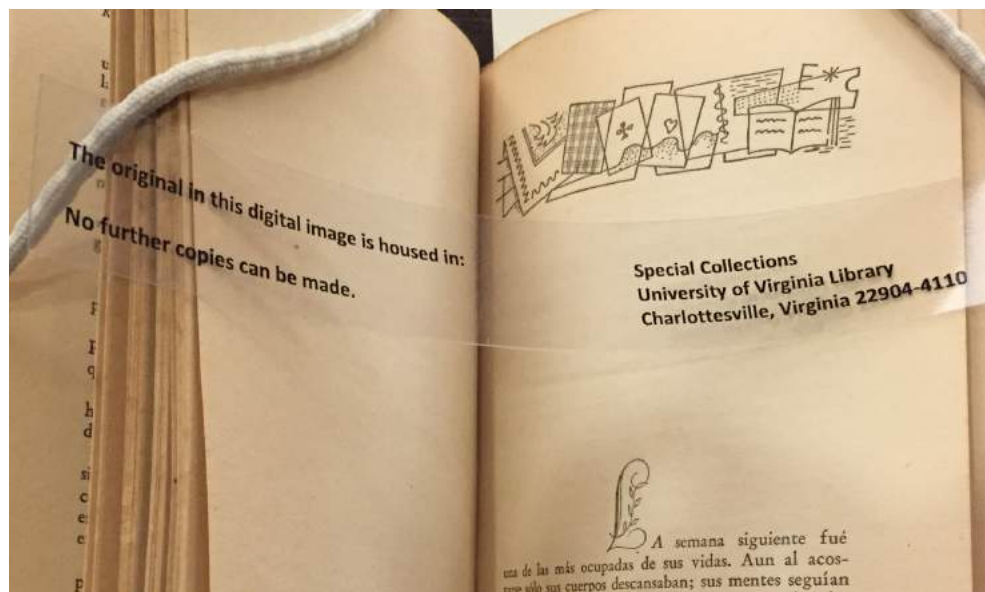
**Figure 32:** Illustrated headers in *En la bahía* (Editorial Losada, 1938)

[Source: Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia]



**Figure 33:** Illustrated headers in *En la bahía* (Editorial Losada, 1938)

[Source: Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia]



**Figure 34:** Illustrated headers in *En la bahía* (Editorial Losada, 1938)

[Source: Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia]

Unlike competing series within the Editorial Losada (or other collections produced by outside publishing houses, such as the Editorial Sudamericana), these works were crafted artistically with the utmost care. Although the above images only pertain to one specific edition produced in



the series, similar artistic details, catering to the book in which they appear, fill the pages of other works in the collection.<sup>165</sup> Interestingly, the Editorial Losada made sure to secure the copyright of all of these unique design elements by printing “Marca y características gráficas registradas” alongside the regular “Queda hecho el depósito que previene la ley núm. 11.723,” which appears at the start of virtually every printed book during this period in Argentina. Thus, it is clear that these artistic elements were very important to this publishing house and most likely something that distinguished their works from that of their competition.

Just as Borges’s column in *El Hogar* appears to have impacted subsequent publishing decisions at the Editorial Losada, so, too, does it appear to have influenced a series at the Editorial Sudamericana: the “Colección Horizonte.” The chart below chronicles authors who first appeared in Borges’s pages in *El Hogar* and whose books were published later as a part of the “Colección Horizonte”:

	Editorial Sudamericana: “Colección Horizonte” <sup>166</sup>
Liam O’Flaherty	<i>El alucinado</i> (1939)
Julien Green	<i>Adriana Mesurat</i> (1939)
William Somerset Maugham	<i>La otra comedia</i> (1941)
Thomas Mann	<i>Las cabezas trocadas</i> (1942)
Vicki Baum	<i>Marión</i> (1943)

<sup>165</sup> For instance, Walt Whitman’s *Canto a mí mismo* (1941) contains not only uniquely illustrated headers, but also several full-page illustrations that complement sections of the poem.

<sup>166</sup> In addition to the titles listed above, several other works were published in the “Colección Horizonte” by authors whose names appeared in Borges’s column in *El Hogar*, such as George Bernard Shaw (*El vínculo irracional* (1953)), but since these books have a publication date after 1951, I have not included them in the above chart.

William Faulkner	<i>Las palmeras salvajes</i> (1943)
Aldous Huxley	<i>El tiempo debe detenerse</i> (1945); <i>Con los esclavos en la Noria</i> (1945)
Virginia Woolf	<i>Orlando</i> (1945)
Evelyn Waugh	<i>¡...Más banderas!</i> (1947); <i>Primacia</i> (1947); <i>Retorno a Brideshead</i> (1948); <i>Los seres queridos</i> (1953); <i>Decadencia y caída</i> (1955)
Franz Werfel	<i>Estafa de cielo</i> (1947)
John Dos Passos	<i>El número uno</i> (1943); <i>Hombre joven a la ventura</i> (1951)

The Editorial Sudamericana's *Catálogo general* (núm. 5 (1950)) best summarizes the aim and content of this specific collection:

La COLECCIÓN HORIZONTE agrupa una serie de obras que en conjunto componen el panorama más completo de la novela contemporánea, el cual va ampliándose aun a medida que con riguroso criterio estético se incorporan a ella los más notables *valores* de la literatura imaginativa. Cada uno de sus volúmenes representa un enfoque agudo y personalismo del mundo; a través de sus páginas el lector penetra por laberintos de pasión, en los destinos atormentados o singulares de personajes que tienen todo el calor y la verdad de seres humanos. De todos los títulos puede decirse que destacan un *valor* representativo o un significativo matiz en la producción de este o aquel novelista, y asegurarse que, si bien separados naturalmente por las específicas cualidades de cada autor, todos se unen para constituirse en la muestra de mayor *valor* que en este género literario sea posible hallar entre las ofrecidas al lector exigente de nuestro tiempo. ([5], emphasis mine)

The most salient characteristic of this collection that comes across through the above description is that of *value*. More specifically, there is a marked interest in selecting and publishing works that best represent contemporary authors' unique and individual styles. Thus, in a certain sense, the "Colección horizonte" provides readers with books that will add a level of *value* to their lives. Alongside this conceptually unifying idea of value, the books produced as part of the "Colección horizonte" series also possess similar aesthetic/physical characteristics. In general

terms, the cover of each volume is divided into three horizontal segments with varying color combinations, which is a possible source/reason for the name of the collection itself. Even though the color schemes of this tripartite division are hard to analyze for patterns (in light of the fact that with each new edition, the color scheme of each work appears to change and vary), they seem broadly to echo similar trends in English publishing, specifically with regard to the Penguin book series, which first emerged in 1935 and had a “basic horizontal tripartite division of the covers,” just like the Editorial Sudamericana collection (Baines 20).<sup>167</sup> In addition to their similar tendency toward horizontal color blocking, both Penguin and the Editorial Sudamericana use a modern san serif typeface, in black, for all of the printing on their books, which highlights their shared interest in a “modern and fresh” design (Baines 20).<sup>168</sup> Another shared trait of the books in each of the respective collections of these two publishers is the inclusion of the price on the cover (also printed in black).<sup>169</sup>

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<sup>167</sup> The Penguin books series used specific colors to stand for genres and subject matter (“initially just orange for fiction, green for crime, dark blue for biography, cerise for travel & adventure, red for plays” (Baines 20)). My initial goal to find a similar organization theory for the works produced for the “Colección horizonte” was soon thwarted by the sheer number of works included in the series, which grew at an exponential rate. Moreover, since virtually every volume was published in various editions, and each new edition presented readers with a *new* combination of colors on its cover, I decided that this undertaking was much too large (and somewhat distracting) for the current project. That being said, I hope to investigate the idea of a color scheme theory for the Editorial Sudamericana collection in my future research.

<sup>168</sup> Penguin uses Bodoni Ultra Bold typefaces for the publisher’s name and Gill Sans for the rest of the text on the cover and spine.

<sup>169</sup> In light of the fact that there are virtually no extant publishers’ records for all of the major Argentine publishing houses operating during this time, these prices are a *vital* piece of data that can reveal a great deal about the sales and cost of production, especially when one is able to compare the prices from various editions of the same work. For instance, the second edition of William Faulkner’s *Las palmeras salvajes* was priced at \$3.50 (with a total of 368 pages), while the third edition of this same work jumped in price to \$9 (and contained only 324 pages). That being said, this type of investigation can quickly mushroom into a large secondary project, especially when we consider the fact that there are varying definitions and understandings of the term “edition.” In some cases a second edition is actually a second impression from a first edition. Thus, this is a topic that must be treated with extreme care and precision and one that I hope to revisit in my future research.

Another oft-forgotten collection from a different publishing house appears to fit the same pattern as Editorial Losada's "Pajarita de papel" and Editorial Sudamericana's "Colección horizonte": Emecé Editores's "Cuadernos de la quimera."<sup>170</sup> More specifically, this later series appears directly to parallel what we find in Losada's series, since the first volume is a translation of a literary classic done by none other than Borges himself, and several of the authors in the collection also can be found within Borges's page in *El Hogar*. What is more, there are several writers directly linked to the literary magazine that he and Adolfo Bioy Casares created in 1936 (*Destiempo*), which will be discussed in more detail below. In the most general terms, the "Cuadernos de la quimera" collection, directed by José Bianco, was dedicated to the "nouvelle," "esas narraciones de menos de cien páginas, demasiado prolongadas para ser cuentos pero faltas de aire para el largo suspiro que supone la novela."<sup>171</sup> Much like many of the collections that I argue stem from Borges's writings for *El Hogar*, this particular series published works by only well-known, established writers. Thus, the majority of the works included in this collection were those that had already been a commercial success in other countries (mostly Europe), or those by authors whose other writings had sold well. Since the writers included in this series overlap with several of Borges's different publishing ventures, I have grouped them by color (yellow for *El Hogar* overlap and green for *Destiempo* overlap) to facilitate reading.<sup>172</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> In order to clarify any confusion for readers who are familiar with Emecé's catalogue, this publishing house also produced another series entitled "Colección la Quimera," but unlike the "Cuadernos de la quimera," the former series focused on novels and larger narratives, not the "nouvelle" of the latter.

<sup>171</sup> Libertella <http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/suplementos/libros/10-1694-2005-08-13.html>

<sup>172</sup> The only except to this color-coded system is the last work by Henry James, which I've chosen to include here since its prologue was written by Borges.

	Emecé Editores: “Cuadernos de la quimera” <sup>173</sup>
Herman Melville	<i>Bartleby</i> (1943) [translated with prologue by Borges]
Ezequiel Martínez Estrada	<i>La inundación</i> (1943)
José Bianco	<i>Sombras suele vestir</i> (1944)
Adolfo Bioy Casares	<i>El perjurio de la nieve</i> (1944)
Charles Baudelaire	<i>La Fanfarlo</i> (1944)
Charles Dickens	<i>El velo negro</i> (1945)
Franz Kafka	<i>Informe para una academia</i> (1945)
Henry James	<i>La humillación de los Northmore</i> (1945) [translated by Haydée Lange; prologue by Borges]

Along with his impactful column in *El Hogar*, Borges also wrote occasional pieces for *La Nación*, a well-established Argentine newspaper (1870-present). His contributions to *La Nación*<sup>174</sup> during this period (1940-1945) were not as regular, nor did he hold a specific position at this periodical as he did with *El Hogar*. Moreover, the types of pieces that he wrote for *La Nación* differed drastically, in terms of their subject matter and style, from those of his “Libros y autores extranjeros.” Thus, what we find in *La Nación* are short pieces of fiction, poems, and original essays instead of reviews of foreign authors and works. More specifically, twelve of the

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<sup>173</sup> It should be noted that works in this collection are published up until 1954, but, given the scope of my current project, I have limited the titles included to those that fall within my pre-established time frame. The works that fit my given time frame, but whose authors do not overlaps with any other of Borges’s publishing ventures are the following: Geoffrey Chaucer, *El cuento del perdonador* (1944); Francisco Ayala, *El hechizado* (1944); Daniel Defoe, *La aparición de Mrs. Veal* (1944).

<sup>174</sup> Similar to *El Hogar*, the Argentine periodical *La Nación*, founded by Bartolomé Mitre, was known for its connections to the conservative (and religious) public of Argentina.

sixteen works that Borges published in this periodical are early versions of texts that would be included in later collections or new versions of previously published works. The following chart demonstrates this tendency:

	<i>Historia de la eternidad</i> (Tor, 1936)	<i>La Nación</i> (1940-1945)	<i>Ficciones</i> (Sur, 1944)	<i>Otras inquisiciones</i> (Sur, 1952)	<i>El otro, el mismo</i> (Emecé, 1969)	<i>Prólogos</i> (Torres Agüero, 1975)
“Algunos pareceres de Nietzsche”		February 11, 1940				
“La noche cíclica”		October 6, 1940			X	
“Nota sobre ‘The Purple Land’”		August 3, 1941		X		
“Dos libros de este tiempo”		October 12, 1941		X		
“Tres formas del eterno regreso”	X	December 12, 1941				
“El idioma analítico de John Wilkins”		December 14, 1941		X		
“Teoría de Almafuerte”		February 22, 1942				X
“Funes el memorioso”		June 7, 1942	X			
“La forma de la espada”		July 26, 1942	X			
“Sobre una alegría china”		October 25, 1942				
“La última		January 10, 1943				

invención de Hugh Walpole”						
“Sobre el Vathek de William Beckford”		April 4, 1943		X		
“Poema conjectural”		July 4, 1943			X	
“Poema del tercer elemento”		March 5, 1944			X	
“El propósito de Zarathustra”		October 15, 1944				
“La flor de Coleridge”		September 23, 1945		X		

The differences between Borges’s publications in *La Nación* and *El Hogar* are quite clear in light of the fact that the large majority of Borges’s publications in the former periodical were original, creative pieces that would be republished as a part of one of his own collections, while the latter focus solely on reviews of other authors and their works. As a result, these two outlets represent two distinct tendencies in the Argentine author’s publishing ventures during this moment in his career. On the one hand, the reviews of foreign authors and their works for *El Hogar* would serve as a catalyst for Borges’s (successful) production of a number of anthologies, of both poetry and prose, with the aid of several of his close friends. In addition to these edited anthologies, Borges’s column in *El Hogar* would also help with the development of collections for the Editorial Losada, the Editorial Sudamericana, and Emecé Editores. On the other hand, Borges’s pieces published in *La Nación* reflect a simultaneous promotion of his own creative writings (in the form of short stories, essays, and poems), which would emerge more prominently on the scene with the release of his two of most canonical collections in this decade:

*Ficciones* (1944) and *El Aleph* (1949). Even though Borges's contributions to *El Hogar* and *La Nación* are not often considered as foundational as these later volumes, nor are they analyzed for their physical features or attributes, their importance for his fashioning as an author cannot be emphasized enough.

### *Collaborative Foundations: Friendships and Shared Interests*

As we have seen, Borges's extreme level of publishing productivity is one of the key aspects of the period of focus for this current project (1930-1951); however, this period of time also coincides with many burgeoning friendships with other writers, most notably Adolfo Bioy Casares. This relationship would result in the creation of literary *alter egos* whose names appear on several published works. Many sources pinpoint the first chance meeting of Borges and Bioy Casares to 1931 or 1932 at Victoria Ocampo's mansion in San Isidro:

A poco del lanzamiento de *Sur*, Marta Casares de Bioy visitó a Victoria Ocampo. Iba a pedirle un consejo: su hijo Adolfito, un adolescente de diecisiete años y del que estaba orgullosa, tenía una profunda inclinación hacia la literatura; de hecho ya había escrito dos libros. Marta Casares quería saber a quién de entre los escritores conocidos recomendaba Victoria para que lo ayudara y lo guiara en el camino elegido por su hijo. Victoria, sin vacilar, le indicó a Borges. [...] Borges señala la fecha del encuentro en 1931, cuando él tenía treinta y dos años y Adolfito, diecisiete. Bioy, en cambio, afirma que ocurrió en 1932, y los dos dijeron que fue en la casa de San Isidro de Victoria Ocampo. [...] Borges quedó deslumbrado con este muchacho que en dieciocho años había leído los mismos autores y libros que él en treinta y tres. (Vázquez "días" 133-34)

Following their initial encounter in San Isidro, Borges and Bioy Casares started to meet on a regular basis to discuss literature and, little by little, begin their collaborative endeavors. Around the time of their first meeting, Silvina Ocampo, one of Victoria's younger sisters, also started to



attend their periodic *tertulias* and, as we shall see later, collaborate with the two Argentine writers as well.<sup>175</sup>

One of the earliest sites of collaboration between Borges and Bioy Casares was “writing advertising copy on the health-giving properties – for ‘intellectuals and sedentary types’ – of La Martona’s products,” which were all produced for the latter’s family-run dairy business (King, “Bioy” 48). Although copies of this pamphlet for La Martona are extremely rare, we know that Francisco A. Colombo, the same luxury printer who is responsible for a number of Borges’s works from the early 1930s that we saw in the last chapter, printed it.<sup>176</sup> These early ads that Borges and Bioy Casares wrote for “La Martona” appeared in *Sur* (August 1935) and were also prominent throughout the oft-forgotten literary journal that the two writers created and directed from October 1936 to December 1937: *Destiempo*.<sup>177</sup>

Even though this periodical did not take off and only encompasses a mere three issues, “fue el punto de partida de un trabajo literario compartido que se desarrolló a lo largo de cuarenta años en forma paralela a la creación individual de los escritores” (Sabsay-Herrera 106).

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<sup>175</sup> Silvina Ocampo had been a friend of Norah Borges for some time (mainly due to the fact that both were painters of a similar style) prior to spending time with her brother, Georgie, and his newly discovered friend, Bioy Casares, who would later become her husband.

<sup>176</sup> The fact that Colombo printed this pamphlet is a detail that is most often overlooked. Cristina Parodi’s study of this work (“Borges, Bioy y el arte de hacer literatura con leche cuajada.” *Reescrituras*. Eds. Luz Rodríguez-Carranza y Marilene Nagle. New York: Rodopi, 2004: 259-272) is the only critical piece to date and she does not directly mention this Argentine printer, but rather includes a subtle reference to it in her bibliography: “*La leche cuajada de La Martona. Estudio dietético sobre las leches ácidas. Folleto con recetas*. s/a **Buenos Aires: Talleres Gráficos Colón**, s/f” (emphasis mine). As we saw in the last chapter, Francisco A. Colombo’s printing workshop was also known as “Colón,” thus establishing the link.

<sup>177</sup> Aside from passing references to *Destiempo*, the only detailed study of this periodical is Fabiana Sabsay-Herrera’s “Para la prehistoria de H. Bustos Domecq. *Destiempo*, una colaboración olvidada de Jorge Luis Borges y Adolfo Bioy Casares,” *Variaciones Borges* 5 (1998): 106-22. Sabsay-Herrera notes the extreme scarcity of copies of *Destiempo* as a reason for the lack of studies. Luckily, copies of all three numbers are housed in the University of Virginia Borges Collection. It is also important to note that this literary magazine was also printed by Francisco A. Colombo.

In terms of the physical features of *Destiempo*, one is immediately struck by the resemblance to several avant-garde periodicals from the early part of the twentieth century. Sabsay-Herrera stresses the fact that *Destiempo* cannot be seen as similar to earlier (historical) avant-garde periodicals, as it lacks a manifesto and any sense of rupture, but the similar format, typographical layout, and kinds of materials included in its pages make it virtually impossible to ignore these earlier works as a source of inspiration or influence (108-9). More specifically, two particular avant-garde periodicals, *ULTRA* (Spain: 1921-1922) and *Martín Fierro* (Argentina: 1924-1927), stand out for having an uncanny amount of similar physical features in common with *Destiempo*. What is more, it should be noted that Borges published several poems and short pieces in various issues of *ULTRA* and also within the initial numbers of *Martín Fierro*, which confirms his knowledge of and familiarity with both literary magazines. In terms of their physical features, *Destiempo*'s use of one single sheet folded into thirds, much like a pamphlet, calls to mind the literary magazine *ULTRA*. In addition, the combination of varying typefaces and multiple columns of text echo the visual layout of this Spanish periodical.

The shared traits between *Destiempo* and *Martín Fierro* are even more striking than those between this later Argentine periodical and *ULTRA*. First is the arrangement of details on the front page, especially the masthead, where the titles, which both appear in bold, serif and san serif, and uppercase typefaces:<sup>178</sup>

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<sup>178</sup> The first few issues of *Martín Fierro* (1924-1925) used a serif typeface for the title, but changed in favor of a more modern, san serif typeface with equal stress throughout each of the letters. Another interesting aspect of the publication of *Destiempo* is the fact that all three issues were printed by Francisco A. Colombo, which speaks to the quality of this periodical. In light of the fact that Colombo's work would have been costly, it is quite probable that Bioy Casares financed the printing of the issues of *Destiempo*. This idea is further supported by the fact that the only advertisements found throughout any of the pages of this periodical are those for Bioy Casares's family business, "La Martona."



Figure 35: Printed Headlines for the Argentine literary journal *Martín Fierro*

[Source: Archivo Histórico de Revistas Argentinas (<http://www.ahira.com.ar/mfierro.php>)]



Figure 36: Printed Headline for Borges's and Bioy Casares's literary journal *Destiempo*

[Source: Archivo Histórico de Revistas Argentinas (<http://www.ahira.com.ar/destiempo.php>)]

The layout of information pertaining to the city, year, and specific number of the issue is very similar between the two publications as well. Furthermore, and perhaps of most intrigue, is the fact that there is a great deal of overlap between the writers and intellectuals associated with or published within *Martín Fierro* and those whose work also appears throughout the pages of *Destiempo*. More specifically, aside from Borges, Macedonio Fernández, Carlos Mastronardi, Nicolás Oliveri, Xul Solar, and Silvina Ocampo are all involved (in some way) with both periodicals. Even though *Destiempo* does not have the same avant-garde driven edge of *Martín Fierro*, or any other periodical of its type, there is a possible link between the two in terms of their mutual desire to create or attract a new kind of reader.<sup>179</sup> That said, the publication of a series of *Greguerías* by Ramón Gómez de la Serna in the last issue of *Destiempo* serves as a direct link between Borges and Bioy Casares's literary magazine and those of the historical avant-garde (including *ULTRA*), since this Spanish writer was very much involved in these types

<sup>179</sup> Greco <http://www.ahira.com.ar/mfierro.php>

of periodical publications at the beginning of the twentieth century (both in his native Spain and abroad in various Latin American countries).

The writers and thinkers *not* associated with the *Martín Fierro* periodical that also contributed essays, poetry, and prose to the pages of *Destiempo* were close friends of either Borges or Bioy Casares. Moreover, many of these individuals would later work with Borges to produce a variety of literary anthologies or their writings would appear as *part* of these anthologies. For instance, Pedro Henríquez Ureña co-selected and co-edited the *Antología clásica de literatura argentina* (1937) with Borges in the same year as the last issue of *Destiempo*, and Franz Kafka, Manuel Peyrou<sup>180</sup>, Macedonio Fernández, Gómez de la Serna, and Silvina Ocampo all appear within his *Antología de la literatura fantástica* (1940). Furthermore, several of the writers who are included in *Destiempo* first made their appearance in Borges's literary reviews in *El Hogar* (Jules Supervielle, Franz Kafka) while others were co-directors of different magazines with Borges (Ulises Petit de Murat). Finally, still more figured in the various collections created by the Editorial Losada ("Pajarita de papel"), the Editorial Sudamericana ("Colección horizonte"), and Emecé Editores ("Cuadernos de la quimera"), a fact which supports my claim regarding Borges's marketing strategies in helping to create these collections.<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> Along with his appearance in the *Antología de la literatura fantástica*, Manuel Peyrou also worked with Borges at *Los Anales de Buenos Aires* and his work was published as part of the "Séptimo círculo" series (*El estruendo de las rosas*, 1948; number 48).

<sup>181</sup> The authors in *Destiempo* who also appear in the above mentioned series are Erskine Caldwell, Angel J. Battistessa (translator), and Jules Supervielle. Another key aspect of the literary magazine *Destiempo* is the fact that it is also the starting point for the (apocryphal) publishing house Editorial Destiempo, created by Borges and Bioy, which advertises for six forthcoming books in the last issue of their periodical. This publishing firm will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter, along with Borges's and Bioy Casares's *other* (apocryphal) publishing house.

*The Birth of Honorio Bustos Domecq*

“when our writing is successful, then what comes out is something quite different from Bioy Casares’s stuff and from my stuff, even the jokes are different, so we have created between us a kind of third person; we have somehow begotten a third person that is quite unlike us.”

-- Jorge Luis Borges (Interview with Ronald Christ, 1966; later published in *The Paris Review*, no. 39)

The collaborative work of Borges and his close friend Adolfo Bioy Casares truly takes off with the creation of their first *alter ego*: Honorio Bustos Domecq.<sup>182</sup> As we saw at the start of this chapter, “Biorges” creates “[t]his preferred pseudonym...from the surnames of two of their respective great-grandfathers,” and in the process highlights the importance of family lineage and the freedom that comes from writing with a name that is not one’s own (Lafon 76).<sup>183</sup> To date, the majority of criticism surrounding the various works produced by Borges and Bioy Casares under this pseudonym (and that of B. Suárez Lynch, the disciple of H. Bustos Domecq, as we shall see in chapter five) tends to focus on aspects of humor and parody.<sup>184</sup> A large number of studies also address the importance understanding the genre of detective fiction when approaching their collaborative pieces, especially their earliest joint book, *Seis problemas para don Isidro Parodi* (1942), which several scholars highlight as “Latin America’s first collection of

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<sup>182</sup> Interestingly, Borges first used a similar name, “F. Bustos,” to sign a short story in the *Revista Multicolor de los Sábados*: “Hombre de las orillas” (September 16, 1933; no. 6; p. 7).

<sup>183</sup> The playful name used to refer to both writers (“Biorges”) is first used in Emir Rodríguez Monegal’s “Nota sobre Biorges” (*Mundo Nuevo* 22 (1968): 89-93).

<sup>184</sup> See Romera (1993), Martín (1997), Sabsay-Herrera (1998), Pellicer (2000), Domínguez (2010), and Lafon (2012). Even though these select articles are just that, a selection of pieces about parody in *Seis problemas para don Isidro Parodi*, they highlight the common trend of genre analysis in the work of “Biorges”.

short detective fiction” (Martín, “Polyphony” 13).<sup>185</sup> Although these lines of thinking most certainly are valuable for the study of the two Argentine writers in collaboration, I would like to focus on possible marketing strategies involved with their collaborative fiction, specifically in terms of *Seis problemas para don Isidro Parodi*. In other words, the fact that Borges spends a great deal of time and energy reviewing works of detective fiction in his column for *El Hogar*, and then goes on to produce a number of anthologies and edited collections dedicated to this genre, signals a deliberate kind of promotion that is fully supported by trends in Argentine publishing. The fact that this initial creative collaboration between the two writers is within this *same* genre seems to suggest a more complex aim that should not be boiled down simply to parody or humor, but rather, considered in light of publishing trends and markets.<sup>186</sup>

One of the most intriguing aspects of the creation of Honario Bustos Domecq, particularly when we think about this pseudonym in conjunction with *Seis problemas para don Isidro Parodi*, is the desire to flesh out fully this invented persona’s biography and bibliography. It should be noted that taking a pen name or writing under a pseudonym was a common practice in the genre of detective fiction and, thus, is a logical practice for Borges and Bioy Casares. For instance, J. I. M. Stewart wrote under the name “Michael Innes,” Daniel Nathan (Frederic Dannay) and Emanuel Lepofsky (Manfred Bennington Lee) wrote under the name “Ellery Queen,” and Cecil Day-Lewis wrote under the name “Nicholas Blake.” That being said, going to

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<sup>185</sup> For more on this branch of criticism, see Yates (“Argentine” 1960), Peña (1987), Lafforgue (1996), Close (2006), Lafon (2012), Román (2012), Martínez (2014), and Miranda (2015). The relationship between the genre of detective fiction and Borges’s writings has been heavily explored by critics and, as a result, the above books and articles can be seen as a point of departure for interested parties. In addition to these works, the most detailed study of the figure of Honario Bustos Domecq and all (invented) figures associated with him is that of Cristina Parodi: “Una Argentina virtual. El universo intelectual de Honario Bustos Domecq”. *Variaciones Borges* 6 (1998): 53-143.

<sup>186</sup> Borges later uses the form of the detective story as an instrument of philosophical exploration.

such lengths to invent not only a pseudonym for your work, but also a life story and list of previously published *synthetic* works, is much more than any of these well-known writers had done; “Biorges” goes to precisely such lengths in their collaborative fiction. Thus, in addition to altering their names, these two Argentine writers open the first edition of *Seis problemas para don Isidro Parodo* with a short (fabricated) biography of H. Bustos Domecq, penned by one Adelia Puglione (also fictional), that describes his life and works published to date.<sup>187</sup>

Supposedly born in Pujato, a province of Santa Fe, in 1893, H. Bustos Domecq published his first work, *¡Ciudadano!*, in 1915, which was followed by several others. Even though virtually all of these works are apocryphal, with the exception of *Entre libros y papeles*, each title seems to make subtle references to important contemporary events in the lives of Borges and Bioy Casares.<sup>188</sup> For instance, the title of the first work, *¡Ciudadano!*, echoes the well-known blockbuster *Citizen Kane* (1941), which Borges harshly reviewed shortly after its release.<sup>189</sup>

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<sup>187</sup> In later editions of *Seis problemas para don Isidro Parodi*, Adelia Puglione’s name is swapped out for Adelma Badoglio, who is supposedly an Argentine educator, but in reality is another invention of the two writers. In addition to this change in name, there is one other notable difference in the text of the first edition (1942) and later printed editions. The first edition starts a phrase in the middle of this biography “Durante el gobierno de Iriondo,” while the same sentence in the next printed edition by the Editorial Sur reads “Durante la intervención de Labruna” (emphasis mine). Both names refer to soccer players famous during the first part of the twentieth century, Iriondo in Spain and Labruna in Argentina. This subtle alteration might be just another way that Borges and Bioy try to reach their contemporary Argentine readers.

I use the word “*synthetic*” in the above passage to refer to the biography that this Puglione provides for readers as a possible way of thinking about the dual meaning behind Borges’s “*biografías sintéticas*” for *El Hogar*.

<sup>188</sup> *Entre libros y papeles*, “La Revista americana de Buenos Aires,” was published in 1932, two years prior to the date cited in Bustos Domecq’s bibliography; it was dedicated to literary studies and was *not* written by H. Bustos Domecq.

<sup>189</sup> “*Citizen Kane* (cuyo nombre en la República Argentina es *El Ciudadano*) tiene por lo menos dos argumentos. El primero, de una imbecilidad casi banal, quiere sobornar el aplauso de los muy distraídos [...] El segundo es muy superior. Une al recuerdo de Koheleth al de otro nihilista: Franz Kafka [...] Me atrevo a sospechar, sin embargo, que *Citizen Kane* perdurará como ‘perduran’ cierto films de Griffith o de Pudovkin, cuyo valor histórico nadie niega, pero que nadie se resigna a rever. Adolece de gigantismo, de

Moreover, the undated *El Congreso Eucarístico: órgano de la propaganda argentina* most certainly alludes to the conference of the same name that took place in Buenos Aires in October of 1934 and brought hoards of people to the city. Another *porteño* reference that relates to the joint life of “Borges” is the *Vida y muerte de don Chico Grande*, which is the name of Juan Galiffi, the Argentine version of Al Capone.

Alongside these more pointed references are two curious works that appear to be making a subtle commentary on the intellectual state of the Argentine populace: *¡Hablemos con más propiedad!* (1932) and *¡Ya sé leer!* (n.d.). Although these two works could be a commentary on the educational system in Argentina, it seems more probable that they are a reflection of the current reading habits of Borges’s and Bioy Casares’s contemporaries.<sup>190</sup> This idea seems further supported by the last work mentioned in this introductory note, *Los cuentos de Pujato*, which is described as the perfect example of “sus cuentos policiales” (8). What is more, Puglione stresses the fact that there is something in these specific tales for *every* kind of reader: “*Los cuentos de Pujato, como cariñosamente los llama el autor, no son la filigrana de un bizantino encerrado en la torre de marfil; son la voz de un contemporáneo, atento a los latidos humanos y que derrama a vuela pluma los raudales de su verdad*” (8, emphasis mine). While these short detective stories focus on enigmas, as opposed to the violence and gore of so many other writings in this genre,

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pedantería, de tedio. No es inteligente, es genial: en el sentido más nocturno y más alemán de esta mala palabra” (“Un film abrumador,” *Sur* 83 (1941): 64-65).

<sup>190</sup> This line of thinking would also directly relate to my arguments regarding the promotional strategies of Borges during this time.



they are accessible to all and show Borges's and Bioy Casares's joint efforts to elevate this type of literature and, at the same time, elevate Argentine readers' literary preferences.<sup>191</sup>

Following this very bookish introduction to the invented author is a prologue to the work at hand by none other than one of its very own protagonists, Gervasio Montenegro. The first aspect of this "palabra liminar" that stands out to readers is the emphasis placed on the fact that this book, *Seis problemas*, is the *first* work of detective fiction that does not fall within the traditional English or American traditions of the genre:

¡Insólito placer el de paladear, entre dos bocanadas aromáticas y a la vera de un irrefragable coñac del Primer Imperio, un libro policial que no obedece a las torvas consignas de un mercado anglosajón, extranjero, y que no hesito en parangonar con las mejores firmas que recomienda a los buenos amateurs londinenses el incorruptible Crime Club! También subrayaré por lo bajo mi satisfacción de porteño, al constatar que nuestro folletinista, aunque provinciano, se ha mostrado insensible a los reclamos de un localismo estrecho y ha sabido elegir para sus típicas aguafuertes el marco natural: Buenos Aires. (10)

Thus, Borges and Bioy Casares not only carefully and conscientiously marketed this genre of detective fiction in their native Buenos Aires through anthologies and entire edited collections, but they now also emphasize the key *porteño* aspects that the tales of don Isidro Parodi bring to potential readers. As a result, there are several mentions in this prologue that aim to show how the figure of the gaucho, whose tradition is a central part of Argentine literature, serves as an important point of reference for several of the short stories in the collection. This keen interest in pleasing their audience is highlighted by Montenegro as he also touches on the comical fact that Parodi is able to solve all the enigmatic crimes present to him from the confines of his jail cell:

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<sup>191</sup> In addition to the above mentioned apocryphal titles penned by Honorio Bustos Domecq are the following: *Fata Morgana* (1919), *El aporte santafecino a los Ejércitos de la Independencia* (n.d.), and *Astros nuevos: Azorín, Gabriel Miró, Bontempelli* (n.d.).

H. Bustos Domecq es, a toda hora, un atento servidor de su público. En sus cuentos no hay planos que olvidar ni horarios que confundir. [...] se atiene los momentos capitales de sus problemas: el planteo enigmático y la solución iluminadora. [...] El lector menos avisado sonríe: adivina la omisión oportuna de algún tedioso interrogatorio y la omisión involuntaria de más de un atisbo genial, expedido por un caballero sobre cuyas señas particulares resultaría indelicado insistir... (10-1).

Nevertheless, these two Argentine authors have carefully sprinkled in references to other writers in the detective fiction genre, most notably Poe and Dickson Carr, for their more advanced audiences. Thus, there truly is something for everyone in these tales.

As we saw in the first chapter, there are direct references to the physical features of books and their production that crop up in *Seis problemas para don Isidro Parodi* (1942), a fact which appears to suggest that an interest in the material is not something reserved for Borges's solo publications but also his co-authored pieces.<sup>192</sup> That being said, the majority of references to books and their physical features, in conjunction with the unique preliminary materials, suggest a deep interest in the idea of metafiction, which draws attention to the complex relationship between reality and fiction.<sup>193</sup> For instance, in "Las previsiones de Sangiácomo," one of the characters warns that it is necessary to "poner mucho ojo en lo que se publica. Acordate de Bustos Domecq, el santafecino ese que le publicaron un cuento y después resulta que ya lo había escrito Villiers de l'Isle Adam'" (67). In this same tale there is also a reference, made by Parodi, to the collection of tales he relates as a whole: "Mire, mozo; con tanta charla esta celda parece

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<sup>192</sup> See Chapter One for references to "Wathman" paper and the "formato *Teufelsbibel*" in this short story.

<sup>193</sup> What is more, the emphasis on certain metafictional elements throughout the work, particularly in the preliminary materials and occasions in which Parodi steps outside of himself and makes an aside comment on his work at hand, are not only a foreshadowing of Borges's most canonical work, *Ficciones* (1944), but also seem to harken back to earlier trends in twentieth century literature, most notably Unamuno's *Niebla*. The striking similarities between these two works is especially clear when we compare and contrast the figures of Montenegro and Victor Goti.

Belisario Roldán. En cuanto me descuido, ya se me ha colado un payaso con el cuento de las figuras del almanaque, o del tren que no para en ninguna parte, o de su señorita novia que no se suicidó, que no tomó el veneno por casualidad y que no la mataron. Yo le voy a dar orden al subcomisario Grondona, que en cuanto los vislumbre los meta de cabeza en el calabozo” (69). Even though these few references to the physical/material are not nearly as precise as others we saw in the first chapter, they still exhibit a vested interest in the book as an object that must undergo some sort of production before it reaches the hands of its readers.<sup>194</sup>

In terms of the physical features of the first edition of *Seis problemas para don Isidro Parodi*, the aspect that most calls attention to itself is the fact that this is one of Borges’s first works of fiction produced by the Editorial Sur (not to be confused with the literary journal, *Sur*).<sup>195</sup> The light blue covers with white text (and a blue arrow for the Sur logo) are quite different from any other volumes published by Borges thus far in his career. That being said, the positioning of the san-serif typeface on the cover is reminiscent of the works printed by the luxury boutique printer, Francisco A. Colombo, that we saw in the second chapter, which seems to highlight the development of a personal design style by Borges for elite audiences. Chapter

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<sup>194</sup> In addition to the above described book references, there are several instances in which people are compared to a book. For example, “Le habló como un libro abierto...” (“La víctima de Tadeo Limardo,” 90) or “vecinos que dormían como una rectilínea biblioteca de libros clásicos” (“La prolongada busca de Tain An,” 120).

<sup>195</sup> As we shall see in chapter five, Borges was a member of the original editorial board for the literary journal *Sur* and also very much involved in the publishing firm of the same name. As a result, he published many articles (both fiction and non-fiction) in this periodical starting in 1931, and also published a number of his books with the firm of the same name. The first book bearing his name and that of the Editorial Sur is a translation he did of Virginia Woolf’s *Orlando* (1937). Borges’s canonical *El jardín de senderos que se bifurcan* (1942), which later becomes part of his *Ficciones* (1944), appeared in the same year as *Seis problemas para don Isidro Parodi*, but since this chapter deals exclusively with works in collaboration, I will leave the discussion of the former work for chapter five.

five discusses the Editorial Sur and the literary journal of the same name, and so I will not go into the history and formation of these venues or their founder, Victoria Ocampo, at this juncture.

As we have seen throughout this chapter, Borges's books reviews and short biographies of writers, his conscientious attempts to rebrand the detective fiction genre, and his creative collaborations with Adolfo Bioy Casares, all show a marked interest in promoting certain literature that previously lacked Argentine readership. In essence, Borges is filling the void of Argentine literary criticism and, in the process, developing a new type of marketing for book production and publishing in his native Buenos Aires. As we shall see in the next chapter, this trend also relates to the various edited collections and anthologies that he helped to produce during the late 1930s and early 1940s, a trend that highlights not only his interest in literary criticism, but also, to a certain extent, his desire to influence and change canon formation.

Chapter 4 – Anthologies and Edited Collections (1937-1951): Kapelusz y Cía, Editorial Sudamericana, Emecé Editores, Editorial Sur, Fondo de Cultura Económica

“el encanto peculiar de las antologías. La mera yuxtaposición de dos piezas (con sus diversos climas, procederes, connotaciones) puede lograr una virtud que no logran esas piezas aisladas. Por lo demás: copiar un párrafo de un libro, mostrarlo solo, ya es deformarlo sutilmente. Esa deformación puede ser preciosa.”

-- Jorge Luis Borges, *El Hogar*: “Libros y autores extranjeros” (1938)

As we saw in the last chapter, Borges’s writings from the late 1930s and early 1940s can be linked to a number of promotional strategies for a variety of publishing houses that ultimately lead to the creation of unique collections of literature. The aim of the current chapter is to take a closer look at a series of anthologies and edited collections of literature that Borges directed in an effort to understand better the influence that he had not only on Argentine readership, but also more generally on the canon formation of Argentine works. Borges, with help from a number of different friends and collaborators, edited a total of six different anthologies and/or collections during the period from the late 1930s to the early 1950s: *Antología clásica de la literatura argentina* (1937), *Antología de la literatura fantástica* (1940), *Antología poética argentina* (1941), *Los mejores cuentos policiales* (first series: 1943; second series: 1951), *El compadrito* (1945), and *Antiguas literaturas germánicas* (1951). In addition to these works, he also directed and selected all of the titles for the “Séptimo Círculo” series produced by Emecé Editores, which was a clear development from *Los mejores cuentos policiales* (Emecé Editores) that he edited with Bioy Casares two years prior to the publication of the first titles in this collection. Finally, Borges and Bioy Casares translated a number of poems by North American poets that were little

known in Argentina in a 1944 issue of the literary magazine *Sur* (113-114; pp. 62-67); these translations are often classified later as a type of anthology of North American poetry.<sup>196</sup>

Before venturing into the issue of Borges's specific role as editor of these various anthologies and series or collections, it is important to give an account of the history of the *form* of the anthology as well as outline several general characteristics pertaining to these types of works. In the most general of terms, "una antología es un conjunto de textos y/o fragmentos de textos que se agrupan a partir de ciertas características determinadas por un seleccionador, aunque no siempre argumentadas por el mismo, y cuya finalidad principal es divulgar las obras juzgadas representativas de un autor, un género, un tema, una tendencia, un movimiento, una región o una generación" (Maeseneer 17). This definition can be expanded further to include the freedom and level of choice that these types of volumes (in comparison with other literary forms) provide for readers: "The anthology thus served as 'an avenue to criticism for an audience that might earlier have been discouraged by the demanding and serious attention that [books] can require'" (Bonnell 26). What is more, these more compact forms of various examples of literature "son más manejables, permiten mayor unidad en menor volumen, y dejan sentir y abarcar mejor el carácter general de una tradición" (Reyes, "antología" 138). This degree of accessibility described by Reyes can also be extended to that of *affordability*. In other words, while it would require extensive funds to purchase each individual work included as part of a literary canon, buying an anthology is a novel and economic alternative for many readers. For Borges, the form of the anthology is one of a peculiar virtue that arises from the curious (and

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<sup>196</sup> The University of Pittsburg's online *Borges Center* describes these published translations as the "Antología de poesía norteamericana" (<http://www.borges.pitt.edu/1944>). The entry for these poems on the *Borges Center* also notes that, of the eight poets that Borges and Bioy Casares translated, only *one* of them is included in later transcriptions and republications of the writers' work in *Sur*, which makes the original translations all the more curious.

often random) juxtaposition of textual fragments: “La mera yuxtaposición de dos piezas (con sus diversos climas, procederes, connotaciones) puede lograr una virtud que no logran esas piezas aisladas. Por lo demás: copiar un párrafo de un libro, mostrarlo solo, ya es deformarlo sutilmente. Esa deformación puede ser preciosa.”<sup>197</sup>

Another key aspect that must be stressed when discussing the form of the anthology is the great difficulty in crafting this type of volume so that it can be presented as a unified whole.

Adán C. Diehl describes this complex process in his review of Pedro Henríquez Ureña and Jorge Luis Borges’s *Antología clásica de la literatura argentina* (1937):

La selección de las composiciones destinadas a formar una antología, es obra tan personal como la creación artística. Tantos criterios como autores. Infinidad de problemas que resolver: la extensión de tiempo que debe abarcar, la elección no sólo de los autores, sino también de las obras de éstos que debe figurar (lo que es muy distinto a ‘merecen’ figurar), la responsabilidad que supone la presentación trunca o parcial de algunas piezas e innumerable cantidad de otros motivos de vacilación. (128)

In a sense, the care and precision required for crafting an anthology surpass, at times, that of editing and publishing a more uniform novel or collection of poems. Reyes highlights this same level of labor as an essential characteristic of the (well-made) anthology by identifying two distinct *types* of anthologies: “las hay en que domina el gusto personal del coleccionista, y las hay en que domina el criterio histórico, objetivo” (138).<sup>198</sup> While the first type of anthology has certain kinds of merits, it is purely subjective and its scope will be determined by the likes (and dislikes) of its editor(s). As we shall see later in this chapter, this first type of anthology reflects

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<sup>197</sup> This quotation is drawn from one of Borges’s reviews (of “The Albatross Book of Living Prose,” which also happens to be an anthology) that appears in *El Hogar* (April 1, 1938): 26.

<sup>198</sup> Reyes first wrote his “Teoría de la antología” in 1930, but it was not published until 1938 (*La Prensa*, February 23, 1938).

what we find in Bioy Casares, Borges, and Silvina Ocampo's *Antología de la literatura fantástica* (1940): "Para formarla hemos seguido un criterio hedónico; no hemos partido de la intención de hacer una antología. Una noche de 1937 hablábamos de literatura fantástica, discutíamos los cuentos que nos parecían mejores; uno de nosotros dijo que si los reuniéramos y agregáramos los fragmentos del mismo carácter anotados en nuestro cuadernos, haríamos un buen libro. Hemos hecho este libro" (14).<sup>199</sup> In contrast, the second type focuses not on an editor's personal interests and likes, but rather larger trends and tendencies in literature during a specific period or in a specific place. Interestingly, this is *precisely* how Bioy Casares, Borges, and Silvina Ocampo's second collaborative anthology published by the Editorial Sudamericana, the *Antología poética argentina* (1941), is described: "Los compiladores han seguido un criterio objetivo, han procurado que esta selección no refleje una escuela ni un gusto personal."<sup>200</sup> These two distinct ways of framing anthologies can be chalked up to promotional strategies for the Editorial Sudamericana's "Colección Labertino," but, regardless of the larger implications of such descriptions, their direct reflection of Reyes's theories of the anthology is noteworthy and emphasizes the role of the learned elite in evaluating literary production and, to some extent, crafting canon formation.<sup>201</sup>

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<sup>199</sup> It is interesting to note the fact that following a "criterio hedónico" for Bioy Casares, Borges, and Silvina Ocampo results in something *other* than an anthology. In other words, using one's literary interests as a point of departure for a collection is not immediately conceived of as the same process of creating an anthology for these Argentine writers.

<sup>200</sup> This description comes from the inside flap of the first edition of the *Antología poética argentina* (1941).

<sup>201</sup> The prologue for the *Antología poética argentina* echoes this idea: "Teóricamente hay dos antologías posibles. La primera – rigurosamente objetiva, científica – estaría gobernada por el propósito de cierta enciclopedia china que pobló once mil cien volúmenes: comprendería todas las obras de todos los autores. (Esa 'antología' ya existe: en tomos de diverso formato, en diversos lugares del planeta, en diversas épocas.) La segunda – estrictamente hedónica, subjetiva – constaría de aquellos *memorabilia* que los compiladores admiran con plenitud: no habría, tal vez, muchas composiciones enteras; habría resúmenes,



In an article that appears printed a mere four pages after Borges's "Libros y autores extranjeros. Guía de lecturas" review section in the March 19, 1937 issue of *El Hogar*, Ernesto Palacio discusses why readers (most likely *Argentine* readers of *El Hogar*) have the tendency *not* to read works by Argentine authors.<sup>202</sup> Although the placement and publication of this piece might be a random coincidence, its inclusion within the same magazine for upper class Argentine elites as Borges's literary reviews seems quite telling. In addition, the topic of the article, "¿Por qué no se leen libros argentinos?," prefigures much of the collaborative work that Borges undertakes during this time in the form of anthologies and edited collections. More specifically, the central concern expressed by Palacio is the lack of a critical tradition for Argentine literature, which serves as his rationale for the lack of readership in this area:

Cuando surjan entre ellos una o dos vocaciones críticas bien definidas, que se arroguen la tarea de poner orden en el caos actual de la producción bibliográfica argentina, destacando y definiendo los valores reales y descartando los ficticios, habría llegado a la hora de nuestra redención intelectual. *La crítica señalará entonces al público, de manera segura, el camino que debe seguir para enterarse de la capacidad creadora de nuestro pueblo; servirá de intermediaria respetada y acatada entre la inteligencia y la masa.* (32, emphasis mine)

This is *precisely* the role that Borges fills during the late 1930s and early 1940s since many of the entries found throughout his edited collections and anthologies are written by Argentine authors. Palacio continues his article by describing the specific ways in which the apparent void of literary criticism must be filled in Argentina:

No es labor de la gran prensa informativa. Por más restringido que sea el público que lee esas publicaciones sus juicios no caen en el vacío. Tienen, por el contrario, una gran influencia, si no directa, indirecta, sobre la colectividad.

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excertas, fragmentos... En la realidad, toda antología es una fusión de esos dos arquetipos. En algunas prima el criterio hedónico; en otras, el histórico" (7).

<sup>202</sup> Certain passages in this same article are cited and examined throughout Chapter Three.

Obran, si así puede decir, por impregnación, de arriba bajo, desde las minorías cultas a las mayorías incultas. Los juicios de valor, emanados de tribunas respetadas, circulan y entran, poco a poco, en el lenguaje común. Una crítica seria y responsable desempeñaría un inestimable servicio a la causa de nuestra cultura. (32)

The idea of restricting the individuals that will read and develop an understanding of this literary criticism undeniably echoes the words of José Ortega y Gasset in his *Deshumanización del arte* (1925). Much like the elite that he envisions as key in the dissemination of works of literary value, so too does Palacio highlight the crucial role of these upper class individuals in his native Argentina. What is more, the presence of such an article in *El Hogar*, which had elite Argentine readership, speaks to the harmonious nature of Palacio's vision and that of Ortega y Gasset. As we will see in the next chapter, Borges's constant contributions to Victoria Ocampo's literary magazine, *Sur*, and his role as part of the original editorial board, further echo the ideas espoused by Palacio about the need to communicate these concepts to a limited, elite public that will later propagate them for the masses.

In the most general of terms Borges shows a marked interest in the form of the anthology from a very early moment in his career. While living in Spain with his family he publishes two works that can be classified as antecedents to the collaborative anthologies of the 1930s and 1940s: the "Antología expresionista" (*Cervantes*, October 1920) and "La lírica argentina contemporánea" (*Cosmópolis*, no. 26, 1921). Although both of these works appear printed in literary journals based in Madrid, as opposed to being printed separately as their own entities, they mark an important moment in Borges's early career and would play a crucial role in his

later return to the form of the anthology.<sup>203</sup> Even though the first anthology deals strictly with German expressionist poetry from the early twentieth century, the format is virtually identical to that of “La lírica argentina contemporánea” and, as a result, reveals much about the ways in which materials are presented (and analyzed) in these early works. What is more, the very last line printed in this “Antología expresionista,” “Notas y traducción de Jorge-Luis BORGES,” establishes Borges not only as the compiler, translator, and editor of this work, but also as an authority responsible for shaping the canon of German expressionist poetry for Spanish readers of the literary journal *Cervantes*. It should be noted that this same phrase appears at the close of “La lírica argentina contemporánea.”

The importance of *format* and the general presentation of information cannot be emphasized enough and, as we shall see below in the analysis of specific collaborative anthologies that Borges worked on in the late 1930s and early 1940s, the ways in which authors and their works are showcased for readers reveals a great deal about the intended audiences for these volumes. In light of the fact that eight of the ten poets in “La lírica argentina contemporánea” (Macedonio Fernández, Marcelo de Mazo, Enrique Banchs, Rafael Alberto Arrieta, Alfonsina Storni, Álvaro Melián Lafinur, B. Fernández Moreno, Héctor Pedro Blomberg) appear throughout various Argentine poetry anthologies from the first part of the twentieth century, and five of the ten poets (Enrique Banchs, Rafael Alberto Arrieta, Alfonsina Storni, Álvaro Melián Lafinur, B. Fernández Moreno) appear in Borges’s *Antología poética argentina* (1941), both highlight the importance of this initial foray into the anthological form for his future collaborative endeavors. This overlap, although seemingly small, is quite significant

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<sup>203</sup> The publication of these two anthologies in Spanish literary magazines supports the claim that Borges and Bioy Casares’s translations of North American poetry in *Sur* can be conceived of as a type of anthology (or edited collection).

because it shows that Borges still retained several of his initial evaluations of Argentine poets and their works, even 20 years after his ultraist phase.<sup>204</sup> What is more, four of the ten initial poets in “La lírica argentina contemporánea” (Enrique Banchs, Rafael Alberto Arrieta, Álvaro Melián Lafinur, B. Fernández Moreno), along with Borges himself, formed part of the first Comisión Directiva de la Sociedad Argentina de Escritores (SADE), which was described as an “organismo permanente que integrara las distintas expresiones literarias y velara por los intereses legales y económicos de sus integrantes.”<sup>205</sup>

In addition to analyzing the overlaps in authors from one anthology to the next, one of the key aspects of my argument that follows in this chapter will be the examination of the various physical features of these anthologies: why were they created? How were they marketed? Do they belong to a large collection of works produced by a publishing house? How did they introduce readers to cultural consumption? What role did they play in the construction of a national literature?<sup>206</sup> For instance, the ways in which authors are presented in each of the various anthologies that Borges helps edit and shape during the late 1930s and early 1940s can provide a great deal of insight into the types of audience that these works were trying to target. More specifically, the information that is provided (or not provided) about each author, the format in which it is physically presented on the page in each volume, and the authors that are

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<sup>204</sup> I bring up Borges’s ultraist period intentionally since, when discussing the value of Baldomero Fernández Moreno’s poetry in “La lírica argentina contemporánea,” he arrives at many of his critical opinions with this point of view: “Como ultraísta que soy...” (138). Furthermore, Borges traditionally rejects much of his work from this stage in his life, which makes such an overlap all the more meaningful.

<sup>205</sup> <http://sade.org.ar/web/index.php/institucional-sade/nuestra-historia>. In fact, of this group of writers, Enrique Banchs penned the document that officially unified the involved parties as part of the “Sociedad Argentina de Escritores” and served as president of the organization from 1938 to 1940. For a complete list of the various writers holding this position, see <http://sade.org.ar/web/index.php/institucional-sade/nuestra-historia>.

<sup>206</sup> This series of questions is drawn directly from Bonnell’s *The Most Disreputable Trade* (2008).

described in more detail than others, will tell us a great deal about Borges's larger project of canon formation in Argentina.

*Antología clásica de la literatura argentina* (1937)

Even though Borges published his “Antología expresionista” in 1920 and “La lírica argentina contemporánea” in 1921, as well as collaborating on the *Índice de la nueva poesía americana* with Alberto Hidalgo and Vicente Huidobro in 1926, these volumes fall outside of the scope of my current project and, as a result, I will not include either of them here in my analysis.<sup>207</sup> Thus, the first anthology or edited collection during the 1930s for which Borges determined selections and also co-wrote the prolog is the *Antología clásica de la literatura argentina* (1937). The philologist Pedro Henríquez Ureña worked with Borges to create this collection and craft the overarching scope of its contents, which is clear from their joint prolog<sup>208</sup>: “En la presente *ANTOLOGIA CLASICA DE LA LITERATURA ARGENTINA* se aspira a ofrecer a los lectores una noción sintética de lo que fue la obra de los escritores y poetas del pasado definitivamente concluso” (7). What stands out most from this opening phrase of the anthology is the word “sintética,” which, as we saw in the last chapter with Borges's “biografías

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<sup>207</sup> This last collection is another earlier anthology of Latin American poetry that focuses heavily on tendencies of the historical avant-garde, which might account for its publication with the Editorial Proa. The most in-depth study of its content and function is Juan Manuel Bonet's “El *Índice de la nueva poesía americana*, ‘Who Is Who’ de la vanguardia continental,” *Vanguardias sin límites: Ampliando los contextos de los movimientos hispánicos*, eds. Gabriella Menczel, Katalin Perényi, Melinda Skrapits, Budapest, Hungary: Universidad Eotvos Loránd (2012), 5-24. Moreover, this anthology is not dedicated solely to Argentine poetry, but rather serves to highlight trends throughout all of Latin America. That being said, it is important to note that critics agree on the fact that Borges was in charge of selecting and editing the titles within Argentina that would become part of this anthology.

<sup>208</sup> Borges's relationship with Henríquez Ureña (fifteen years his senior) dates back to the 1920s and is best characterized as one of admiration. Emir Rodríguez Monegal comments that Borges admired the Dominican's “vast knowledge and his reticent style” (294).

sintéticas” for *El Hogar*, has the double meaning of being concise and fabricated (in terms of the type of picture they paint with the specific combinations of selections). For this reason, it is clear that both editors are aware of the possibilities and limitations in creating this type of literary manual. What is more, they also seem to be cognizant of the great level of control and influence that they possess for being the sole parties in charge of selecting the texts that will appear throughout the pages of their *Antología clásica de la literatura argentina*.<sup>209</sup> In other words, they make the decisions regarding what should be inside the canon and what remains outside. Moreover, they also decide specific *parts* of texts to include and, in light of the presence of an appendix dedicated to the source of their selections (“procedencia de los textos”), have a keen awareness of the importance of specific editions of these works.

In terms of the editorial theory behind Henríquez Ureña and Borges’s selections for this volume, it is necessary to analyze their initial commentary on certain excerpted texts in addition to their cited bibliography in greater detail. For starters, they stress the fact that many of the authors included in the pages that follow have *extensive* prose works, meaning that they will have to pick and choose parts of their texts for the current anthology. While they convey their wish to “representarlos en todos sus aspectos,” they also highlight their decision to “[evitar] las páginas demasiado conocidas, aunque sean magníficas” (8).<sup>210</sup> In direct contrast, the poetic selections for this work do not tend to be excerpted and, more often than not, are included as

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<sup>209</sup> This idea is echoed further by Adán C. Diehl’s review of this anthology in the literary journal *Caras y Caretas* (1937; no. 2): “Pedro Enríquez [*sic*] Ureña, Jorge Luis Borges. No necesita leerse la obra para juzgarla. Podemos estar seguros, de que no serán sorprendidos en un solo descuido, en una sola falla y olvido” (128).

<sup>210</sup> It should be stressed that this comment is reserved mainly for “los prosistas” (8). What is more, the idea of not always including the most *canonical* works by certain authors is also reflected in Bioy Casares, Borges, and Silvina Ocampo’s collaborative *Antología poética argentina*: “Contrariando los métodos románticos de nuestro tiempo, no hemos optado por las más personales, características; hemos incluido las que nos parecen mejores” (8).

“obras íntegras” (8). Following this brief explanation about the length of the prose and poetry selections, Henríquez Ureña and Borges discuss the more intricate aspects of their editorial roles and, in the process, reveal a great deal about the provenance of their selected works: “Hemos buscado, para cada obra, la edición más autorizada, *a fin de respetar las palabras auténticas del autor, muchas veces estragadas en las reimpresiones corrientes*” (8, emphasis mine). First, their biting criticism of certain circulating editions of works of authors included in this *Antología* shows a marked interest in the concept of authorial intention as well as a general understanding of editorial theories. Moreover, by commenting on their desire to present readers with the most *authentic* version of certain texts, Henríquez Ureña and Borges are distinguishing their work from other (lesser) editions and, in the process, highlighting the superiority of their collection. This level of precision can also be seen through their description of the ways in which editorial intervention appears throughout the texts: “Todo corte en el texto se señala con puntos suspensivos. Cuando para comprensión de algún pasaje es necesario intercalar una o más palabras, va indicado entre paréntesis angulares” (8). In addition to this awareness for the level of variants among texts, the inclusion of a bibliography of excerpted works, or the “procedencia de los textos,” speaks to Henríquez Ureña and Borges’s critical engagement with the publishing history of their included works. For instance, a number of their citations are not simple bibliographical entries that reference any version of an author’s works, but rather give readers a sense of their level of authority for being editions that are “[revisadas] y [aumentadas]” (440).

Henríquez Ureña and Borges’s interest in selecting specific texts for use in their anthology speaks to many issues at the heart of editorial theory in the twentieth century.<sup>211</sup> To

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<sup>211</sup> The various methods of scholarly editing can be divided into two initial camps: documentary editing and critical editing. The first type of editing is also referred to as “diplomatic” or “non-critical” in light of

illustrate this textual aspect in play behind the scenes in their *Antología clásica de la literatura argentina*, I will look to one specific selection in the collection: José Hernández's *Martín Fierro*. This poem is arguably one of the most canonical texts in Argentine letters and the editors of this anthology even describe it as "una de las obras más originales de la literatura de América. Alcanzó gran éxito popular y fué celebrada por escritores cultos; en épocas posteriores se la ha considerado al fin obra representativa [*sic*] y eminente" (236). In light of the extreme popularity of *Martín Fierro*, various publishing houses and printers produced copies of this work throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and, as a result, changes, whether in the form of accidentals or substantives, were introduced into the text.<sup>212</sup> Thus, in the "procedencia de los textos" we find a very precise entry for José Hernández's included work: "*Martín Fierro*, comentado y anotado por Eleuterio F. Tiscornia. Buenos Aires, 1925. Contiene el texto de 1872 y en nota los retoques de 1878" (440). A similar footnote accompanies the actual text in the anthology: "Seguimos el texto de la primera edición del poema, en 1872, reproducido en el

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the fact that it aims to reproduce (historical) documents *without* introducing any new emendations or alternations of the text. The second type of editing, also called the "eclectic method," is much more disputed (Williams and Abbott 75). In particular, this second method invokes debates surrounding the ideas of copy-text, accidents versus substantives, and authorial intention (see Tanselle). What is more, the role of editors (i.e. multiple hands), societal impacts, and more performative issues are discussed at length with critical editing (see Shillingsburg). Finally, new debates have emerged with the introduction of digital mediums (see McGann).

<sup>212</sup> The most recent critical edition of *Martín Fierro* (2001, eds. Élica Lois y Ángel Núñez), which relies heavily on archival documents, shows the problematic textual history of this poem: "La edición del *Martín Fierro* realizada por ARCHIVOS ilustra una circunstancia ciertamente paradójica: uno de los textos más notorios de la literatura argentina, e inclusive hispanoamericana, fue asediado desde sus orígenes (1872 y 1879 respectivamente) por reediciones plagadas de erratas y omisiones que prácticamente las inutilizaban para una lectura confiable, y no digamos erudita" (Jorge B. Rivera, "José Hernández, *Martín Fierro*, *Orbis Tertius* VIII (9) (2002-2003): 1-2). What is more, the critical aspects of this specific edition highlight the influence of external criticism on certain changes in the text of *Martín Fierro* over time. Even though this critical edition was not produced until 2001, which is a great deal later than Henríquez Ureña and Borges's *Antología clásica de la literatura argentina*, it does not rule out the ability of the editors of this earlier collection to identify similar textual issues at play in the selection of a specific version of the text of *Martín Fierro*.



*“Martín Fierro” comentado y anotado* por D. Eleuterio F. Tiscornia, Buenos Aires, 1925” (236).

What is more, there are various footnotes throughout the text that highlight changes from edition to edition with, at times, personal commentary on these changes from Henríquez Ureña and Borges.<sup>213</sup> These textual details demonstrate a keen awareness of the fundamental differences between what G. Thomas Tanselle later classifies as “texts,” “documents,” and “works,” and, as a result, show Henríquez Ureña and Borges’s desire to present readers with not just any text, but a well thought through version of a text.<sup>214</sup>

Another curious aspect of the *Antología clásica de la literatura argentina*, which directly relates to questions surrounding the control and influence that Borges and Henríquez Ureña hold over their readers, is its publisher: the Editorial Kapelusz y Cía. Much like many of the other publishing houses that we have seen in various chapters up to this point (especially Manuel Gleizer and the Editorial Tor), the firm Kapelusz y Cía has its origins in a bookstore, started by Adolfo Kapelusz, that later expanded to a publishing house in 1905 with an aim to “mejorar y renovar la calidad de los textos escolares.”<sup>215</sup> In fact, many of the first authors published by the Editorial Kapelusz y Cía were known for being the best teachers in Argentina at that time. Over the years, this publishing house became associated with improvements in educational standards

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<sup>213</sup> For instance, at one moment in the text, the footnote that accompanies a verse does not state just the change in a later edition (1878), but also includes the following descriptor: “Hernández mejoró después este verso” (243, note 1). The rest of the notes that bring readers’ attention to differences among editions simply read: “En la edición de 1878.”

<sup>214</sup> As explained in Chapter One, Tanselle describes “works” as “*thoughts* employing particular arrangements of words as their ultimate medium” (15, emphasis mine); “texts” are “arrangements of elements” that “can be the objects of emendation, for those elements (or their arrangements) can always be altered producing different textures” (18); and “documents” are the “physical embodiment” of works or texts “designed to perform a [utilitarian] function” (40). In other words, “works” are completely abstract, “texts” are an intermediary state between the abstract and the concrete, and “documents” are a fixed physical presence in time and space.

<sup>215</sup> <http://www.lanacion.com.ar/744995-kapelusz-celebra-sus-100-anos-de-vida-fomentando-la-lectura>.

and the go-to firm for materials related to the classroom environment, including “láminas, mapas, carpetas de ejercicios, atlas, diccionarios y múltiples colecciones [...] como las Grandes Obras de la Literatura Universal, que ha pasado definitivamente al imaginario escolar como la GOLU.”<sup>216</sup> The *Boletín bibliográfico argentino* gives us a better sense of the kinds of works for which the Editorial Kapelusz y Cía was best known: María Elena Altube, *Metodología* (Para 1er grado) (1937); Ángel C. Bassi, *Tratado de disciplina escolar* (1937); *Actividades y conocimientos*. Libro de lectura para 1º grado superior (1937); José Carlos Astolfi, *Compendio de historia argentina e instrucción cívica* (Para 5º grado) (1938); José Carlos Astolfi, *Conocimiento de historia universal y argentina e instrucción cívica* (1938); José Carlos Astolfi (y otros), *Manual del alumno*. Enciclopedia para los programa por asuntos de lenguaje, historia, instrucción cívica, geografía, ciencias naturales y matemáticas, para 5º grado (1938).<sup>217</sup>

Another intriguing aspect of the *Antología clásica de la literatura argentina*, related to its publication with the Editorial Kapelusz y Cía, is the fact that this volume is *not* listed under the section of “Antologías” in the *Boletín Bibliográfico Argentino* (1937), but rather appears in the category of “Textos para la enseñanza primaria, secundaria y especial” (21-3).<sup>218</sup> Other works

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<sup>216</sup> <http://www.lanacion.com.ar/744995-kapelusz-celebra-sus-100-anos-de-vida-fomentando-la-lectura>.

<sup>217</sup> These titles are just a random sampling of works found in the *Boletín bibliográfico argentino* from 1937 and 1938 to give readers an idea of works that the Editorial Kapelusz was publishing at the same time as Henríquez Ureña and Borges’s *Antología*. In more general terms, the *Boletín bibliográfico argentino* started in 1937 to remedy the “falta de una bibliografía nacional, fuente obligada para la compilación de bibliografías especializadas” (Camou 418). It was published until 1956 under various titles and there was a general sense of irregularity among each issue. The title of “*Boletín bibliográfico argentino*” was used for the first 26 issues (1937-1951; covering 1937-1949); it changed to the “*Boletín bibliográfico nacional*” for issues 27-33 (1952-1963; covering 1950-1956) (Bell 8-9). In addition to giving readers a sense of the types of work being produced and published at this time in Argentina, the *BBA* is an extremely useful source since it tends to include the prices of each of the volumes described.

<sup>218</sup> It is very probably that the published house itself determined the specific category for specific works, which suggests a marketing or promotional strategy on the part of Kapelusz.

published by Kapelusz y Cía in the same year within this latter section include the following:

Narciso Binayán, *Lecciones de castellano* (Texto para enseñanza secundaria); Blanca N. Braña de Iacobucci y Guillermo C., *500 ejercicios y problemas y lenguaje* (Para quinto y sexto grados); Josefina Passadori, *Geografía de América*; Clotilde G. de Rezzano, *Didáctica general y especial*; *Gramática práctica*; Clara Toro y Gómez, *La escuela y la vida* (Texto de lectura para tercer grado). In contrast, the category of “Antologías” in the *Boletín bibliográfico argentino* from 1937 lists titles such as the *Antología de poetas y prosistas americanos* (ed. Oscar R. Beltrán) and the *Antología de poetas y prosistas españoles* (ed. Oscar R. Beltrán).<sup>219</sup>

As Henríquez Ureña and Borges outline in their prolog, the authors included in the *Antología clásica de la literatura argentina* are representative of Argentina’s *historical* literary trends and thus there are no writers represented who were born after 1850. Their desire to focus on the past speaks to Ernesto Palacio’s claims regarding the lack of readership of Argentine works; as a result, it is quite clear that the *Antología clásica de la literatura argentina* aims to fill this void by creating an authoritative foundation for the Argentine canon from which readers (with various interests and backgrounds) can benefit.<sup>220</sup> This historical focus and the desire to

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<sup>219</sup> Similar types of titles can be found in the “Antología” section of the 1938 issue of the *BBA: Historia de la literatura americana y argentina, con antología* (ed. Ana Julia Darnet de Ferreyra), *Gran antología latino-americana* (ed. Ovidio Guadagni), *Valores de las literaturas de Hispano América* (ed. María Maurice de Mota del Campillo). One of the most curious aspects of the above-mentioned four-volume *Antología de poetas y prosistas americanos* edited by Oscar R. Beltrán are the overlaps with Henríquez Ureña and Borges’s *Antología clásica de la literatura argentina*. More specifically, the entire second tome of Beltrán’s anthology is dedicated to “la poesía gauchesca en el río de la plata.” What is more, the *purpose* of these volumes, as stated by Beltrán in the prologue to the first volume, aligns directly with the stated goal of the *Antología clásica de la literatura argentina* (especially in light of its publication with Kapelusz y Cía): that of education. Thus, Beltrán writes that his series of anthologies should be of interest “para quienes aspiren a conocer, en términos generales, la literatura del Nuevo Mundo, desde sus orígenes hasta nuestro días, resulte, sobre todo, una obra útil para los estudiantes que frecuentan las aulas de Colegios Nacionales e institutos universitarios” (7).

<sup>220</sup> Another intriguing aspect of this specific historical focus that stops in the mid-nineteenth century is the question of copyright. More specifically, the act of bringing texts from authors that were previously in the

create a type of reference source for readers is also clear through the biographies of the authors included that accompany each of the texts in the anthology. In particular, unlike other edited collections that we will analyze in this chapter, the *Antología clásica de la literatura argentina* presents readers with extremely detailed biographies of its writers. For instance, the biography for the very first author in the entire collection, Ruy Díaz de Guzmán, gives not only his birth and death dates, but also the names and histories of his parents as well as a detailed analysis of his only written work, which is described as “escrita con claridad y sencillez” (11). Somewhat echoing the level of expertise and knowledge that we might find in a modern-day Cátedra edition of a Spanish-language book, the biographical notes for each author in this anthology depict not only the lives of the authors, but also the central traits of their written works. Thus, Luis de Tejeda is characterized as having a style “típico del siglo XVII: hay en él influencias del culteranismo y del conceptismo” (21). This tendency to describe all facets of each writer’s life recurs throughout the collection; at times, these descriptions are enhanced even further by the inclusion of a portrait of the author in question, which might be accounted for by Pedro Henríquez Ureña’s role in editing the anthology. In addition to the content of these meticulous biographies, it is important to highlight their specific placement on the page. Unlike what we find in Borges’s *early* anthologies that he published in *Cervantes* (1920) and *Cosmópolis* (1921), the biographical information on each author is the first text that a reader encounters in each entry in the *Antología clásica de la literatura argentina*. Not only are these notes placed first, but they are also centered, which seems to indicate their centrality for the (excerpted) texts that follow them.

*Antología de la literatura fantástica* (1940) and the *Antología poética argentina* (1941)

The next two anthologies that Borges collaborated on during this time period were both produced by the Editorial Sudamericana: the *Antología de la literatura fantástica* (1940) and the *Antología poética argentina* (1941). In line with the tendency that we saw in the last chapter to create collections and series of texts, both of these anthologies form part of the “Colección *Laberinto*,” which, according to one of the Editorial Sudamericana’s catalogues, is “destinada a registrar lo perdurable y lo viviente de las diversas disciplinas de la literatura mundial” (168).<sup>221</sup> Thus, the works included in the first anthology, dedicated to fantastic (prose) literature, “no se limita, como compilaciones análogas, a los clásicos del género (Poe, Villiers de l’Isle Adam, Wells): incluye también los textos orientales [...] ; los místicos [...] ; los mejores artífices verbales [...] ; los maestros del terror escénico [...] y los metafísicos” (168). In a similar vein, the second anthology, dedicated to poetry, aims to showcase the most important poets of the early twentieth century (1900-1941) and follows the objective criterion that does not reflect the specific likes (or dislikes) of the editors, which I outlined at length in the first part of this chapter. In addition to the broad range of literary trends that the “Colección *Labertino*” purports to feature, the physical composition of each volume is also a defining feature of these anthologies: “Textos sabiamente elegidos, escrupulosas versiones de las obras extranjeras, *clara y elegante tipografía*, definen esta biblioteca de apasionante interés y de extraordinario valor cultural”

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<sup>221</sup> *Catálogo Número 4* ([1949?]). Even though Antonio López Llausás managed the Editorial Sudamericana shortly after it was founded in 1939, it should be noted that the above sentiment, with regards to making the most important works of world literature known to the most readers, is reflected in the *original* group of intellectuals responsible for the creation of this publishing house: “La Editorial Sudamericana había sido fundada recientemente por impulso de Victoria Ocampo, Carlos Mayer, Oliverio Girondo, Antonio Santamarina y un grupo de intelectuales con el propósito de divulgar autores contemporáneos, especialmente aquellos que carecían de recursos y oportunidades para publicar. [...] entre sus primeras incursiones estaban las antologías del matrimonio Bioy Casares Ocampo y Borges” (Vaccaro 341).

(inside flap of *Antología de la literatura fantástica*, emphasis mine). The fact that the clear and elegant typography of this specific collection is discussed as a central feature of these works speaks volumes. What is more, the *only* two works included in the “Colección *Labertino*” are the *Antología de la literatura fantástica* and the *Antología poética argentina*. Before comparing and contrasting these two works, and thinking more broadly about the so-called “Colección *Laberinto*,” I will first examine each anthology individually, taking into consideration the format, contents, and any reviews of these works.

From its very onset, the *Antología de la literatura fantástica* claims to be nothing other than a selection of texts that are among the favorites of its three editors (Borges, Bioy Casares, and Silvina Ocampo) and, as a result, what they deem the *best* representations of fantastic literature: “Analizado con un criterio histórico o geográfico, puede parecer irregular. Tampoco hemos buscado, ni rechazado, los nombres célebres. *Este volumen es, simplemente, la reunión de los textos de la literatura fantástica que nos parecen mejores*” (14-15, emphasis mine).<sup>222</sup> As a result, it is virtually impossible to place any sort of organizational principle on the texts included in this anthology. That being said, in his introduction to the collection Bioy Casares offers a list of general observations related to the technique of the fantastic that is helpful when we consider what this specific genre of writings might entail. More specifically, he divides his thoughts into three unique categories: “El ambiente o la atmósfera,” “La sorpresa,” “El Cuarto Amarillo y el Peligro Amarillo” (8-10). The first describes the creation of a somewhat ominous setting that may consist of “una persiana que se golpea, la lluvia, [o] una frase que vuelve” (8). The second

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<sup>222</sup> Bioy Casares echoes this sentiment in his *Memorias*: “Fue una ocupación gratísima, emprendida sin duda por el afán de hacer que los lectores compartieran nuestro deslumbramiento por ciertos textos. Ese fue el impulso que nos llevó a componer el libro, pero mientras lo componíamos alguna vez comentamos que serviría para convencer a los escritores argentinos del encanto y los méritos de las historias que cuentan historias” (88).

category can refer to something physical, something verbal, or something in the plot. The final group, which is most reminiscent of detective fiction, is “una nueva versión – periodística, epigramática – de la doctrina de las tres unidades” of plot, place, and time (10). Even though this last category most resembles the genre of detective fiction, there are certainly overlaps with the previous two groups as well.

In a way Bioy Casares’s neat tripartite grouping of fantastic traits gives readers a false sense of unity since he immediately goes on to enumerate any possible type of fantastic plot that might fill the pages of the *Antología de la literatura fantástica*.<sup>223</sup> Monegal echoes this sentiment by characterizing this work as “to this day [...] one of the most curious and unorthodox compilations on the subject” (350). In a similar vein, many of the debates surrounding this initial collaborative anthology deal with the fact that there appears to be no unifying element in the selections made by this trio: “En la *Antología de la literatura fantástica* no se trata de ilustrar o crear un género” (Louis 415-6). In addition to the unclear common denominator among all of the texts in the *Antología de la literatura fantástica*, there is also a lack of order in light of the fact that there is neither chronological nor alphabetic organization. Thus, the collection opens with a seemingly lengthy 31-page story by Max Beerbohm (1872-1956) (“Enoch Soames” (1916)), which is followed immediately by a mere *fragment* from George Loring Frost’s (1887-?) *Memorabilia* (1923)<sup>224</sup>, and continues with a one-page excerpt from Alexandra David-Neel’s (1868-1969) “La persecución del Maestro” (1931). Even from this small sampling of the first three entries in the anthology we get a sense of its somewhat chaotic nature. The fact that all of

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<sup>223</sup> “Argumentos en que aparecen fantasmas... Argumentos con acción que sigue en el infierno... Con personaje soñado... Con Metamorfosis... Acciones paralelas que obran por analogía... Tema de la inmortalidad... Fantasías metafísicas... Cuentos y novelas de Kafka... Vampiros y Castillos” (10-14).

<sup>224</sup> The figure of George Loring Frost appears to be an apocryphal author as his works are nowhere else to be found except in the pages of Borges’s *Antología de la literatura fantástica*.

the works included in the *Antología de la literatura fantástica* are not organized chronologically, alphabetically, or by country heightens the reader's feeling of disorientation as well. What is more, there is often no page break between entries. In other words, short fragments of works are often squeezed onto the same page as other writings,<sup>225</sup> which is reminiscent more of a miscellany than an anthology, especially when we consider the fact that many of these fragmented excerpts have no titles and are only separated by short dashes.

In light of the above commentary regarding anthologies and miscellanies, it is necessary to flesh out the defining characteristics of the latter of these two types of collections. In contrast with anthologies, miscellanies were compiled with the popular tastes and interests of the moment in mind, similar to what we might find in the *Reader's Digest*. Thus, these collections helped readers stay informed of the newest trends and developments in the literary world, which speaks directly to Borges's (and Bioy Casares's) rebranding of the detective fiction genre in light of the fact that a few of the authors in the *Antología de la literatura fantástica* later appear in Borges and Bioy Casares's *Los mejores cuentos policiales* as well as in their "Séptimo Círculo" series.<sup>226</sup> In other words, the miscellany is "designed to suit contemporary tastes" while

anthologies, in contrast, are generally selections of canonical texts which have a more established history and a greater claim to cultural importance. The miscellany, then typically celebrates – and indeed constructs – taste, novelty and contemporaneity in assembling a synchronous body of material. It should be distinguished from the anthology which honours – and perpetuates – the value of historicity and the perdurance of established canons of artistic discrimination in gathering texts recognized for their aesthetic legitimacy. (Suarez 218-19)

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<sup>225</sup> Looking to other contemporary works produced by the Editorial Sudamericana confirms that this firm was not typically stingy on page space. This idea is furthered when we consider their unique production of catalogues that were distributed to interested clients free of charge.

<sup>226</sup> G. K. Chesterton, Jorge Luis Borges, Manuel Peyrou, and Edgar Allan Poe all appear in *Los mejores cuentos policiales*, while Manuel Peyrou also appears as part of the "Séptimo Círculo" series.



The already established element of personal interest behind the formation of Borges, Bioy Casares, and Silvina Ocampo's *Antología de la literatura fantástica*, which stands in direct opposition to the types of materials included in Borges and Henríquez Ureña's *Antología clásica de la literatura argentina*, also serves to emphasize its likeness to a miscellany, as opposed to a traditional anthology that aims to emphasize writers and works that form part of an already accepted literary canon.

In line with the characterization of this work as a type of miscellany is the repetition of authors and works. More specifically, seven of the forty-seven authors in the *Antología de la literatura fantástica* appear twice throughout the book: Alexandra David-Neel, G. K. Chesterton, Tsao Hsue-Kin, Léon Bloy, Ramón Gómez de la Serna, James Joyce, and Franz Kafka. Of particular note is that the second excerpted works from four of the seven authors in this list come from the *same* work as their first included text in the anthology. Thus, Alexandra David-Neel's "La persecución del maestro" (p. 48) is from her *Parmi les Mystiques et les Magiciens du Tibet*; her second textual appearance nearly one hundred pages later is another part of this same work (p. 138). In a similar vein, both of G. K. Chesterton's passages are drawn from *The Man Who Knew Too Much* (pp. 112-113; p. 138), Tsao Hsue-Kin's "El espejo de viento y luna" (pp. 89-90) and "Sueño infinito de Pao Yu" (pp. 276-77) are both parts of *El sueño del aposento rojo*, and James Joyce's two texts are both from *Ulysses* (p. 165; p. 277).<sup>227</sup> This odd repetition raises the question of why Borges, Bioy Casares, and Silvina Ocampo would choose to separate these texts

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<sup>227</sup> Another important aspect of these three writers is the fact that they all appear, at various moments, in Borges's literary review page for *El Hogar*. Even more interesting is the fact that Tsao Hsue Kin's work from which the above fragments are taken (*El sueño del aposento rojo*) is *precisely* the work reviewed by Borges in *El Hogar* on November 19, 1937. He curiously ends his review with the following description of Kin's work: "Abunda lo fantástico: la literatura china no sabe de 'novelas fantásticas', porque todas, en algún momento, lo son" (24).

rather than adjoin them with a possible section break to indicate that, while being from the same work, they are not continuous portions of the same text.<sup>228</sup> Moreover, the fact that many of the second texts from these repeated authors share space with other texts (by different, less-canonical authors) reflects a commonplace trend within any given miscellany where “works by major authors often shared space with works by unknown” authors (Batt 799).

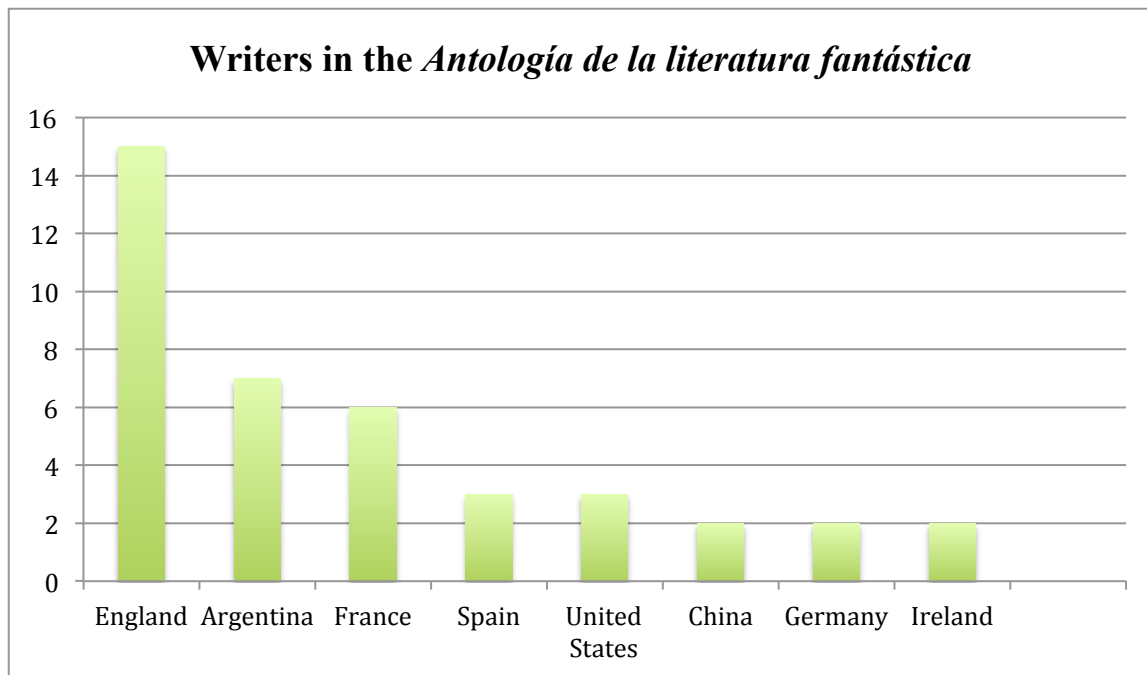
The physical features of the first edition of the *Antología de la literatura fantástica* are much more eye-catching than those of the *Antología clásica de la literatura argentina*, which (perhaps) speaks to the differences in their intended audiences and overall function. The use of multiple colors on the front cover immediately draws the reader’s attention to this volume. What is more, this use of color can also be seen as a commentary on the (monetary) value of this *Antología* since it would cost more to print and produce such a cover; this idea further echoes the emphasis that the editors and/or López Llausás placed on this collection’s design elements (inside flap). The grey-green brick design that fills the entire background of the cover, coupled with the winged figure and the title of the collection itself (“*Laberinto*”), call to mind the mythological persona of Daedalus. In other words, labyrinths and high (brick) walls echo the home that Daedalus built for the minotaur on the island of Crete, while the central figure on the cover is reminiscent of the wings that Daedalus crafted for his son Icarus. This reading of the design elements on the cover of the *Antología de la literatura fantástica* is just one possibility, yet it aptly hits on the erudite contents contained in its pages.

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<sup>228</sup> Each of the two excerpted texts from the other three authors in this group are from *different* works: Léon Bloy, parts from *Le Mendiant ingrat* (p. 90) and *Le Vieux de la montage* (p. 141); Ramón Gómez de la Serna, parts from “Peor que el infierno” (p. 157) and “La sangre en el jardín” (p. 209); Franz Kafka, parts from *Josefina la cantora* o *El pueblo de los ratones* (pp. 142-156) and *Ante la ley* (pp. 224-5). Since Borges, Bioy Casares, and Silvina Ocampo all selected and edited the texts that appear within this collection, it is possible that these various section breaks reflect their own unique lists of proposed choices.

When compared (physically) with other anthologies published in Buenos Aires in the early twentieth century, Borges, Bioy Casares, and Silvina Ocampo's work also stands out for the inclusion of various contributors' names on the front cover. The majority of other Argentine anthologies during the early twentieth century contain no such information and, as a result, the reader must immediately engage with specific authors from the *Antología de la literatura fantástica* even before opening its pages. Moreover, the particular authors included on the cover are quite revealing and echo the promotional efforts of Borges in the late 1930s with his literary review column in *El Hogar*. The authors, in order of their appearance, are the following: Jean Cocteau, Jorge Luis Borges, G. K. Chesterton, Macedonio Fernández, Franz Kafka, R. Gómez de la Serna, Leopoldo Lugones, James Joyce, Guy de Maupassant, François Rabelais, Thomas Carlyle, Giovanni Papini, Edgar Allan Poe, Herbert G. Wells, Rudyard Kipling, León Bloy, Eugene [sic] O'Neill, and Max Beerbohm. In light of the fact that there are only 47 authors in the entire anthology, this list might appear, at first glance, to be a random sampling of authors, especially when we consider the fact that Franz Kafka is the only Austrian author, James Joyce is the only Irish author, Thomas Carlyle is the only Scottish author, and Giovanni Papini is the only Italian author. That being said, it is important to keep in mind that nearly half of the writers hail from either France or England, two of the *primary* countries spotlighted for their writers by Borges in *El Hogar*. Moreover, all of these individuals are quality writers and very well-known. In addition, the presence of three *Argentine* writers on the cover of this anthology seems to suggest a desire to rethink and resituate the place of these authors in relation to their foreign counterparts. Of particular note is the fact that Borges himself not only surfaces within the pages of the *Antología de la literatura fantástica*, but also appears on the very cover of this work. Thus, we can begin to see a certain level of strategic positioning of Argentine literature alongside

established (European) traditions. This idea is emphasized further when we consider the countries from which *all* of the writers originate:<sup>229</sup>



**Figure 37:** Writers in the *Antología de la literatura fantástica*

Another unique aspect of the physical layout of Borges, Bioy Casares, and Silvina Ocampo's first collaborative anthology is the biographical information that accompanies the textual excerpts from each of the included authors. Even though these biographies are extremely truncated in comparison with what we find in earlier collections such as the *Antología clásica de la literatura argentina*, there is a great deal of information conveyed in them. In particular, we find three key pieces of data in each biography: nationality, the defining characteristics of each author's oeuvre, and a list of any (fundamental) works they have published to date. Thus we see a desire to show geographic breadth of (what these three editors deem as) fantastic literature,

<sup>229</sup> There are several authors from countries *not* included in the above list in an effort to make the findings clearer. All of the following countries (not included in the chart) are represented by a writer *one time* in the anthology: Austria, Chile, Italy, Scotland, and Sweden. In addition, there is one piece by an anonymous author and another from the Roman Empire.

characteristics that define this genre, and possible suggestions for further reading that hint at establishing a canon. For instance, Santiago Dabove is noteworthy for “el cuento fantástico,” Edgar Allan Poe “renovó el género fantástico,” “[a Villiers de L’Isle-Adam] la literatura fantástica le debe novelas, cuentos y obras de teatro,” and “la literatura fantástica le debe muchos ejercicios coherentes [a H. G. Wells].” Another intriguing feature of each biographical entry is the emergence of several linguistic patterns. In other words, in light of the fact that each biography contains the same types of information, it is plausible to imagine that, as a result, each entry would have a similar format.<sup>230</sup> This is not the case. In fact, information as basic as birth (and death) places and years is not always present for every writer.<sup>231</sup> In a similar vein, the ways in which the authors’ published works are introduced varies quite a bit from biography to biography. That being said, the majority of entries (24/47) are introduced with either “[es] autor de” (38%) or “Ha publicado” (13%).<sup>232</sup>

In terms of the reception of the *Antología de la literatura fantástica*, one of the first reviews of this work, which appeared in *La Nación* (13 April 1941), emphasizes the important work that this collection does in selecting specific titles and, more importantly, “el verdadero amor, la no fortuita inclinación con que el libro ha sido previsto, organizado y construido. No es una antología comercial: es el fruto de una inclinación muy segura en su facultad selectiva.”<sup>233</sup>

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<sup>230</sup> The only writers included in this anthology that do *not* have a short biography are W. W. Skeat, Herbert Allen Giles, and Richard Wilhelm. The latter two omissions can be explained when we consider their correlation with Chuang Tzu’s entry: “Hay versiones inglesas de Giles y de Lege; alemana, de Wilhelm” (240).

<sup>231</sup> María Luisa Bombal’s and Pilar de Lusarreta’s biographies includes no birth place or year, the entries for Olaf Stapleton and W. W. Jacobs have only birth years (and no places), while the entry for May Sinclair only includes a birth place (and no year).

<sup>232</sup> A future project I hope to tackle involves trying to trace each entry to a specific editor (Borges, Bioy Casares, or Silvina Ocampo) with the help of these variants in framing language.

<sup>233</sup> Cited in Vaccaro, 343.

Even though Bioy Casares notes in the prologue to this work that “queda material para una segunda antología de la literatura fantástica,” López Llausás claimed that the first collection was a commercial failure and, as a result, refused to publish a second installment (15). That being said, Bioy Casares negates López Llausás’s claim that the *Antología de la literatura fantástica* was a financial loss for the Editorial Sudamericana in his *Memorias*: “se vendían muy bien [los volúmenes de la primera edición]” (89).<sup>234</sup>

One year after the publication of their *Antología de la literatura fantástica*, the Editorial Sudamericana released Borges, Bioy Casares, and Silvina Ocampo’s second co-edited work: the *Antología poética argentina* (1941). This work serves as the second, and final, volume in the “Colección LABERTINO,” yet unlike the previous anthology in the collection, the *Antología poética argentina* has a clearly defined scope and organizational structure (not to mention the fact that all the poets included are Argentine, as the title clearly indicates).<sup>235</sup> Thus, the anthologized authors are arranged chronologically according to the date of their first publications and span from the mid- to late-nineteenth century to the middle of the twentieth century. Borges also uses the prologue in this second anthology to note this chronological order of its contents, which immediately distinguishes it from their earlier *Antología de la literatura fantástica*. What is more, there is no shared space between entries. In other words, even if a short poem from one poet could (typographically) fit on a previous page with the works of another writer, there has been a conscious effort (by either the trio of editors, or the director of the Editorial

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<sup>234</sup> In light of the fact that there are no extant publishers’ archives for the Editorial Sudamericana, it would be quite difficult to determine if this work sold well or not in the early 1940s in Argentina. However, the Editorial Sudamericana’s decision to produce a *second* co-edited anthology by these three writers suggests that the first volume must not have been too much of a financial flop.

<sup>235</sup> The fact that there were no more installments in the series suggests that the publishing house was for whatever reason not very enthusiastic—the most obvious reason would be economic.

Sudamericana) to give each author their own unique space in the anthology. This spatial decision gives the volume a much cleaner, sophisticated appearance, in contrast with the *Antología de la literatura fantástica* that, at times, clumps two or three short fragments from different authors on the same page.<sup>236</sup> In a similar vein, the paper used for the *Antología poética argentina* is much heavier (in weight) and of a higher quality than the previous volume in the “Colección LABERINTO,” which is also reflected in the price increase from \$3.50 (*Antología de la literatura fantástica*) to \$4 (*Antología poética argentina*).<sup>237</sup>

Unlike the prologue for the previous anthology, which bears Adolfo Bioy Casares’s name at its close, the introductory pages of the *Antología poética argentina* are signed by none other than Jorge Luis Borges. Even though both of these works are *co-edited*, which makes it quite difficult to parse out individual contributions from each writer, the fact that each of these prologs is signed by *one* of the three, rather than all three (even with just their initials like the *Antología clásica de la literatura argentina*) is curious and, more likely than not, noteworthy. What is more, the voice of Borges is much more present in this specific prolog, which emphasizes his central role in crafting these words (and signing them).<sup>238</sup> In particular, the punchy opening, filled with a slight amount of tongue-and-cheek humor, sounds like the start of many of his non-fiction essays on literature:

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<sup>236</sup> Another aspect of this poetry anthology that elevates it from other works and suggests a learned, elite reader is the fact that all of Gloria Alcorta’s poems are printed in French with no translations.

<sup>237</sup> This price increase is most likely not related to the sheer number of pages in each volume since there are only 24 more pages in the first anthology. What is more, this earlier work is also physically thicker than the second, which emphasizes the difference in paper quality between the two volumes.

<sup>238</sup> Borges’s earlier role as (co-) editor of three *poetry* anthologies in the 1920s might explain the decision to have him write this prologue (or at least sign it to show a sense of authority given his previous work in this area).

Ningún libro es tan vulnerable como una antología de piezas contemporáneas, locales. En vano el agredido compilador se empeña en simular una erudición que linda con la omnisciencia, una imparcialidad que es inaccesible a las variadas tentaciones de la costumbre, de la pasión, del hastío, una perspicacia que prefigura el Juicio Final; el público (yo también soy el público) inevitablemente denunciará pecados de omisión y de comisión.<sup>239</sup> ¡Qué injusta la omisión de B, la inclusión de C! ¿Cómo repitieron esa página de Lugones, que ya figura en otras antologías? ¿Cómo rehusaron esa página de Lugones, que todas las antologías publican? Esas interjecciones (y otras) requieren alguna respuesta. (7)

In addition, there is a marked echo of the prolog for the *Antología clásica de la literatura argentina* that he edited with Henríquez Peña since, in this later work, the editors prefer to exclude oft cited works simply because they are popular and well-known: “Contrariando los métodos románticos de nuestro tiempo, no hemos optado por las más personales, características; hemos incluido [sic] las que nos parecen mejores. En muchos casos, las dos categorías coinciden. Hemos exluído [sic] los romances octosilábicos: forma rudimentaria y monótona” (8).<sup>240</sup> Finally, he draws the reader’s attention to the inherent difficulty in crafting any anthology: space. More specifically, he describes the intellectual’s interest in critiquing popular culture and, in light of its scope, the wide array of forms that this type of criticism may take:

Es muy sabido que los literatos veneran lo popular; siempre que les permita un glosario y alguna pompa crítica, siempre que la indiferencia y los años lo hayan enriquecido de oscuridades o, a lo menos, de incertidumbre. Ahora celebran y

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<sup>239</sup> Many of the ideas expressed in this introduction bring to mind the debates surrounding Octavio Paz’s poetic anthology, *Laurel*, which was not only published in the same year as the *Antología poética argentina*, but also included works by Borges himself. What is more, Paz’s reflections on the rationale for his creation after the fact resonate also directly with Borges’s introductory words: “*Laurel* provocó reacciones aún más violentas que *El Hijo Pródigo* pero no es ésta la ocasión para contar la historia de ese escándalo. A mí se me ocurrió la idea de hacer la antología. Con ella quería mostrar la continuidad y la unidad de la poesía de nuestra lengua. Era un acto de fe. Creía (y creo) que una tradición poética no se define por el concepto político de nacionalidad sino por la lengua y por las relaciones que se tejen entre los estilos y los creadores” (*Xavier Villaurrutia en persona y en obra*, 16-17). A similar controversy arose with the selections made for the first edition of Gerardo Diego’s *Antología* (1932); see Morelli (1997).

<sup>240</sup> In their *Antología clásica de la literatura argentina* Borges and Henríquez Peña highlight their wish to “[evitar] las páginas demasiado conocidas, aunque sean magníficas” (8).



comentan y a veces leen las payadas de los “gauchescos”; en un porvenir quizá no lejano deplorarán que las antologías argentinas de 1942 no incluyan el menor fragmento de la vasta epopeya colectiva que suman las letras de tango y que los discos de fonógrafo perpetúan...*La dificultad de clasificar nuestra lírica demuestra su caudal heterogéneo, su variedad feliz.* (10-11, emphasis mine)

As a whole, we can view all of these remarks as variations on a theme: no anthology or edited collection will ever be exhaustive.

In an effort to understand better the evolution of the form of the anthology of (Argentine) poetry in Argentina (and the place of this specific work within this evolution), I consulted a number of collections published in Buenos Aires between 1921 and 1937: “La lírica argentina contemporánea” (1921), the *Antología de la poesía argentina moderna (1900-1925)* (1926), the *Antología de poetas argentinos* (1926), the *Índice de la nueva poesía americana* (1927), the *Antología de la poesía argentina moderna (1896-1930)* (1931), the *Antología de poetas y prosistas americanos* (1937), and the *Índice de la poesía argentina contemporánea* (1937).<sup>241</sup> Borges’s role as editor, or co-editor, of two of these anthologies also serves to highlight their importance as antecedents to the current anthology.<sup>242</sup> The first overlap between this series of anthologies and Borges, Bioy Casares, and Silvina Ocampo’s *Antología poética argentina* are the poets themselves.<sup>243</sup> More specifically, forty-seven poets (of the sixty-nine total) who appear in the volume published by the Editorial Sudamericana also fill the pages of at least one of these earlier anthologies. In other words, nearly 70% of the poets included in the *Antología poética*

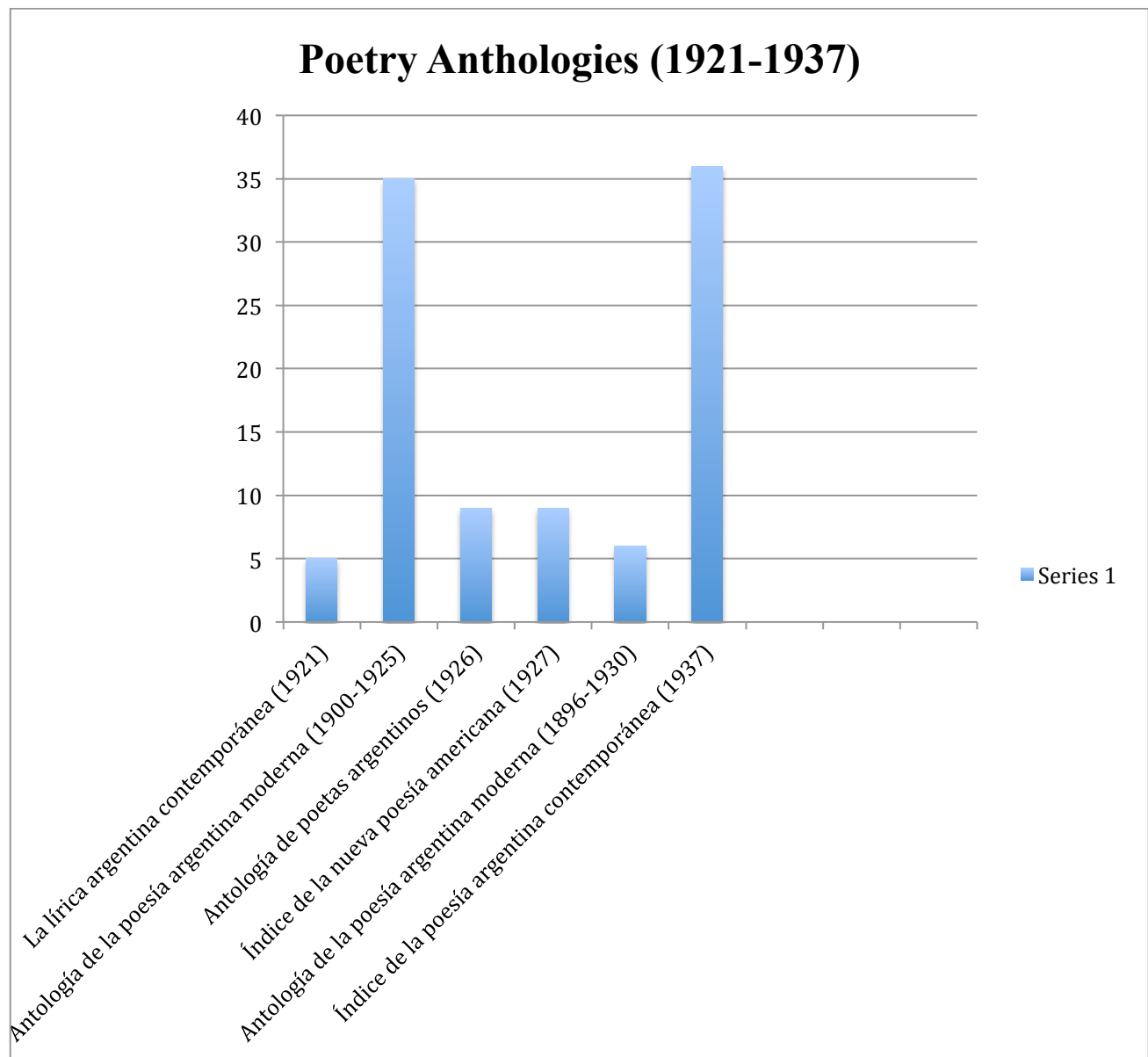
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<sup>241</sup> This surprisingly large number of poetry anthologies published during the first part of the twentieth century, which focus mainly on *Argentine* poetry, emphasizes Borges’s claim in his prologue to the *Antología poética argentina* that “ninguno de los géneros literarios que practican los argentinos ha logrado el valor y la diversidad de la lírica” (11).

<sup>242</sup> Given my earlier analysis of Borges’s “La lírica argentina contemporánea,” I will not discuss it further here. That being said, it is important to keep in mind that the biographical notes on each of the included poets are not truly biographies, but rather Borges’s reflections on the poetic style of these poets.

<sup>243</sup> Five of these seven anthologies also include (early) poems by Jorge Luis Borges.

*argentina* appear in earlier edited collections. The following chart will give readers a better idea of the distribution of these Argentine poets throughout these earlier volumes:



**Figure 38:** Poetry Anthologies (1921-1937)

Even though there is a great deal of overlap in the poets between all of these anthologies, virtually none of the earlier works outline *how* they were formed or their overarching organizational principles with any level of depth. For instance, the prolog for Julio Noé's

*Antología de la poesía argentina moderna (1900-1925)* stresses the *lack* of interest in offering critiques for the included poems and, instead, continually refers to the editor as a collector.<sup>244</sup> In a similar vein, Oscar R. Beltrán's large, four-volume *Antología de poetas y prosistas americanos* continually accentuates his interest in following "los programas oficiales de los estudios literarios" (8). Moreover, several of these early works do not even include any biographical (or bibliographical) information on the poets themselves (*Índice de la poesía argentina contemporánea*, *Índice de la nueva poesía americana*, *Antología de poetas argentinos*) and are rife with typographical errors, both of which indicate a lack of precision and care in their production.<sup>245</sup>

One of the more curious aspects of each entry in the *Antología poética argentina* are the short biographies of the included poets. Similar to what we saw in the *Antología de la literatura fantástica*, there are slight variations from entry to entry, which seems to suggest, once again, the possibility that each of the editors was responsible for specific biographies and textual excerpts.<sup>246</sup> That being said, the specific linguistic formulas used for each biography are not the most intriguing aspect of these entries, but rather the curious forward-looking tendency through

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<sup>244</sup> This same work comments on the important role of *others* in editing its contents, especially the poets themselves, which is a very different approach from what we saw in Borges's earlier *Antología clásica de la literatura argentina*: "Agradece el editor todo el apoyo de colaboración y de simpatía por su empresa, que ha recibido de varias personas, — de los poetas principalmente, — sin el cual este trabajo hubiera sido de muy difícil realización" (7). Gerardo Diego used a similar method for his *Antología* (1932).

<sup>245</sup> For instance, the *Índice de la poesía argentina contemporánea* cites Borges's birth year as 1900 and prints his poetry collection, *Luna de enfrente*, as "*Luna de enrente*."

<sup>246</sup> Similar to what we saw in the *Antología de la literatura fantástica*, there is a tendency toward two specific formulas for introducing an author's works: "Obras" (71%) and "Ha publicado" (22%). While it might be possible that these differences in biographical format line up with different entries by Borges, Bioy Casares, and Silvina Ocampo, it is also possible that these changes were the result of the general editor at the Editorial Sudamericana, especially when we consider the fact that the title of this collection did not come from this trio, but from the general editors "que prefirieron la eufonía a la corrección" (Bioy Casares, "Memorias" 89).

the use of phrases such as “en prensa” and “en preparación” stands out most in this particular anthology. More specifically, the biographical entries for 28 of the 69 poets included in the *Antología poética argentina* (an impressive 40.5%!) contain at least one (and at times both) of these two phrases. While it might be more common to find and include works that are in the process of being printed, it seems quite strange to track down and list works that are still being written, which seems to suggest that the editors were most likely in contact with all of the anthologized writers. For instance, Ricardo Rojas’ biography lists two works “en preparación”: *La Salamandra* [sic] and *El pensamiento vivo de Sarmiento*. Both of these works are published with the Editorial Losada shortly after their inclusion here.<sup>247</sup> The case of Rojas’s works “en preparación” that are published in actuality is rather rare; instead, the trend for works included in this category is to discover that they were never published.<sup>248</sup> What is more, the few works that were later published from either the category “en preparación” or “en prensa” highlight Borges’s (et. al.’s) interest in the publishing industry and the book-world more generally in light of the fact that, aside from the Editorial Losada, the majority of the other publishing firms used by these poets are small and not well-known.<sup>249</sup>

The physical presentation of this anthology emulates that of the *Antología de la literatura fantástica*:

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<sup>247</sup> There is a typographical error with the title of the first work as it appears in the *Antología poética argentina*; it is actually *La Salamanca* (Losada, 1943). The second work is published in 1941.

<sup>248</sup> This is precisely the case for the following poets’ works printed as “en preparación” in the anthology: Juan Carlos Dávalos, Ezequiel Martínez Estrada, Pedro Miguel Obligado, Miguel Andrés Camino, María Alicia Domínguez, Horacio Schiavo, Córdova Iturburu, Emilia Bertolé, Eduardo Keller, Ulyses Petit de Murat, Wally Zenner, Ignacio B. Anzoátegui, and Elvira de Alvear.

<sup>249</sup> Impresora “Librería San Martín,” Editorial “La Raza,” Editorial Arrayán, Editorial Problemas, A. L. A. Club del libro, Editorial Nova, Ediciones Conducta, and Ediciones Contrapunto.



Figure 39: *Antología poética argentina, Antología de la literatura fantástica*

[Source: Personal Collection]

Thus, we find the same brick-style background with serif and san-serif typefaces throughout. In addition, there are also eighteen named authors on the cover of this poetic anthology and, without doubt, these names line up most with names included in previous anthologies that Borges edited, or are part of the various organizations, such as the SADE, that Borges also belonged to. Finally, the same winged figure occupies the center of the cover. Along with the names and the actual titles of the two works, the only other (visible) difference between the two volumes in the “Colección *Laberinto*,” besides the prices and type of paper that I mentioned earlier in this chapter, is the use of color. Similar to the supposed claims of López Llausás, this second anthology also was a financial flop. Monegal goes so far to say that “the anthology was the least successful venture attempted by Borges and the Bioys” (357). If this second volume

was, indeed, a financial failure for the Editorial Sudamericana, it might explain the publishing firm's rationale not only for discontinuing any subsequent editions or additional volumes by these three editors, but also for terminating the "Colección *Laberinto*" series as a whole.<sup>250</sup>

From their exquisite design features to the types of works (and authors) included throughout their pages, it is clear that both anthologies in the Editorial Sudamericana's "Colección *Laberinto*" were intended for a specific audience. More specifically, we can imagine not only this publishing firm, but also this trio of Argentine editors, targeting middle- to upper-class readers with the hopes that these learned individuals would share and disseminate the importance of these works with the rest of the Argentine populace, much as Ernesto Palacio described in his article in *El Hogar*. Unlike the earlier *Antología clásica de la literatura argentina* (and other later collections that we will analyze next), the fact that there is not an explicit purpose (particularly pedagogical) for the creation of these volumes (other than personal interests of their editors) further emphasizes the likelihood of an intended elite audience.

*Los mejores cuentos policiales* (1943), the "Séptimo Círculo" series (1945-1983), and the "Colección Buen Aire"

Emecé Editores, another publishing house that would be fundamental for much of Borges's career, was one of the many firms established in Buenos Aires during the late 1930s and early 1940s by Spanish exiles. In particular, Emecé "was founded [in 1939] by an exile from Spain, Mariano Medina del Río, who linked up with Álvaro de las Casas in Buenos Aires, a literary man, and Carlos Braun Menéndez, who had studied with Medina del Río in Spain.

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<sup>250</sup> Considering that these two volumes were produced during the height of Buenos Aires's Golden Age of publishing, the Editorial Sudamericana's ultimate decision to discontinue the collection also might be a reflection of an already heavily saturated market.

‘Emecé’ was an amalgam of their names” (Woodall 128). While the first two men served as the editorial board of this publishing house, Braun Menéndez financed the entire operation. Moreover, in light of the Galician roots of Emecé’s founding members, the very first two books published by this firm were “obras relacionadas con la cultura galaica en gallego o castellano” (Gerhardt 5),<sup>251</sup> as one might imagine, there was a general lack of interest in such topics in Argentina and, as a result, no further works were added to the initial “Biblioteca Gallega.” Therefore, following this first flop, the directors of Emecé switched gears to focus on more canonical Spanish works and eventually incorporated more Latin American works as well.

Along with a number of artists and writers (from both Argentina and other Spanish-speaking countries), Borges also took employment with Emecé for a number of years in an effort to help increase the meager wages that he earned at the National Library (1937-1946). Borges often contributed prefaces to works as well as translations of short stories by foreign authors, similar to the work he sometimes wrote for the journal *Sur*. Given his presence and interaction with Emecé over the years, “[f]rom 1951, they would publish all of Borges’s prose and poetry, and become his main house in the Spanish-speaking world, until his death” (Woodall 128).<sup>252</sup> In light of the scope of the current chapter, I will focus on three specific collaborative projects published by Emecé for which Borges served as a key contributor: *Los mejores cuentos*

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<sup>251</sup> Some critics have suggested that the Galician population in Buenos Aires during this time period was larger than that of Galicia itself (Schrijver 131).

<sup>252</sup> The interest in maintaining this strong connection between publisher and person published continued even after his death, resulting in a contract that ultimately secured the relationship between Borges and Emecé: “October 1995, a complete and new Borges in Spanish was put out to tender: through a newly appointed agent in New York, Andrew Wylie, María Kodama sought \$1 million for the Spanish rights in her late husband’s works from competing publishers in Spain and Buenos Aires. That deal has now been concluded, with the hardback license going to Emecé in Buenos Aires and the paperback license to Alianza in Madrid” (Woodall 280). We will revisit Emecé Editores in the next chapter.

*policiales*, the “Séptimo Círculo” series, and *El compadrito*. While the first two initiatives share the common link of detective fiction, the third work appears, at first glance, to be an outlier. As we shall see below, this is certainly not the case.

Much ink has been spilled over the intimate relationship between the form of the detective story (and its resurgence in Argentina during the first part of the twentieth century) and the writings of Jorge Luis Borges. A number of studies focus on the rules that any (decent) detective story must follow (Lafforgue 1995; Mattalia 2000; Setton 2012; Martínez 2014), others highlight the ways in which the genre of detective fiction allows Borges to create a specific kind of reader (Martín 1995), and still more branch out to more edgy topics of Lacanian readings of certain short stories (Irwin 1994).<sup>253</sup> Regardless of their specific point of departure or theoretical framing, most critics situate Borges’s burgeoning fascination with detection fiction in the early 1930s and mark its culmination in the early 1950s:

los contactos explícitos de Borges con lo policial se restringen a una etapa de su vida – tentativamente el período que va desde mediados de los años ’30 hasta comienzos de los ’50 – y a la postre a unos pocos textos ficcionales y ensayísticos específicos, tras los cuales el interés del autor se diluye y Borges no siempre parece convencido de la pertinencia de sus incursiones adventicias en el género. (Lafforgue 134)

In light of this established time frame, there is a common tendency to identify the importance of Borges’s 1935 collection, *Historia universal de la infamia*, and its initial roots in the *Revista Multicolor de los Sábados* (1933-1934), as an appropriate point of departure. Moreover, virtually

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<sup>253</sup> Lafforgue’s and Rivera’s foundational study of the evolution of the genre of detective fiction in Argentina is the first place to start for any further investigations into this topic (1995). Along with this work and the above mentioned research avenues, see: Yates (1956; 1960), Molloy (1979), Bennett (1983), Cruz (1992), Cortínez (1995), Sarabia (1992), Vega (1996), Sánchez (1997), Parodi (1999), Close (2008), Piglia (2009), and Hart (2012). In addition to these works, there are a large number of published interviews with Borges that touch on the topic of detective fiction in his writings: Burgin (1969), Alifano (1986), Ferrari (1986).



all studies of Borges's writings from these few decades typically home in on the writer's interest in the "novela enigma," or locked room mystery type of detective fiction, which I briefly outlined in the previous chapter.

While many critics go so far as to mention the importance of Borges's literary reviews in *El Hogar* and his subsequent collaborative endeavors with Bioy Casares that result in *Seis problemas para don Isidro Parodi*, *Los mejores cuentos policiales*, and the "Séptimo Círculo" series, there has been no in-depth consideration, to date, of the physical forms that these writings take and the implications they have for canon formation in Argentina.<sup>254</sup> Thus, in light of the fact that my aim for the current chapter (and my larger project as a whole) is to parse out the *physical forms* that Borges's works take throughout this crucial part of his career, it is not my intention to present readers with a new interpretation of this Argentine writer's use of the genre of detective fiction. Rather, my goal is to think critically about the ways in which his writings (and their physical manifestations as books, anthologies, and edited volumes) subtly promote certain types of literature. Given that there is an extensive body of criticism pertaining to Borges and his central role in rescuing detective fiction (in Argentina) from its status as a popular genre for the masses and redefining it as one full of complexity and fit for elite audiences, other critics have already pinpointed the trajectory of his promotional efforts.<sup>255</sup> However, virtually all of these studies *only* identify this promotional strategy and do not attempt to dissect what such efforts

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<sup>254</sup> The most detailed studies of the evolution of Borges's detective fiction stories and his general interest in this specific genre are the following: Yates (1960), Rodríguez-Luis (1980), Cruz (1992), Lafforgue (1996), and Vega (1996).

<sup>255</sup> In fact, Jorge Hernández Martín says *just* this in his *Readers and Labyrinths: Detective Fiction in Borges, Bustos Domecq, and Eco*: "Borges promoted the development of detective fiction in Argentina and the southern continent by writing these review articles [in *El Hogar*], through his involvement in the translations of detective novels distributed by Emecé in the Seventh Circle series, and in the selection and translation of the fine, and often curious, detective stories which he edited with Bioy Casares in the two volumes of *Best Detective Stories* published in 1943 and 1951" (49).

mean for Argentine publishing markets and the book-world at large, which will be the crux of my observations that follow.<sup>256</sup>

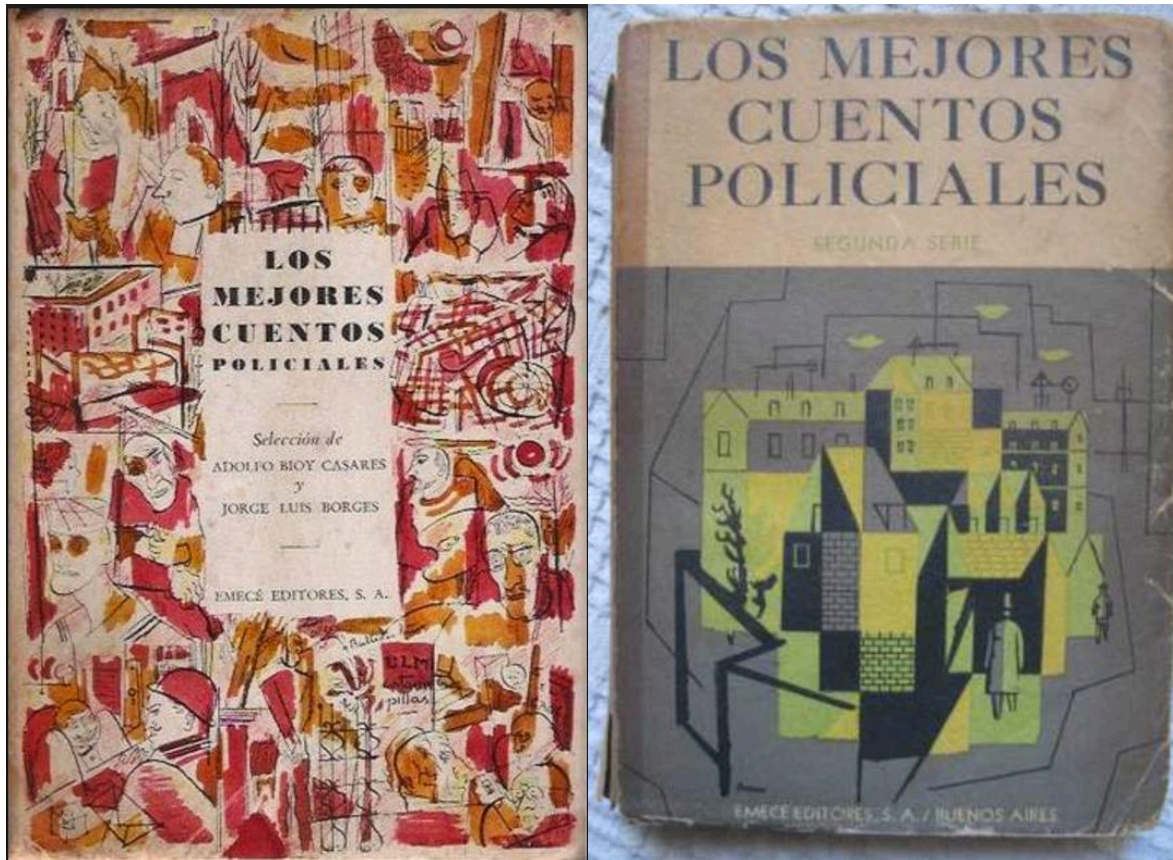
After their (successful) collaboration on anthologies for the Editorial Sudamericana, Borges and Bioy Casares approached Emecé Editores with two unique projects intimately related to their personal interests in the genre of detective fiction. The first of these two literary ventures was an edited collection of detective stories, aptly named *Los mejores cuentos policiales*. In line with their previous collaborative efforts, the texts included within the pages of this detective fiction collection are by a myriad of national *and* international authors. Even though this work does not have a prologue, introduction, or any opening words to help readers understand the inclusion of certain writers (and the exclusion of other), the choice of certain texts over others seems to resonate with their own tastes and preferences, thus aligning perfectly with what we found in their *Antología de la literatura fantástica*. That being said, the organizational structure of the work and its overarching purpose (as outlined in each book's interior flap) sets *Los mejores cuentos policiales* apart from Borges's earlier collaborative work with the Editorial Sudamericana: "Este volumen quiere presentar un panorama completo de tan significativo sector de las letras contemporáneas"; "El orden cronológico observado en la distribución de los cuentos permite al estudioso apreciar la evolución del género."

The large success of *Los mejores cuentos policiales* is illustrated best when we consider the publishing history and the fact that this volume went through multiple editions and even

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<sup>256</sup> Some possible unanswered questions that arise from only skimming the surface with regard to the "promotion" of a type of literature without delving into the publishing implications are the following: what type of reader(s) did Borges (and Bioy Casares) have in mind for these works? How do their formats differ? What is distinct about each of the two volumes of *Los mejores cuentos policiales*? What do the design elements of each of these works tell us about their production and promotional efforts?

introduced a second *series*, which incorporated new authors and new texts.<sup>257</sup> In addition to these textual changes, the physical appearances of both series of *Los mejores cuentos policiales* are radically different:



**Figure 40:** *Los mejores cuentos policiales* (first edition, primera serie, 1943), *Los mejores cuentos policiales* (first edition, second series, 1951)

[Source: Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia]

With the first edition of the first series (pictured above on the left), the flashy-colored cover distracts from the title. What is more, readers should immediately note the fact that the word “policiales” in the title is noticeably smaller than the other words, which might be an attempt on

<sup>257</sup> The first edition was published in 1943, and shortly after a second (1944) and third edition (1947) followed. The second *series* of *Los mejores cuentos policiales* was published in 1951 and introduced ten new short stories by several new authors that were not present in the first series.

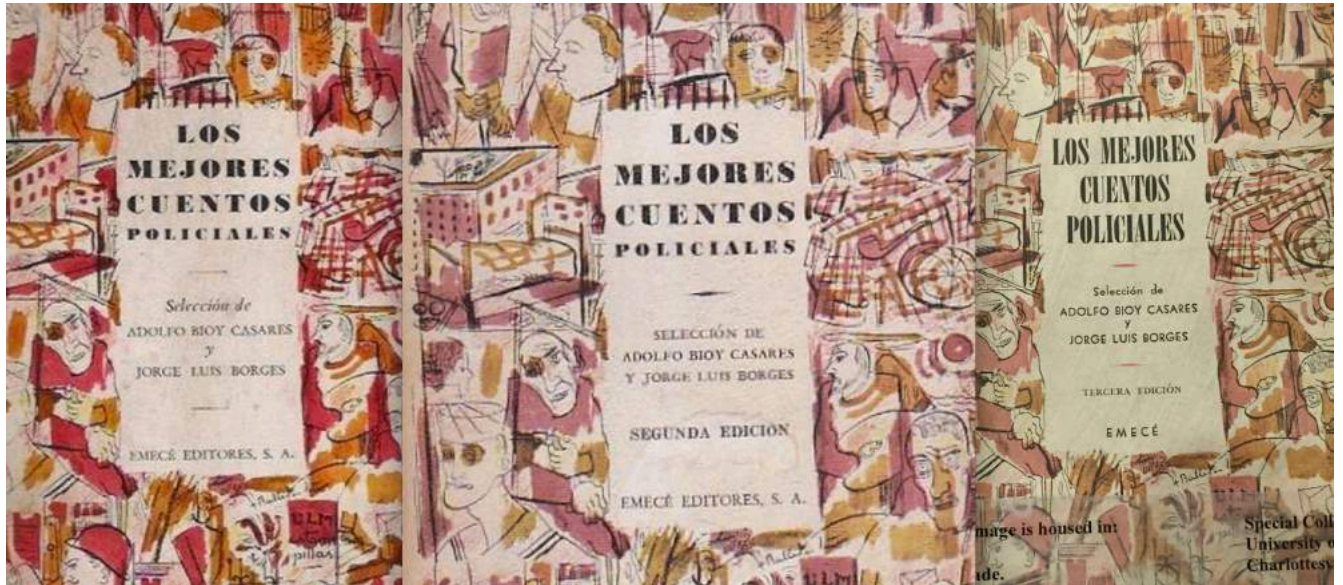
the part of Emecé to downplay their association with the detective fiction genre.<sup>258</sup> That being said, the first series prominently showcases the names of its two editors while the second series does not. It might be possible that Emecé printed their names strategically to boost sales since, according to the descriptive inside flap (of the first, second, and third editions), these two Argentine writers are “reconocidos eruditos en la materia” and “han puesto a contribución su largo y placentero conocimiento de los textos originales, sin olvidar, por cierto, los diversos aportes argentinos.” Thus, the general editors at Emecé appear to have played up the names of Borges and Bioy Casares for their selections and translations of detective stories found within the eye-catching covers of these works.<sup>259</sup>

In addition to the differences between the two covers of the first and second *series*, there is quite a bit of typographical difference among the different editions (1943, 1944, 1947) in the first series:

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<sup>258</sup> As we shall below, with the “Séptimo Círculo” series, this publishing firm has a marked aversion toward this specific genre for its association with popular literature for the masses.

<sup>259</sup> Bioy confirms this fact in his *Memorias*: “[los editores de Emecé] sugirieron, eso sí, que la colección llevara nuestros nombres pero no el de la editorial” (100).



**Figure 41:** *Los mejores cuentos policiales* (primera serie; first (1943), second (1944), and third editions (1947))

[Source: Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia and Personal Collection]

Even though the same colorful design fills the background of all three dust jackets for these editions, there are curious typographical changes from edition to edition.<sup>260</sup> While the first and second share an identical serif typeface with high vertical stress for the title of the work, the presentation of “Selección de Adolfo Bioy Casares y Jorge Luis Borges” is noticeably changed from the first to the second. What is more, although not terribly clear from the above image, each edition uses a distinct typeface for “Emecé Editores, S. A.” The most apparent variations in the cover text emerge in the third (and final) edition of this first series. Here we see a completely new setting of type for the title along with the introduction of a series of sans serif typefaces. In

<sup>260</sup> I should note here that this colorful design is *not* printed on a dust jacket for the third edition of the first series of *Los mejores cuentos policiales*, but rather on the actual cover. This design change might be the first step (of many) toward cutting costs and producing more economical paperback editions. What is more, the quality of the paper used for this third edition is noticeably cheaper than the first and second editions.



addition, the short dashes used to separate parts of the textual blocks on the cover are no longer black (like the first two editions), but a vibrant red.

Returning to my comparison of the two distinct series of *Los mejores cuentos policiales* it is important to highlight the fact that each of these series also contained distinct contents (yet the various *editions* in each series do not change their contents):

First Series (1943-1947)		Second Series (1951-1956)	
Nathaniel Hawthorne	"La muerte repetida"	Wilkie Collins	"Cazador Cazado"
Edgar Allan Poe	"La carta robada"	G. K. Chesterton	"Los tres jinetes del apocalipsis"
Robert Louis Stevenson	"La puerta y el pino"	Hylton Cleaver	"Copia del original"
Arthur Conan Doyle	"La Liga de los Cabezas Rojas"	Agatha Christie	"La señal en el cielo"
Jack London	"Las muertes concéntricas"	William Irish	"Si muriera antes de despertar"
Guillaume Apollinaire	"El marinero de Amsterdam"	Ellery Queen	"Aventura en la mansión de las tinieblas"
Gilbert K. Chesterton	"El honor de Israel Gow"	Eden Phillpotts	"Tres hombres muertos"
Eden Phillpotts	"El ananá de hierro"	Graham Greene	"Una salita cerca de la calle Edgware"
Ronald Knox	"El millonario que murió de hambre"	John Dickson Carr	"Personas o cosas desconocidas"
Anthony Berkeley	"El envenenador de Sir William"	Michael Innes	"La tragedia del pañuelo"
Milward Kennedy	"El fin de un juez"	Jorge Luis Borges y Adolfo Bioy Casares	"Las doce figuras del mundo"
Ellery Queen	"Filatelia"	Harry Kemelman	"Nueve millas bajo la lluvia"
Carlos Pérez Ruiz	"A treinta pasos"	William Faulkner	"Humo"

Georges Simenon	"La noche de los siete minutos"	Manuel Peyrou	"Julieta y el mago"
Manuel Peyrou	"La espada dormida"		
Jorge Luis Borges	"La muerte y la brújula"		

While there are several overlapping authors in the two series (highlighted in the above chart in yellow), there are no repeated detective stories.

In light of the fact that several of the authors found within the pages of either the first or second series of *Los mejores cuentos* also in Borges's previous collaborative work (the *Antología de la literatura fantástica*), it is worthwhile to examine the ways in which these overlapping writers are presented to readers.<sup>261</sup> The first notable feature of the biographies (and bibliographies) of these shared authors is the fact that many are transferred verbatim from the Editorial Sudamericana's earlier anthology to Emecé's detective fiction collections.<sup>262</sup> That being said, Borges and Bioy Casares's roles as editors for each of these works easily explain this recycling of material. More thought-provoking, especially within the context of *promotion* that permeates many of my arguments throughout this chapter, is the subtle inclusion of references to *other* collections produced by Emecé Editores within the short biographies of certain authors in both series of *Los mejores cuentos policiales*. For instance, within the first series of detective fiction stories, the editors make sure to indicate if an author's work is included as part of

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<sup>261</sup> This overlap brings up the issue of the functional differentiation between "fantastic" and "detective" that I touched on earlier in this chapter and solidifies the notion that they are very close concepts for Borges and Bioy Casares.

<sup>262</sup> The following biographies appear to be lifted directly from the *Antología de la literatura fantástica* (with a few minor changes such as the omission of dates): G. K. Chesterton, Edgar Allan Poe, and Manuel Peyrou.

Emecé's later "Séptimo Círculo" series; thus, we find parenthetical notes alongside Eden Philpotts's *Mr. Digweed and Mr. Lumb* ("El Séptimo Círculo", No. 12, Emecé Editores" (118)) and Milward Kennedy's *The Murderer of Sleep* ("El Séptimo Círculo", No. 6, Emecé Editores" (172)) and *Corpse in Cold Storage* ("El Séptimo Círculo", No. 8, Emecé Editores" (172)). While these promotional asides might not be terribly surprising, especially in light of the fact that they are promoting similar types of literature that potential audiences might want to read, there are also references to works in *other* Emecé collections, which seems to suggest a different sort of agenda. More specifically, Nathaniel Hawthorne's short biography contains a footnote to *The House of Seven Gables* that brings readers' attention to the fact that this work was translated into Spanish and is a part of the "Colección 'La Quimera', Emecé Editores" (8). In a similar vein, Edgar Allan Poe's biography in this same series footnotes his work *Eureka* to alert readers to its translation and publication "por Emecé Editores en la Colección 'Grandes Ensayistas'" (24) and Robert Louis Stevenson's introduction contains a reference to the presence of his *The Master of Ballantrae* within the "Biblioteca Emecé, No. 5" (42).<sup>263</sup> As a result, even though a certain amount of biographical (and bibliographical) information might be borrowed from previous collaborative anthologies, there appears to be a much stronger pull on the part of Emecé to promote *other* collections that they were publishing during the 1940s.

Another key aspect to consider when dealing with information related to the publishing history of these works is their price and their sales. In light of the fact that there are no extant

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<sup>263</sup> Although the above examples only pertain to the first series of *Los mejores cuentos policiales*, there are similar examples found throughout the second series. Thus, Manuel Peyrou's biography mentions his *El estruendo de las rosas* forming part of the "Séptimo Círculo" series (332), G. K. Chesterton's biography highlights the presence of two of his works in the "colección *Grandes Ensayistas*" (42), and Eden Phillpotts's biography has been updated to include three *new* additions to the "Séptimo Círculo" series (166).

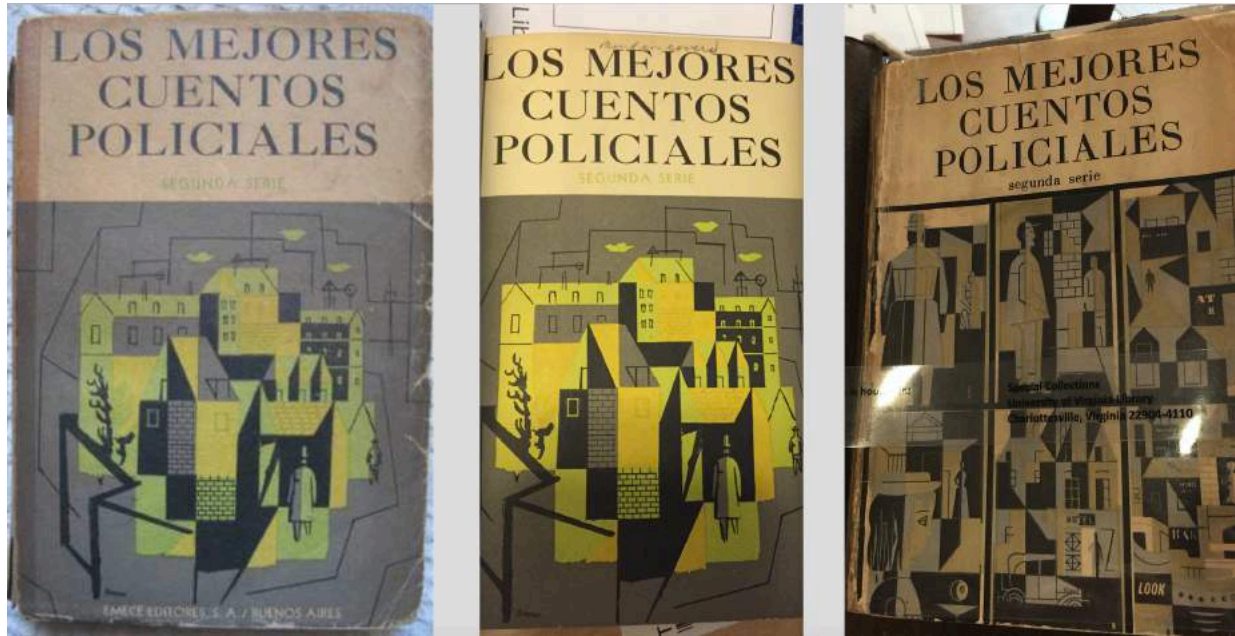


records from the Emecé Editores publishing house, it is virtually impossible to track down the exact number of copies sold and any revenue generated from these sales. That being said, by analyzing the physical features of each volume produced, particularly the back covers that (normally) contain a price and the inside flap that discusses demand for the books, readers can gain a great deal of insight into the (financial) success that *Los mejores cuentos policiales* brought to Emecé Editores and, as a result, a possible reason, as we shall see later, for their ultimate decision to accept the “Séptimo Círculo” series. In terms of the specifics, the interior flap of the third edition of the first series highlights the high demand for this collection: “Al dar a la estampa la tercera edición de esta obra lo hacemos con la repetida satisfacción de ofrecer al público una nueva reimpresión *urgentemente reclamada*” (emphasis mine). In a similar vein, the issuing of multiple editions (without virtually any changes in the contents) suggests the same (or even a greater) level of interest from readers with the second series, which is also reflected in the slight price increase.<sup>264</sup> Akin to the first series of *Los mejores cuentos policiales*, the second series goes through multiple editions as well. What is more, this second series becomes part of several *other* collections created by Emecé Editores including the “Selección Emecé de Obras Contemporáneas” and their “Piragua” series.<sup>265</sup> While the physical features of this second series do not change as much from edition to edition, there is a noticeable shift in the cover of each work once they enter *other* Emecé collections:

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<sup>264</sup> The first edition of the second series has a price of “\$16 m/arg.” while the second edition of this same work (1952) lists its price as “18 m/arg.” The third edition (1956), which also has a new cover design on much thicker cardstock, is a whopping “\$46 m/arg.”

<sup>265</sup> It should also be noted that the Piragua collection has a new setting of type that differs from what we find in the earlier editions of the second series of *Los mejores cuentos policiales*.



**Figure 42:** *Los mejores cuentos policiales* (segunda serie; first (1951), second (1952), and third (1956) editions)

[Source: Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia and InterLibrary Loan]

In addition, the quality of the paper in the third edition of the second series (1956) is much cheaper and brittle, indicating a move toward cheap paperback quality that is not nearly as nice as the first series of editions. Even though these later editions are out of the scope of my project here (due to their dates of publication), it is worth noting these drastic changes in price and quality for the information they provide about the move toward popular (mass produced) paperbacks.

The second project (related to detective fiction) that Borges and Bioy Casares pitched to Emecé Editores was an entire *series* of translated works: the “Séptimo Círculo” series. The name of this series “evoca el anillo del infierno que Dante reservó a los violentos,” thus establishing a link between the works of detective fiction included in the series and the well-regarded canonical figure of Dante; this link can most certainly be seen as a type of promotional strategy that would

potentially draw a large audience.<sup>266</sup> It should come as no surprise that Borges and Bioy Casares directed this new series for Emecé Editores from its start in 1945 until the first part of the 1960s when Carlos V. Frías would take over (Lafforgue 121).<sup>267</sup> During this period, Borges and Bioy Casares were in charge of selecting the titles that the collection would publish, which amounted to around 139 in total (Díaz 75). Along with the selection of titles, this literary duo was also responsible for the “estética distintiva y [...] ideología de género peculiar” that came to be a part of the series, which was a complete aesthetic package, from content to covers, of the highest quality. It should be noted that Emecé did not immediately accept Borges and Bioy Casares’s idea of the “Séptimo Círculo” series immediately. In an interview with James E. Ibry, Borges recalls that the editors “tardaron un año en aceptar la idea de la colección *Séptimo Círculo*, cuyo éxito ha sido enorme, porque decían que la literatura policíaca no era cosa digna de una editorial seria.”<sup>268</sup> The initial doubts of the editors at Emecé with regard to an *entire* collection dedicated to works of detective fiction highlights the general attitude toward this type of literature in Argentina during the 1940s and, as a result, the great strides made by Borges (and Bioy Casares) to rebrand and reestablish its importance. That being said, the (financial) successes of this collection (also suggested by Borges above) were enormous: “El éxito de *El Séptimo Círculo* se evidencia no solo en la cantidad de títulos publicados (366), sino también en sus tiradas (14.000 ejemplares de cada título, según Frías, y a un promedio de uno por mes) y la venta de sus derechos a España, primero en *EDHASA* y luego en *Alianza Editorial*” (Valerga 9). The above

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<sup>266</sup> <http://www.lanacion.com.ar/487962-los-mejores-asesinatos-de-la-literatura>.

<sup>267</sup> Borges and Bioy Casares developed a deep-seated interest in the “narrativa policial y por sus numerosos problemas teóricos y técnicos” as early as 1935 (Lafforgue 121); thus, the start of their collaborative endeavors (and interests) in the detective genre for Emecé Editores has a much earlier start date than that of the “Séptimo Círculo” series itself, as we saw in the last chapter.

<sup>268</sup> Cited in Lafforgue 123.

statistics certainly speak for themselves and do not need further analysis with regard to highlighting the boom of the “Séptimo Círculo” series.<sup>269</sup>

Much like many of the other anthologies and collections that Borges was a part of, the design elements of the “Séptimo Círculo” series, with virtually all of the cover illustrations and designs by José Bonomi (1903-1992), are particularly eye-catching. In fact, it is quite easy to connect Borges’s and Bioy Casares’s desired aesthetics for the series with Bonomi’s “elegantes portadas de colección” that he would design and create until the 1970s (Lafforgue 124). Bonomi, himself, discussed his role in creating and executing the designs for the “Séptimo Círculo” series:

al realizar las tapas de esta colección nunca he intentado una explicación de la obra; no me he dejado atrapar por la mera anécdota, sino que he buscado una composición de los personajes, acaso una simbolización o he partido de algún elemento significativo para estilizarlo. Aunque no se vea, existe en todas esas tapas una trama previa; hay divisiones armónicas generalmente por mitades, con contrastes simultáneos y colores plenos. En resumen, todas ellas esconden una cruz que establece las simetrías; son bidimensionales y apelan a la planimetría. (Lafforgue 128, note 2)

Interestingly, Bonomi also states in this note that he read all of the works before designing their covers, which adds another level of complexity to the physical features of these works.<sup>270</sup>

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<sup>269</sup> Bioy Casares also notes that “con nuestras novelas policiales los editores conocieron el encanto de las buenas ventas y perdieron las ganas de volver a las aventuras prestigiosas, de esfuerzo inmediato y beneficio futuro” (100). Another factor that might have aided in the large success of this series was the (eventual) use of a pocket-size format for its books.

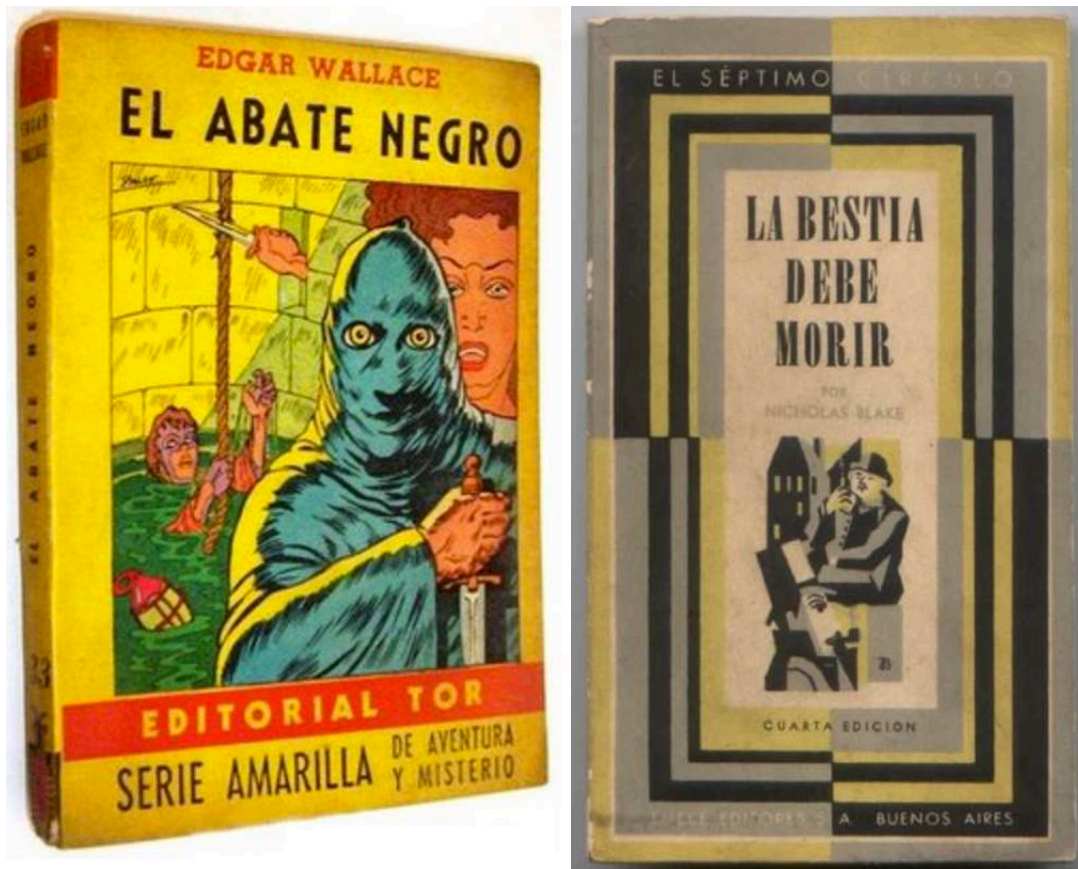
<sup>270</sup> Carolina Miranda’s recent study of the “Séptimo Círculo” series is very thorough and informative, yet there are noticeable gaps, one of which is the complete lack of discussion of Borges’s role in *El Hogar* and how this initial activity helped to shape these later publications (“More than the Sum of its Parts: Borges, Bioy Casares and the Phenomenon of the *Séptimo Círculo* collection,” *Serial Crime Fiction: Dying for More* (Palgrave, 2015): 31-40).

In general terms, each volume in the series has a similar geometric border around the edges of its cover and a small drawing centered on the cover that depicts a central crux of the text's plot. What is more, the cover of each book only uses three unique colors to illustrate these more uniform design features.<sup>271</sup> These carefully conceived (colorful) covers were, in the words of Bioy Casares, a driving force behind the success of the series: "El diseño de la tapa, de Bonomi, nos gustó mucho y creo que le debemos buena parte del éxito" (*Memorias* 100). When we compare the final product of these books with similar collections of detective fiction produced by publishing houses such as the Editorial Tor (*Serie amarilla*) we can identify almost immediately the impact of Emecé's artistically refined work.<sup>272</sup>

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<sup>271</sup> Emecé's twenty-fifth anniversary catalog reinforces this strict limitation to three colors: "Volúmenes de 18 x 11 encuadernados a la rústica. Cubiertas en tres colores ilustradas por José Bonomi" (27).

<sup>272</sup> The Editorial Tor's *Serie amarilla* was published during the 1940s and 1950s, which shows an important overlap with Emecé's "Séptimo Círculo." Their jarring yellow covers, which undoubtedly reflect the title of the series, and cheap quality of their paper and production pale in comparison to the types of books produced by Borges, Bonomi, and Emecé Editores. These covers and the idea of cheap paperbacks also resonate with Victor Gollancz's books in the early part of the twentieth century. The visual examples provided here are a random sample of titles from Tor's and Emecé's collections.



**Figure 43:** *El Abate negro* (Editorial Tor, “Serie Amarilla,” 1945), *La bestia debe morir* (Emecé Editores, “El Séptimo Círculo,” 1945)

[Source: “Spanish Book Covers” (<http://spanishbookcovers.blogspot.com/2009/06/edgar-wallace.html>) and Personal Collection]

While the Editorial Tor’s *Serie amarilla* uses a great deal more color on its covers, the images are flashy and melodramatic. The fact that the images do not quite line up with the other strips of color and text on the cover illustrate a lack of care and precision in crafting these works. The above example from the “Séptimo Círculo” series, which happens to be the first work in the entire collection, is much more visually appealing with its geometric patterns, limitations of color, and uniform typefaces throughout.<sup>273</sup> This example reinforces my claim from the second

<sup>273</sup> These geometric cover designs for Emecé’s “Séptimo Círculo” series are reminiscent of the Editorial Losada’s cover designs for their “Contemporánea” series (1930s and 1940s), which might be explained by the influence of Attilio Rossi.

chapter that the Editorial Tor was most concerned about profit and monetary gain, not design elements or prestige.

A clear genealogical line can be traced from Borges and Bioy Casares's *Los mejores cuentos policiales* to the works included in Emece's "Séptimo Círculo" series when we consider the *type* of detective fiction that each of these collections favored. Thus, the only clear limitation placed on the titles to appear within the "Séptimo Círculo" series was that they must not be examples of detective fiction in the "hard-boiled" vein: "Borges y yo no quisimos incluir en El Séptimo Círculo libros de la escuela americana de escritores 'duros' (*hard boiled* o *tough writers*), que en Francia originó la Serie Negra y que se convirtió en la expresión mundialmente difundida y aceptada del género. No siempre son las buenas causas las que triunfan" (*Memorias* 104). This deep-seated interest in logic over violence is emphasized further by the logo created for the series, a chess piece, which one critic describes as a "fetishization of the intellectual game of problem-solving characteristic of the series" (Miranda 32):



**Figure 44:** Logo created for Emece's "Séptimo Círculo" series

[Source: *Personal Collection*]

Apart from this somewhat vague requirement, Bioy recalls the vast range of works that appeared in the series: “Éstos, frecuentemente eran curiosas historias de crímenes, contados con eficacia, en las que intervenían personajes vívidos, que el lector se complacía en recordar y comentar” (*Memorias* 106). In their comprehensive study of this history of Argentine detective fiction Lafforgue and Rivera single out three specific thematic categories in this series’ lengthy timespan: classic works employing an enigma or puzzle problem, works by authors that, at first glance, appear not to fit the bill of detective fiction writers, and finally a large inclusion of Río de la Plata authors. These two critics also identify three unique (historical) moments of the “Séptimo Círculo” series: the direction of Borges and Bioy, the direction of Carlos Frías, and the disappearance of Bonomi.

Echoing what we find in not only *Los mejores cuentos policiales*, but also Borges’s earlier review column for *El Hogar*, we should note the preference for *foreign* authors and works in this detective fiction series.<sup>274</sup> In line with the desire to rebrand the genre of detective fiction that was, up to this moment in Argentine history, seen as nothing more than mass-market popular fiction, the incorporation (and translation) of foreign works is a potential way to redirect readers’s preconceived ideas about this type of literature by introducing them to writers they have never before encountered: “En El Séptimo Círculo publicamos excelentes novelas acaso condenadas al olvido por pertenecer al género policial. Un género de mucha venta, pero no siempre bien mirado por la gente seria” (Bioy, *Memorias* 107). What is more, by focusing solely

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<sup>274</sup> Miranda’s already cited study on the “Séptimo Círculo” series calculates that “90 per cent of the 63 writers included [in this series] were imports” (32). I use Miranda’s work heavily in these pages since it is not only the most recent work on the “Séptimo Círculo” series, but also the most detailed. She also focuses on the importance of translation(s) for much of Argentine culture during the 1940s, which she aptly ties to the boom of the Argentine publishing industry. That being said, her study does *not* consider or discuss the role of *El Hogar* for Borges’s career (or the promotion of detective fiction).



on enigma-problem plots (as opposed to violent and immoral plotlines), Borges and Bioy Casares are putting their intellectual (high-brow) spin on this genre, which would appeal to many of their elite audiences and intellectual friends. In turn, many of these elite friends, especially those associated with Victoria Ocampo's literary magazine *Sur*, helped to promote and popularize Emecé's "Séptimo Círculo" series (Miranda 34).<sup>275</sup>

In addition to these better-known collaborative endeavors that promoted the genre of detective fiction in Argentina, Borges also worked with Sylvia Bullrich Palenque to publish a volume entitled *El compadrito* (1945) as part of Emecé Editores' "Colección Buen Aire."<sup>276</sup> Before venturing into the specifics of this work, I must first give a brief overview of the collection of which it forms a part. Subtitled "Imágenes y espíritu de América," the "Colección Buen Aire" includes titles pertaining to the history and culture of Latin America in the broadest sense.<sup>277</sup> One of Emecé's catalogs describes the collection as "ideada por Sigfrido Radaelli y Luis M. Baudizzone, con ilustraciones en hueco offset, [...] con relieves propios en la bibliografía histórica argentina."<sup>278</sup> In addition to the efforts of Radaelli and Baudizzone, Luis Seoane and Arturo Cuadrado also played an important part in editing and designing each volume

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<sup>275</sup> Miranda sees this promotion of new types of literature as a common characteristic of the 1940s in Argentina as the majority of elites fought against the types of works promoted by Juan Perón: "The promotion of a closed system of works exploiting ahistorical references and highlighting the fictional, playful character of literature reflected more than a mere aesthetic enterprise in the context of the historical changes Argentina underwent that decade. Indeed, the ideological coherence of this endeavour became meaningful as the political and cultural hegemony of the patrician elite was undermined; what underscores the crisis these writers were undergoing is the group's turning to peripheral models (European, mainly British) and to a distant personal genealogical past which granted them a certain cultural political power" (34-5).

<sup>276</sup> One of the only references to this collection of texts by Borges and Sylvia Bullrich Palenque is found in Alazraki (1988); Bioy Casares mentions Bullrich in passing in his *Memorias* as the one who introduced Borges to Emecé: "Borges entró en Emecé por recomendación de Sylvia Bullrich" (98).

<sup>277</sup> This theme is clear from the first title published in the collection: *Buenos Aires visto por los viajeros ingleses* (1941).

<sup>278</sup> *50 años Emecé Editores: 1939-1989*. Buenos Aires: Emecé, 1989.

for the “Colección Buen Aire.”<sup>279</sup> Seoane recalls his experience of starting this collection during an interview: “Nosotros comenzamos en Emecé con una colección que se llamaba ‘Buen Aire’, porque sólo el afán nuestro, de Cuadrado, Baudizzzone y yo, que comenzamos los tres haciendo ‘Buen Aire’, era el de *hacer una pequeña colección de libros que fuesen muy bonitos, pero al mismo tiempo fuesen el reflejo de lo que era Latinoamérica*” (Seoane 167, emphasis mine). Just as Seoane describes, each volume in the “Colección Buen Aire” presents readers with an important topic or figure in the culture and history of Latin America and each volume has distinct physical features that set it apart from the books being produced by all other Argentine publishing firms during the early 1940s. In general terms, as Federico Gerhardt notes in his foundational study, there is a lot of diversity in the types of works that fall into the “Colección Buen Aire”; alongside travel narratives there are also biographies, volumes of poetry, theatre, and short stories.<sup>280</sup> Even though there is a great range of genres present in this collection, the central unifying characteristics of each work is “su relación con la cultura americana, fundamentalmente argentina y rioplatense, aunque también guardando un lugar a la brasileña” (Gerhardt 6).<sup>281</sup>

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<sup>279</sup> Seoane and Cuadrado only worked exclusively with the “Colección Buen Aire” until 1942, when they left Emecé to start their own publishing house: Editorial Nova. Interestingly, their newfounded publishing house creates a similar series, “Colección Mar Dulce,” that appears to imitate the “Colección Buen Aire” in terms of themes and physical presentation of the volumes.

<sup>280</sup> Some volumes use the following categories (printed at the end of their books) to organize the works in the “Colección Buen Aire”: “Viajes y crónicas,” “Poesía y cancioneros,” “Paisajes y ciudades,” “Memorias y recuerdos,” “Leyenda y folklore,” “Temas y documentos de historia,” “Biografías,” “Impresiones sobre América,” and “Teatro americano.”

<sup>281</sup> Gerhardt’s (brief) study of Emecé’s “Colección Buen Aire,” which forms part of his *larger* project involving publishing houses founded by Spanish exiles in Buenos Aires, is one of the only written pieces pertaining to this specific collection. While it provides a good amount of information about the unifying principle among all the volumes in the collection, and a bit of history about its editors, there is no discussion of the physical features, prices, or any other details relating to the publishing history of these works. What is more, there is no discussion or mention of the fact that Jorge Luis Borges edited a volume in the “Colección Buen Aire,” which seems like an important piece of information.

The publishing history of each volume in the “Colección Buen Aire” echoes the chaotic nature of the possible genres and themes covered by each book’s contents. Even though the design features of each book are somewhat uniform, the printers, editors, and illustrators fluctuate from volume to volume, thus making it extremely difficult to attribute the layout and overall look of these works to one specific individual.<sup>282</sup> Thus, although each work is a colored hardcover book with a small square space on the cover for the title and a small illustration pertaining to the content of the work in question, there are variations in typeface size, drawing quality, and the decision to include the volume number and price on the cover.

Returning to the work in question, Borges and Palenque’s *El compadrito* focuses on the “compadrito,” as the title suggests, who is broadly defined by Borges in the prolog as “el plebeyo de las ciudades y del indefinido arrabal” (7).<sup>283</sup> Thus, we can see this figure as the urban counterpart to the Argentine gaucho yet, unlike this latter (canonical) archetype that has taken the form of Martín Fierro, and Juan Moreira, among others, the “compadre” has yet to take form as a “símbolo inevitable” (7). As a result, the purpose of this specific anthology is to spark readers’ interest in this lesser-known figure “para que alguien escriba aquel verosímil poema que hará con el compadre lo que el *Martín Fierro* hizo con el gaucho” (8). Borges has organized this collection into three parts that neatly fit into the categories introduced in the work’s subtitle: “su destino, sus barrios, su música.” The first section deals with the “ética de hombre que está solo y que nada espera de nadie,” the second tackles “la cronología de su arrabal,” and the third

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<sup>282</sup> Several important figures associated with Argentine publishing history that we have already seen (in either this same chapter or previous ones) surface for their role in helping produce various works in Emecé’s “Colección Buen Aire” such as José Bonomi (cover illustrator), the Imprenta López (printer), and J. Hay Bells (printer).

<sup>283</sup> Although it is highly likely that Palenque edited and had some role in crafting the prologue to *El compadrito*, only Borges’s initials are included at its close and, for that reason, I will attribute this (brief) introductory text to him.

provides examples of his music in the form of milongas and tangos (8). Much like the other collaborative collections we have seen throughout this chapter, Borges makes a point to tell his readers that he does not intend this anthology to be exhaustive and, as a result, has opted to omit some of the seemingly better-known works such as “[el] teatro nacional y las letras de tango” as well as “los encantos itálicos del lunfardo” (7). These editorial decisions recall those made for his *Antología clásica de la literatura argentina* in which he also chose to exclude excerpts of popular prose from its pages.

A quick glance at the table of contents for *El compadrito* will give readers an immediate sense of déjà vu for the presence of many of Borges’s preferred (Argentine) writers including Evaristo Carriego, Ezequiel Martínez Estrada (x2), Leopoldo Lugones, Ignacio B. Anzoátegui, Marcelino del Mazo, and Ricardo Güiraldes. What is more, Borges includes *himself* among these writers. Another curious aspect of the authors included in *El compadrito* is the fact that, unlike any of Borges’s other collaborative anthologies or edited collections, there are no biographies (or bibliographies) for these individuals. Apart from their names that are printed below the title of their work that is excerpted in the collection, there are no other clues regarding their careers or styles that might help readers discern *why* they have been included in these pages dedicated to the figure of the “compadrito”. This lack of detail is the case for all of the titles included in the “Colección Buen Aire,” which might speak to its intended audience of more middle- to lower-class readers with less of an interest in the writers themselves. In addition, this format points to the fact that the anthologized authors are merely a means to an end here, included in an effort to evoke the figure of the compadre. In direct contrast, virtually all of the previously anthologies that we have seen in this chapter provide readers with more details about an author’s oeuvre and, thus, encourage further reading.

In light of the fact that each of the three sections of this anthology is organized around a theme, as opposed to a genre, there are short fragments of prose and poetry found in each part. Moreover, Borges and Palenque achieve a further sense of unity in the work as a whole by carefully placing fragments of milongas or other popular verses in italics at the close of a number of excerpted texts in the collection. For instance, immediately following a series of poems by Evaristo Carriego is the following stanza: “Las rosas son rosas, / Las hojas son verdes. / El amor de mi china / Nunca se pierde.”; after a poem by Manuel Pinedo we find a different stanza of popular verse: “Barraca’ al Sur, / Barraca’ al Norte, / A mí me gusta / Bailar con corte.”; Borges’s own short story ends with the following lines: “Soy de los barrios del Norte, / Soy del barrio del Retiro. / Yo soy aquél que no miro / Con quien tengo que pelear, / Y en trance de milonguear, / Naide [*sic*] se me puso a tiro.” These examples are just a select few, and many more can be found in the anthology, but they all point to a general interest in popular culture and the many forms it takes throughout history. While *El compadrito* might appear drastically different, both in terms of its content and its physical appearance, from the other edited collections published by Emecé that Borges directed, it emphasizes a similar desire to the works of detective fiction produced by this firm: rebranding and promoting the popular.

*Antología de la poesía norteamericana* (1944)

One of the most influential literary magazines for Borges’s career, which would later start a publishing firm under the same name, was Victoria Ocampo’s *Sur*. In fact, this literary magazine tends to be remembered solely for the crucial role it played in putting Borges on the map (King 90). In light of the fact that this literary magazine, along with the Editorial Sur, forms the heart of my next chapter, I will keep my introductory comments here about Victoria Ocampo

and the aims of *Sur* to a minimum. Prior to the creation of this literary journal in 1931, the cultural life of not only Buenos Aires, but also a large number of major Latin American cities (such as Mexico City, Sao Paulo, Lima, and Havana), was rife with a number of little magazines, particularly those associated with the various avant-garde movements. Thus, Ocampo, with the help and encouragement of Waldo Frank, saw that the moment was right to establish a *new* type of literary magazine “for everyone with an interest in the Americas and [that] would serve as a bridge between America and Europe” (King 43).<sup>284</sup> What is more, the general aim of *Sur*’s editors and its various contributors was to be “arbiters of taste and commentators on certain aspects of society, while at the same time denying any ideological contamination” (King 55-6). To this end, the journal was most known for their “standards of literary decorum” that showed a marked interest in the ideas of intellectuals and those that involved women’s rights (King 56). In other words, what set the journal *Sur*, and the later works of its publishing house, apart from other kinds of literary production in Argentina was its highbrow elitism and affiliation with *foreign* authors, particularly those of France, and *foreign* publishing trends, particularly those of Ortega y Gasset’s *Revista de Occidente*.<sup>285</sup>

Even though Borges contributed to many issues of *Sur*, and also formed part of the original editorial board of this literary journal, my analysis here will center on only one specific issue for its relevance to the dominant theme of anthologies and edited collections that permeates this chapter: the March-April (double) issue from 1944 (numbers 113-114). This issue of *Sur* is dedicated entirely to North American literature and the most important aspect, for the purposes

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<sup>284</sup> I should note here that King’s foundational study of *Sur* (1986) is still, to date, the most detailed and, for that reason, informs much of my own work here.

<sup>285</sup> King stresses the fact that “there were very few Latin American [authors] published [in *Sur*], save for certain writers who were mainly included through personal friendship (Mistral and Bombal)” (84).

of my research, is a series of poems from authors in the United States that are translated by none other than Borges and Bioy Casares.<sup>286</sup> What is more, this group of poems that these two Argentine writers translate is often described as the “*Antología de la poesía norteamericana*,” which makes its discussion particularly fitting for this current chapter.<sup>287</sup> The specific authors and poems translated by Borges and Bioy Casares that appear in the pages of this double issue of *Sur* are the following: John Peale Bishop, “A Subject of Sea Change” / “Tema de las mutaciones del mar”; e. e. cummings, “Poem” / “Poema” and “Somewhere I Have Never Travelled” / “En algún lugar que nunca recorri”; Hart Crane, “Proem to Brooklyn Bridge” / “Proemio al puente de Brooklyn”; Wallace Stevens, “Sunday Morning” / “Domingo a la mañana”; Karl J. Shapiro, “New Guinea Letter” / “Carta de Nueva Guinea”; Robert Penn Warren, “Terror” / “Terror”; Dustan Thompson, “Thane of Ghosts” / “Señor de Fantasma” and “Memorare” / “Memorare.”<sup>288</sup> Even though there is no introductory (or organizational) note by Borges or Bioy Casares, Victoria Ocampo has written a *general* introduction to the entire issue that touches on its aim: “*Esta antología no tiene otro propósito que el de ofrecer al lector de lengua española la ocasión de echar una ojeada sobre la literatura y, a través de la literatura, sobre la vida contemporánea en los Estados Unidos, tal como la sienten y la piensan unos cuantos escritores aún poco leídos entre nosotros. Creemos que puede ser más instructiva y sutilmente reveladora que la mayoría de los artículos de la prensa*” (Ocampo, “Introducción” 10, emphasis mine).

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<sup>286</sup> The fact that this issue deals with North American literature is also reflected in the use of red, white, and blue on its covers. In addition, the back cover prints two distinct prices for this issue: “Argentina y América Latina: \$2.50 m/arg. Otros países: 1 dollar.”

<sup>287</sup> As I highlighted in the opening pages of this chapter, the University of Pittsburgh’s *Borges Center* calls this series of translated poems, precisely, the *Antología de la poesía norteamericana*, yet there is no such heading or description found in the pages of the literary magazine *Sur*.

<sup>288</sup> There is also a poem by Marianne Moore (“In Distrust of Merits” / “En desconfianza de méritos”) that forms part of this “anthology,” but its translation is attributed to Ricardo Baeza, not “Biorges.”

In addition to this short note that opens the issue, there is also a much longer piece by Morton Dauwen Zabel (translated by Frida Weber) dedicated to “La literatura en los Estados Unidos: Panorama de 1943” (pp. 17-61) that appears immediately prior to Borges’s and Bioy Casares’s translated poems and, to a certain extent, serves as the perfect introduction to their work that follows. Aside from providing readers with a truncated historical account of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the United States, this piece aims to emphasize the fact that “nuestro período puede recordarse como más fuerte en talento crítico que en talento creador” (18). Immediately following the creative explosion of a series of (avant-garde) movements at the turn of the twentieth century, Zabel describes the current moment in the United States as one of a lull and tiredness with regard to newness and creativity. Instead, according to him, “ha llegado una época de búsqueda minuciosa, de examen de conciencia, de revaloración de propósitos” (20). Thus, in the aftermath of the First World War, and the onset of the Second, Zabel sees a general interest in books either for information and critical reflection regarding these historic crises, or as forms of pure diversion.<sup>289</sup> In light of the fact that the common thread between contemporary works in the United States “es su conciencia crítica” (21), Zabel spends a great deal of time dissecting poets and their poetry from the 1930s and 1940s since he sees this specific artistic production as consistently dealing with “la crisis moral y el clima psíquico de su tiempo” (25). Of particular note is the fact that he singles out several of the poets that Borges and Bioy Casares translate in the next section of this special double issue of *Sur*: “No es accidental que nuestra crítica social y moral más penetrante aparezca en la obra de escritores que antes fueron considerados primordialmente como técnicos o artífices del estilo – Marianne Moore,

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<sup>289</sup> Zabel emphasizes this general interest in books and the publishing industry in the first page of his article: “los libros se imprimen, se compran y se leen en cantidades enormes” (19).



Katherine Anne Porter, Louise Bogan, Wallace Stevens, T. S. Eliot, E. E. Cummings, Allen Tate y Robert Warren” (27). What is more, he ends this lengthy panorama by focusing on the importance of such poets for their focus on a certain type of moral responsibility that is indicative of this specific historical moment.<sup>290</sup>

John Pearle Bishop’s “Tema de las mutaciones del mar” that opens the section of poetry in this issue of *Sur* directly echoes the concerns outlined by Zabel: “Traicionado entre dos mundos, entre dos guerras, / Nada más triste he soportado que el cambio, / Nada más oscuro que la noche, / Ningún espectáculo más terrible / Que el de guerreros para quienes el honor es extraño” (vv. 78-82). The central image of the sea that permeates his multi-part poem also lines up with the crisis of self that characterizes much of the post-war literature. This same watery imagery fills many of the other poems included in this section. Take, for instance, Karl Shapiro’s “Carta de Nueva Guinea” that ends with the following lines: “Requiero tranquilidad para agraciarme mi página, / Tolerancia absoluta como canon, / Para mejorar los modales de nuestro tiempo, / Y algún día, cuando sean hermosos los cielos, / Y hayan perdido su escarlata los mares, / Espero cenar contigo, con tu mujer y la mía” (vv. 72-77). Even though it does not reference the sea, Robert Penn Warren’s aptly titled “Terror” also homes in on the atrocities of war that have left much of the world in a state of (moral) crisis: “Ustedes saben, por la radio, con qué calor el mundo repite / Cuando ruge la turba brutal o retumban los tacos de las botas / En la Piazza o el Wilhelmplatz, / El crimen de Onán, volcado en el suelo” (vv. 55-58). Much like the above-

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<sup>290</sup> More specifically, we find that the works of Marianne Moore and Hart Crane “han definido esta salvación en términos morales y espirituales” while Robert Penn Warren and Karl Shapiro “tomaron sus lecciones de la historia y de la experiencia física, escribiendo un tipo de poesía que dramatiza constantemente el antagonismo y la interdependencia de la vida privada y pública” (60).

mentioned poems, the other verses (of other poets) translated and included in this section of *Sur* reflect similar concerns related to the critical stance of writers in this historical moment.<sup>291</sup>

Even though this particular special (double) issue of *Sur* has yet to be analyzed strictly as an anthology, there are many features, apart from Victoria Ocampo's framing (that uses the actual term "antología" to describe the pages of this issue), that resonate with many of the other works we have discussed in this chapter. One of the key aspects analyzed in each collaborative anthology and edited collection thus far have been the biographies of the writers included in these works. While the "Antología de la poesía norteamericana" does not present readers with any such information on the same page(s) as their prose or poetry, there is a sort of appendix in the last few pages of this issue that will remind readers almost immediately of many of the other biographical (and bibliographical) notes we have examined here. More specifically, the section "escritores norteamericanos que han colaborado en este número" contains a series of short, succinct (perhaps "synthetic") biographies of the authors and poets that fill the pages of this issue of *Sur*. Of particular note is that fact that the linguistic forms used to present these writers are reminiscent of the *Antología de la literatura fantástica*, the *Antología poética argentina*, *Los mejores cuentos policiales*, and the "Séptimo Círculo" series. In other words, each of the entries on these pages (organized alphabetically) contains information about the authors' birth and death places and years, any characteristic attributes of their writings, and, when available, a list of their

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<sup>291</sup> A few other passing comments made by Zabel in his panorama emphasize the importance of the above selection of poets for this section in the journal: "La poesía de Wallace Stevens... trató de imponer un orden de sensibilidad e inteligencia sobre el caos de la experiencia y el escepticismo moderno" (39); "Apareció la obra temprana de los poetas del sur – John Crowe Ransom, Allen Tate, Robert Penn Warren – y pronosticó la parte significativa que esos hombres y sus colegas desempeñarían más recientemente en el estudio del problema total de la tradición americana a través del lente de una historia y una experiencia regional particular" (46); "El individualismo poético alcanzó el ingenio más sutil y la originalidad satírica en la poesía de E. E. Cummings" (46).

published works. Even more curious is the inclusion of bibliographical references to the specific editions used for the cited poems and prose passages, which should remind readers of the more scholarly *Antología clásica de la literatura argentina*.<sup>292</sup>

This issue of *Sur* appears to line up directly with Ernest Palacio's comments that we analyzed at the start of this chapter about the fact that this exact historical moment is one to establish a type of literary criticism that has been lacking. While his arguments specifically pertain to Argentine letters and the dwindling amount of readership in Argentina with respect to these works, the idea of stepping back and evaluating the literary and artistic production of one's country certainly applies to works from other countries (such as the United States). What is more, we must take into consideration the fact that the specific type of reader that would have encountered this "Antología de la poesía norteamericana" in *Sur* would have been an upper-class elite, which also resonates with Palacio's delineated strategy for future dissemination of key literary works. Thus, in very broad terms, it is important to analyze this special (double) issue of *Sur* alongside other collaborative anthologies and edited collections that Borges directed during the 1930s and 1940s for the parallels that emerge. In other words, what we find as a type of common ground among all of the works examined thus far is not a desire on the part of Borges and his close friends to share new types of literary production, but rather an interest in pausing to rethink existing works (and traditions) critically.

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<sup>292</sup> There is also an extensive note about the acquisition of materials for this issue: "SUR expresa su vivo reconocimiento al Dr. Henry Allan Moe, de la Guggenheim Foundation, que prestó su generosa ayuda a Victoria Ocampo, directora de la revista, para obtener los materiales reunidos en este número; a Mr. Bowden Broadwater, cuya buena voluntad y discernimiento le fueron indispensables en la elección de los mismos; a Mr. Monroe Wheeler, del 'Museum of Modern Art', y a Mr. Glenway Wescott, que tan gentilmente facilitaron su tarea" (283). In a similar vein, a very stringent statement regarding the republication of the translations in this volume also appears in these closing pages: "Todos los materiales han sido exclusivamente traducidos para SUR. Queda prohibido reproducir íntegra o fragmentariamente cualquiera de ellos sin autorización especial o sin mencionar su procedencia" (285).

*Antiguas literaturas germánicas* (1951)

The last anthology that Borges edited (with another writer) during my pre-established timeline is the *Antiguas literaturas germánicas* (1951). Before entering into the specifics of this work, I should note that it was published *outside* of Argentina and, as a result, touches on the broader scope of Latin American publishing during the first part of the twentieth century. More specifically, aside from Buenos Aires, Havana and Mexico City were seen as two other epicenters of publishing during this time. Thus, the fact that this specific anthology was published in the latter of these three cities reflects not only the publishing climate of the period, but also Borges's ties to foreign presses and publishing houses. I should note here that Borges produced this work with the "Fondo de Cultura Económica," an important and well-known publishing firm based not only in Mexico City, but also with a presence throughout Latin America more broadly. Much like other Spanish-speaking publishing houses, the "Fondo de Cultura Económica" organized their works into a large number of individualized collections. Thus, Borges's *Antiguas literaturas germánicas* is a part of the "Breviarios" series that this publishing house started in 1948 with the aim to "[poner] al alcance del hombre o la mujer *no especializados* los grandes temas del conocimiento moderno."<sup>293</sup> Recalling many of the organizational strategies of Penguin's collections that we touched on in the last chapter, the "Breviarios" collection is divided thematically by *color*. Within their established scheme, Borges's work appropriately falls into the category of literature and literary studies (orange).<sup>294</sup>

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<sup>293</sup> This description of the "Breviarios" collection comes from the back cover of Borges's *Antiguas literaturas germánicas*; the emphasis in the quoted phrase is mine.

<sup>294</sup> The other topics covered (and their corresponding colors) are the following: art (magenta), philosophy (purple), social sciences (blue), science and technology (yellow), and economics (dark green).

Although it might seem strange for Borges to work with a publishing firm in Mexico City when he was so well connected and established in the publishing world of Buenos Aires, the objective of the “Breviarios” collection might account for this anomaly. In other words, in light of the fact that the works in this series hope to provide readers with solid introductory texts to a variety of subjects, the directors of this publishing firm called upon “especialistas de crédito universal” to collaborate and edit the volumes in this specific collection, which certainly accounts for the presence of Borges (and Delia Ingenieros) as editors of the *Antiguas literaturas germánicas*.<sup>295</sup> It is important to note here that even though Delia Ingenieros’s name appears printed alongside Borges’s, it is always with the phrase “con la colaboración de,” which seems to emphasize the central role that Borges held in crafting this volume and, perhaps, Delia’s editorial checking after the fact. This idea is supported further by the presence of *only* Borges’s name on the front cover of the work and immediately below the title on the inside flap of the dust jacket. Thus, we can extrapolate that Borges was the “[especialista] de crédito universal” that this Mexican publishing house contracted for this specific volume in their “Breviarios” collection.

The text printed on the interior flaps of the dust jacket for the *Antiguas literaturas germánicas* echoes the generalist aim of the “Breviarios” collection and its creation for uninformed readers or ones that would not have encountered texts such as these previously: “A fin de llenar esa laguna, Jorge Luis Borges ha escrito estas *Antiguas literaturas germánicas* – con la valiosa colaboración de Delia Ingenieros – y ha empleado un método en que no solo presenta el desarrollo de los diversos hechos reflejados en los textos a que hace referencias, sino que

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<sup>295</sup> The back cover of Borges’s *Antiguas literaturas germánicas* contains the following phrase: “Redactados por especialistas de crédito universal, cada uno de estos *Breviarios* constituirá un tratado sumario y completo sobre la materia que anuncie su título; en su conjunto, cuidadosamente planeado, formarán esa biblioteca de consulta y orientación que la cultura de nuestro tiempo hace indispensable.”

vierte abundantes ejemplos que ayudan al lector a comprender la significación de lo ahí tratado.”<sup>296</sup> The joint desire of these two Argentine writers to expose their audiences to new types of literature (without too much influence) is emphasized further through the presence of a detailed bibliography at the close of the work and, as the two editors note in their introduction, a large number of quotes and transcriptions, as opposed to criticism and opinions, so as not to overwhelm their readers.<sup>297</sup> Ultimately, Borges and Ingenieros hope to show Spanish-speaking audiences the important role that these ancient literatures, especially the form of the saga, have on the form of the novel and more contemporary writings (8).

The format of the volume and the ways in which the material is presented further reflect an inclination (on the part of the editors) to make the information in the *Antiguas literaturas germánicas* as user-friendly as possible. Not only does the work proceed in chronological order, but it is divided into three clear sections: Literatura de la Inglaterra Germánica, Literatura Escandinava, and Literatura Alemana. Furthermore, each of these segments opens with a brief analysis of the central characteristics of literature from these places and times. For instance, works of Germanic literature from England “insisten en el carácter militar y violento,” while Scandinavian works rely heavily on the poetic form of the kenning (14).<sup>298</sup> What is more, unlike

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<sup>296</sup> Regardless of each reader’s background knowledge, Borges (and Delia) aptly note in the prologue to this work that “la materia que trata este libro es casi ignorada en los países de habla español; aun las personas cultas suelen limitar su conocimiento a nociones de mitos escandinavos, tomadas de las óperas de Wagner” (7).

<sup>297</sup> Even the bibliography itself is presented in a quasi-narrative form, making it much more approachable for readers: “Sobre Ulfilas, puede consultarse el trabajo de C. A. Scott: Ulfilas, Apostle of the Goths (1885)” (173); “De la Edda Mayor cabe indicar dos versiones alemanas...” (173); “Edda and Snaga (Home University Library, 1931), de Bertha S. Phillpotts, es un agudo estudio general de la literatura nórdica” (173); etc.

<sup>298</sup> The fact that this work provides a lengthy explanation and description of the form of the kenning, along with ample examples, reminds readers of Borges’s 1933 work *Las Kenningar*. There is, undoubtedly, a good amount of overlap between that earlier work and the statements he makes in the

virtually all of the previous anthologies and edited collections analyzed in this chapter, the *Antiguas literaturas germánicas* does not consist of large fragments of these ancient texts, but rather presents readers with detailed historical accounts of these works with summaries and a few passing examples from them. Thus, within their discussion of key works such as *Beowulf* or *La Edda Mayor* there are no large (translated) passages of these texts for readers to study, only the prose descriptions provided by the editors.

Another curious aspect of the textual framing for this volume (found throughout the various parts of the book's dust jacket) is the connection that is ultimately made between the works described and analyzed in its pages and "las raíces de las literaturas modernas europeas." As the reader will recall from my previous chapter, modern European literature, particularly that of Virginia Woolf, James Joyce, and other High Modernists, is one of the types of literature that Borges promotes at length (along with the genre of detective fiction) through his reviews in *El Hogar*. What is more, several of his most notable translations from the late 1930s and early 1940s are the works of modern European writers.<sup>299</sup> As a result, this seeming outlier in Borges's production of collaborative anthologies and edited collection from the 1930s and 1940s is, in fact, more in tune with his promotional aspirations than one might initially think. In addition, the fact that many of the texts in the *Antiguas literaturas germánicas* had not been previously translated (or available) in Spanish until its publication accentuates this idea of accessibility,

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*Antiguas literaturas germánicas*. What is more, he includes a curious example that seems to draw connections to one of the previous anthologies studied (*El compadrito*, Emecé (1945)): "Los compadritos de Buenos Aires llaman Quinta del Ñato (Quinta del Chato, Quinta de la Calavera) al cementerio, y sobretodo de madera al ataúd" (94).

<sup>299</sup> The most prominent example is, of course, his translation of Virginia Woolf's *Orlando* for the Editorial Sur in 1937. This same translation is used in the Editorial Sudamericana's "Colección horizonte" a few years later.

especially when we consider the fact that the first printing of this anthology in 1951 consisted of 8,000 copies.<sup>300</sup>

Although disparate in scope, material, and organizational framing, all of the collaborative anthologies and edited collections analyzed in this chapter have one *crucial* common characteristic: promotion (of underrepresented, forgotten, or unserious literature). Thus, throughout the late 1930s and early 1940s we see Borges consciously promoting various kinds of literature through his (collaborative) edited volumes and, in the process, altering Argentine literary canons and changing his readers' view of foreign authors and their works. Rebranding the genre of detective fiction to ensure its reconsideration and (eventual) inclusion in the (Argentine) canon, compiling fragments of fantastic literature that will serve as the perfect foundation for his own works of creative fiction, and thinking critically about popular and canonical literatures of his native Argentina are all key moments of the production of these works that speak to Borges's interests in shaping (and questioning) readers' literary tastes.

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<sup>300</sup> The (very detailed) colophon from this first edition states: "Este libro se acabó de imprimir el día 14 de septiembre de 1951, en los talleres de Gráficas Panamericana, S. de R. L., Pánuco 63, México, D. F. De él se tiraron 8,000 ejemplares. En su composición se utilizaron tipos Janson de 11:12, 10:11 y 9:10. Se encuadernó en la Encuadernación Cabrera, Comonfort 29-A. La edición estuvo al cuidado de *Alí Chumacero*."



Chapter 5 – Elite Circles as a Constant Source of Framing (1933-1951):  
 Editorial Sur, Emecé Editores, Editorial Losada, Editorial Nova

“El prólogo debe continuar las persuasiones de la vidriera, de la carátula, de la faja, y arrepentir cualquier deserción”

-Jorge Luis Borges, *Antología de la moderna poesía uruguaya* (1927)

The trajectory of each of the chapters up to this point has moved in chronological order starting in 1930 and ending in 1951. The current chapter will provide a more panoramic overview of the majority of the period in question for several reasons. First, and most importantly, tackling the crucial role of the Editorial Sur requires an analysis of virtually all of the twenty-year span that I have established, in light of the fact that this publishing house was founded in 1933.<sup>301</sup> Second, and somewhat related to the central role of the Editorial Sur, is the question of *elite* production, which pertains to all of the publishing houses discussed here. As I shall argue in the ensuing pages, most of this elite nature originates with the Editorial Sur and radiates from their publications. The common trend that links all of the publishing houses in this chapter is what I deem editorial and/or promotional framing. That is to say, each of these firms produces (and markets) works that are either translated by or contain a preface/prolog by none other than Jorge Luis Borges. What is more, throughout this chapter I will show how these *framing* tendencies are not only a product of the publishing houses themselves, but also a deep-seated interest of Borges. In other words, although the publishing houses we will examine in this

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<sup>301</sup> Although the literary journal of the same name (*Sur*) was founded by Victoria Ocampo in 1931, I have chosen to focus entirely on the publishing house and the production of *books*, especially since much work has already been dedicated to the various issues of the literary journal, but not nearly as much attention has been paid to the publishing firm of the same name.

chapter certainly promote works and authors on their own, Borges's fascination for editing others and bettering their works directly aligns with this sort of editorial framing.

Many of the elements discussed and described in this chapter clearly align with what Gérard Genette deems a paratext, which, in his words, are all of the elements that “[enable] a text to become a book and then [be] offered as such to its readers and, more generally, to the public. More than a boundary or a sealed border, the paratext is, rather, a *threshold*, or – a word Borges used apropos of a preface – a ‘vestibule’ that offers the world at large the possibility of either stepping inside or turning back” (1-2). Thus, his analysis of the “peritexts,” or all of those elements that form part of the physical book (and text) that we hold in our hands<sup>302</sup>, and “epitexts,” or all of those elements that are *outside* and separate from the physical book (including an author's correspondence, book reviews, or interviews), compliments much of my bibliographical analysis here and heightens our understanding of the key role of *all* aspects of a book in informing readers and, more generally, in developing readership.<sup>303</sup> Of particular note for this current chapter is his focus on the prologue with “its chief function *to ensure that the text is read properly*” (197).

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<sup>302</sup> Although Genette does not specifically state so in his work, I would argue that blurbs on the two inside flaps and on the back cover of the book are *part* of the book, not accessory to it.

<sup>303</sup> Even though Genette's work is very informative and will serve me well throughout parts of this chapter, I will need continually to couch his writings in bibliographical analysis and broader works in book history since, at times, his arguments are not always sound. For instance, in the second chapter, “The publisher's peritext,” he claims that virtually all physical features of a book are determined by the publisher: “We are dealing here with the outermost peritext (the cover, the title page, and their appendages) and with the book's material construction (selection of format, of paper, of typeface, and so forth), which is executed by the typesetter and printer *but decided on by the publisher*, possibly in consultation with the author” (16, emphasis mine). Although he does mention the possibility of “consultation with the author,” this idea seems to be more of an afterthought, which is exemplified by the word “possibly.” Another egregious statement involves the concept of format: “The latest accepted meaning of the word *format* is obviously no longer connected either with the manner of folding (the generalized use of trimming has almost entirely erased our awareness of this feature) or, despite appearances, with the notion of size” (19).

*Translations and Prologues: Framing the Reader's Encounter with a Text*

Before examining the specific translations and prologues that Borges produced for a variety of publishing houses throughout the 1930s, 1940s, and into the 1950s in his native Buenos Aires, I will first give a brief overview of what these two types of writing involve and, more importantly, what they can reveal about his intimate relationship with the entire process of the production of a work from manuscript and printed forms to eventual promotion, sales, and readership. In recent years, many critics have examined Borges's theories of translation as well as his *own* translations in great depth. More specifically, Efraín Kristal's *Invisible Work: Borges and Translation* (2002) and Sergio Waisman's *Borges and Translation: The Irreverence of the Periphery* (2005) provide a vital springboard for understanding not only how Borges approached and wrote translations, but also his general ideas surrounding the art of translation and why this form of writing is, at times, superior to the original work.<sup>304</sup> Throughout his work, Kristal focuses heavily on the merits that Borges sees in translation: "The idea that literary translations are inherently inferior to their originals is, for Borges, based on the false assumption that some works of literature must be assumed definitive. But for Borges, no such thing as a definitive work exists, and therefore, a translator's inevitable transformation of the original is not necessarily to the detriment of the work. Difference, for Borges, is not a sufficient criterion for the superiority of the original" (Kristal 1). These ideas, which directly correspond to many of the short stories in *El jardín de senderos que se bifurcan* (analyzed later in this chapter), lie at the heart of Borges's works and, to a certain extent, can be applied not only to translations, but also

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<sup>304</sup> In addition to these two paramount works there are also a number of more individualized studies relating to *specific* works that Borges translates throughout his lifetime. I will touch on these pieces later in the chapter within the context of the translations that they analyze.

to his essays, poems, nonfictions, and fictions. What is more, the fact that several of the short stories collected in *El jardín de senderos que se bifurcan* are previously published in places such as Victoria Ocampo's literary journal *Sur* further speaks to Borges's belief in the lack of a definitive version of a text.<sup>305</sup>

The idea that works are always changing and evolving and that there is no such thing as a definitive version of a text is central for Borges and we see it repeated time and time again throughout much of his writings.<sup>306</sup> In thinking about the act of translating, one cannot help but see a large number of similarities between this type of writing and the act of *editing*. That is to say, both the translator and the editor “cut, add, and transform for the sake of the work” and, in the process, highlight elements of any given text that might not shine through as well in the original (Kristal 2). This same idea is attributed to Borges himself in Kristal's work: “It is far easier to forget someone else's vanities than one's own” (2). Even though translation, in the broadest sense, provides readers with the opportunity to engage with works they might not have been able to for reasons of linguistic barriers, it also brings to mind questions of which works get translated (and which do not). In other words, in light of the fact that translation can be seen as a form of editing (for the commonality that these two acts share), it is important to think critically about not only *how* works are being translated, but also *which* works and what this selection

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<sup>305</sup> In fact, virtually all of Borges's collections of short stories include previously published works that contain slight changes or variants from their original versions.

<sup>306</sup> See, for instance, Borges's preface to Valéry's *El cementerio marino* (Ediciones Schillinger, 1931): “Presuponer que toda recombinación de elementos es obligatoriamente inferior a su original, es presuponer que el borrador 9 es obligatoriamente inferior al borrador H – ya que no puede haber sido borradores. El concepto de texto *definitivo*, no corresponde sino a la religión o al cansancio” (5). This *same* passage appears in his later essay, “Las versiones homéricas” (*Discusión* 1932).

might tell us about their promotion and, in turn, the interests of their publishing houses.<sup>307</sup> As we shall see throughout this chapter, it will be important to analyze not only the works that Borges translates for certain publishing houses, but also *any other* translations (even those *not* by Borges) that these firms produce during the same time in order to understand better the ways in which translations function in a larger context.

Borges has long been associated with the art of translation. In fact, his first published work is none other than a translation: Oscar Wilde's "The Happy Prince," which appeared in *El País* on June 25, 1910. This first venture into translation was encouraged by his mother, Leonor Acevedo de Borges, as were virtually all of his literary endeavors throughout his lifetime, and she would become a key factor in his later works (both translations and original prose and poetry) with the gradual loss of his sight.<sup>308</sup> Even though he translated a large number of works from English to Spanish throughout his lifetime, he also chose works in other languages (most likely decided upon by his current interests at the time) including French, German, Italian, and Anglo-Saxon. Alongside his actual translations, Borges wrote extensive essays and creative prose *about* the act of translation, which solidifies the importance of this art for the Argentine author. For instance, as early as 1926 he published "Las dos maneras de traducir" in the Argentine newspaper, *La Prensa*, in which he not only spoke in favor of good translations, but also outlined the differences between what he deemed romantic translations and classical translations: "Universalmente, supongo que hay dos clases de traducciones. Una practica la literalidad, la otra la perífrasis. La primera corresponde a las mentalidades románticas; la

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<sup>307</sup> What is more, Borges describes the act of translation as relating to "la discusión estética," which also seems to tie into notions surrounding the *framing* or promotion of certain works (Valéry 5).

<sup>308</sup> Readers will recall from Chapter Three that Leonor's *own* translations appeared alongside those of her son in the Editorial Losada's "Pajarita de papel" series.

segunda a las clásicas” (4). This central crux of Borges’s first published piece on translation (i.e. literal versus paraphrase) seems to serve as the springboard from which many other of his writings, both fiction and nonfiction, on the subject emerge. For instance, as Suzanne Jill Levine demonstrates, “Las versiones homéricas,” “Los traductores de las 1001 noches” and even Borges’s most celebrated piece on translation, “Pierre Menard, autor del Quijote,” all hark back to this first foray into what the act of translation means (and how it should be executed) for this Argentine writer.<sup>309</sup> Even though my analysis in this chapter centers around Borges’s translations of certain works, I should note here that I will not delve into theories of translation or Borges’s translations *themselves*; instead, I am interested primarily in the Argentine publishing houses and printers involved in the production process of these works (and, more broadly, the specific authors whose works are chosen to be translated). In other words, as opposed to asking *how* Borges translates certain works during this period, I will focus on tackling the question of *why* these works are translated and, consequently, promoted by a variety of publishing houses in Buenos Aires.

Similar to translations, prologues also operate (more obviously) as a framing mechanism for texts.<sup>310</sup> Genette, who opts to call these types of texts “prefaces,” outlines their possible function using a key question posed by Jacques Derrida as a point of departure: “But what do prefaces actually do?” (*Dissemination* 8). In order to answer this query, he provides his readers

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<sup>309</sup> In addition to Levine’s study, “Borges sobre la traducción,” Ana Gargatagli Brusa’s doctoral thesis, “Jorge Luis Borges y la traducción,” provides a thorough bibliography of works related to Borges and translation.

<sup>310</sup> In light of the fact that the Spanish word “prólogo” can be translated as either prologue *or* preface, I will use prologue to describe these short introductory works unless they are characterized as a “prefacio” in the book itself. In a sense, I see these two terms as slightly different. While they both come before a text (and tend to be written by the author himself), a prologue tends to focus on an approach to the words that follow, while a preface might include an additional account of *how* the idea for the book came about.

with several possibilities as to the *type* of prologue they might encounter: “(1) the *original authorial preface* (*authorial* is to be understood, henceforth, as meaning authentic and assumptive); (2) the *original authorial postface*; (3) the *later authorial preface*...; (4) the *delayed authorial preface or postface*... [and] type five: the *authentic allographic (and actorial) preface*” (Genette 196).<sup>311</sup> Of all of these types of prologues, the fifth will pertain most to my analysis that follows in light of the fact that I am interested in prologues that Borges writes for *other* authors’ works, not for his own.

Focusing solely on this category, we find that this specific type of prologue did not exist with great regularity before the nineteenth century<sup>312</sup>, most likely due to the fact that it required *two* writers (the author of the work and the preface-writer), not just one. In addition, Genette emphasizes the fact that “the functions of the allographic preface overlap with...the functions of the original authorial preface (to promote and guide a reading of the work)” (264-5).<sup>313</sup> That being said, the allographic preface tends to differ from the original authorial preface in its “high praise of the text” and the ways in which it presents information (about the text) to readers

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<sup>311</sup> He also includes a sixth option that relates to apocryphal texts and fictional persons: “*fictional prefaces*” (196). Since I will be dealing only with prologues written by Borges, this last category is not relevant to my current study.

<sup>312</sup> It should be noted that the frame novel (and epistolary novel) had a major vogue in the eighteenth century (especially in France), and there the author pretended to be someone else, frequently writing prologues and prefaces, which raises the question of how the early frame novel could be imitating or creating this established convention.

<sup>313</sup> I should note here that Genette also uses Borges’s assorted collections (and the prologues he writes for them) as prime examples of this idea of unity in the prologue, which is a fundamental characteristic of the original authorial preface: “Borges almost always refrains from singling out a general characteristic. Sometimes he singles out a partial grouping that, by contrast, accentuates the heterogeneity of the rest (*Discussion, The Garden of Forking Paths, The Aleph*). Or he emphasizes *two* features (*Other Inquisitions*...). More often he stresses the diversity, either to apologize for it (*El otros, el mismo*...) or to claim responsibility for it (*El hacedor*...)... Monotony is the term (which Borges, in contrast to Proust, considers pejorative) that he most readily applies to a possible unity, which would be weakness (*Doctor Brodie’s Report*...)” (204-5).

(Genette 265). In terms of the latter idea, Genette stresses the fact that the allographic preface overlaps with the posthumous preface for their common tendencies to include biographical information about the author and to place the work in a larger context. One of the aspects that sets this type of preface apart from all others is its level of recommendation or praise for the text, which is “generally provided by a writer whose reputation is more firmly established” and, in many ways the better-known writer *vouches for* the book and its author (Genette 268). This particular characteristic of an allographic preface emphasizes a clear level of *promotion* on the part of the preface-writer and, as we shall see below, directly ties into other strategies used by publishing houses to sell more books. The final two aspects of the allographic preface that we should keep in mind are its “critical and theoretical dimension” that aligns it with a type of critical essay and the habit of preface-writers to stray from the work at hand and provide readers, instead, with a discourse that can be tangentially related to the subject matter at hand (or not at all related) (Genette 270). In my discussions of the prologues that Borges is writing for other authors’ work it will be essential to touch on the following issues: who are the authors and what is their relation to Borges? Why would he want to write prologues for them? Was he self-motivated or was he asked to do so? What would he tend to say about these individuals? What publishing houses would these prologues appear in? Where were they printed? Are there any common trends that crop up throughout his large trajectory of prologue writing? Parsing out the specific kinds of framing that these opening texts provide for the larger works at hand will be essential in developing an understanding of how Borges promoted the writings of others.

Borges began writing prologues for a variety of works (by other authors) as early as 1925 and continued this practice for much of his life. Although he never lays out a definitive *theory* of what constitutes a prologue, or the function of a prologue more generally, several of his



introductory texts for *other* authors' works touch on what he deems the essential aspects of this kind of writing. For instance, in his prologue for Elvira de Alvear's *Reposo* (1934) Borges outlines two main functions of the prologue: "Considero que la función del prólogo es *entablar la discusión que debe suscitar todo libro, y evitar al lector las dificultades que una escritura nueva supone...* En el libro común, el prefacio no tiene razón de ser, es un mero despacho de cortesías; *en el excepcional, puede ser de alguna virtud*. Entiendo que éste que propone Elvira de Alvear es de los segundos: por eso no me disculpo de prologarlo" (13-14, emphasis mine). From this short excerpt we can see a direct parallel with Genette's description of the allographic preface through Borges's discussion of what we might deem presentation ("evitar al lector las dificultades que una escritura nueva supone") and recommendation ("puede ser de alguna virtud. Entiendo que éste que propone Elvira de Alvear es de los segundos"). Writing his own prologue for a collection of his allographic prefaces, Borges also comments on the closeness of these types of texts to critical essays: "El prólogo, cuando son propicios los astros, no es una forma subalterna del brindis; es una especie lateral de la crítica" ("Prólogos" 8). A large number of Borges's prologues also present readers with biographical information about the author and tend to place their work in a larger context.<sup>314</sup> Still more show an interest in providing readers with a slightly alternative discourse that might not be entirely related to the work at hand.<sup>315</sup> In essence, what we find in surveying Borges's large oeuvre of prologues is the presence of virtually all of the characteristics outlined by Genette.

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<sup>314</sup> For examples of these types of prologues, see the following: Arturo M. Jauretche, *El Paso de los Libres* (1934); Gloria Alcorta, *La prision de l'enfant* (1935); Franz Kafka, *La metamorfosis* (1938); Domingo F. Sarmiento, *Recuerdos de provincia* (1944); Henry James, *La humillación de los Northmore* (1945); Wally Zenner, *Antigua lumbre* (1949).

<sup>315</sup> For examples of this type of prologue, see the following: Paul Valéry, *El cementerio marino* (1931); *Antología de la literatura fantástica* (1940).

Another common thread that appears throughout a number of Borges's prologues (for other writers' works) is his inherent recognition that these texts serve as another form of promotional material for publishing houses. That is to say, we find that, for Borges, a prologue is linked directly to any of the other (promotional) strategies that a given publishing house might employ to help sell their books: "El prólogo *debe continuar las persuasiones de la vidriera, de la carátula, de la faja, y arrepentir cualquier deserción...* Se esperan de él un resumen práctico de la obra y una lista de sus frases rumbosas para citas y una o dos opiniones autorizadas para opinar y la nómina de sus páginas más llevaderas, si es que las tiene" ([221], emphasis mine).<sup>316</sup> Thus, the editorial framing or promotion of a certain book extends from the shop window, to the book cover and its band or wrapper, and finally all the way to the prologue. A similar sentiment surfaces in his prologue to Roberto Godel's *Nacimiento del fuego* (1932): "Un libro (creo) debe bastarse. Una convención editorial requiere, sin embargo, que lo preceda algún estímulo en letra bastardilla que corre el peligro de asemejarse a esa otra indispensable página en blanco que precede a la falsa carátula" (75, in *Prólogos*). This second example in particular shows not only a marked understanding of the function of the prologue as a type of promotional strategy employed by publishing firms, but also a clear understanding of the prologue as another *physical* aspect of the book itself that has a specific place within the book and a specific *format* ("en letra bastardilla").

In an effort to parse out the function of all of these different framing devices, I will examine the varying types of such mechanisms employed by a number of elite publishing houses that are constants throughout the 1930s into the 1950s (and often beyond) in Borges's career. More specifically, I will consider the ways in which Borges's translations and prologues function

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<sup>316</sup> "Palabras finales (prólogos, breve y discutiador)," *Antología de la moderna poesía uruguaya* (1927).

as *textual* frames and how the publishing firms that produced these works *physically* frame each book (covers, prices, wrappers and bands, store window displays, etc.) as a way of deepening our understanding of the Argentine book market and Borges's central role in this burgeoning industry. In addition, I will also examine how Borges simultaneously publishes some of his most canonical collections alongside these translations and prologues (often for the same publishing firms), which end up becoming wild successes perhaps partially due to the editorial groundwork he lays throughout the 1930s and 1940s. In light of the fact that there are a large number of publishing houses involved in my discussion here, I will shape my analysis around these individual firms, as opposed to organizing what following into the general categories of translations, prologues, and physical forms of framing. It is my hope that this organizational decision will reveal not only the interconnectedness of these varied (promotional) framing devices, but also the inherently tangled nature of the Argentine publishing industry during this particular time period (1933-1951).

### *Editorial Sur*

Even though I have included references to Victoria Ocampo's literary magazine, *Sur*, and her publishing firm of the same name throughout virtually all of my chapters up to this point, I have not yet dedicated a unique space to discuss the implications of these assorted publications for Borges's life and for the Argentine book market in general terms. Coming from a privileged upper-class background, Ocampo was highly educated and able to travel to Europe throughout her life, spending the majority of her time in its cultural capital of Paris, and, as a result, forming close relationships with a large number of writers and artists. For instance, during one trip (1928-1929), "she was introduced to Paul Valéry, Maurice Ravel, Gabriel Miró, Benjamin Fondane,

Léon-Paul Fargue, Lev Chestov, Nikolai Berdiaeff, and Pierre Drieu la Rochelle” (Meyer 100).<sup>317</sup> Although Ocampo quickly made new friends and contacts throughout the continent, who all expressed deep admiration and appreciate for her creativity, intelligence, and aesthetic sensibilities, she still felt that she was an outsider, which was only confirmed when many of these same acquaintances displayed their ignorance about South America: “Was Buenos Aires in Brazil? she was asked. Were the natives civilized? How did she stand the tropical heat all the time?” (Meyer 104). Shortly after realizing her European friends’ lack of interest in her native Buenos Aires (not to mention the entire South American continent), Ocampo met the American writer, Waldo Frank, who shared many of her preoccupations: “He [Waldo Frank] has experienced in the North what we have been suffering in the South... We miss Europe terribly, both of us, and yet when we reach Europe and live in it, we both feel she cannot give us the kind of nourishment we need” (Ocampo, *Tangore* 44).

Fueled by her discontent with what she deemed the problem of Latin America, which was precisely its alienation and isolation from Europe, Frank, along with Eduardo Mallea, encouraged Ocampo to launch a literary journal that “would be a cultural bridge between the Americas, a forum for the best thinkers of both continents” (Meyer 107). She gave these two writers a great deal of push back, mainly citing her lack of publishing experience as the reason why she would be unable to produce a successful journal. Frank and Mallea stood their ground and insisted that she *must* be the one to initiate such a (literary) project. Thus, after a series of trips to Europe and the United States, Ocampo agreed to undertake the task, with the help of a number of close friends, and began to conceptualize her literary journal as a way to connect not

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<sup>317</sup> During her travels to Europe she was also introduced to the works of Virginia Woolf, which would become paramount pieces of literature for Victoria as is evident from their translations and publications with the Editorial Sur.

only North and South America, but also Europe and the Americas.<sup>318</sup> The opening piece in the first issue of *Sur* (1931), “Carta a Waldo Frank,” pays a great deal of homage to this writer’s efforts in helping Ocampo actualize her project and also acknowledges the central role of José Ortega y Gasset, who is responsible for the name *Sur*: “Entonces llamé por teléfono a Ortega, en España. Esas gentes tienen costumbre de bautizarnos... Así, Ortega no vaciló y, entre los nombres enumerados, sintió enseguida una preferencia: SUR me gritaba desde Madrid” (14). Even though Ocampo was not alone in formulating the idea behind the literary journal *Sur*, she was responsible for virtually all of the design features of this publication. Thus, the high quality paper, the exquisite typography, the inclusion of full-page illustrations, and even the downward-pointing arrow on the cover were all Ocampo’s ideas. These key details, in combination with the writings that fill the journal’s pages, highlight the excellence of this publication, in terms of *both* its content and its form.

It should come as no surprise to readers that Borges and the literary journal, *Sur*, share an intimate history. For starters, Borges served on the initial editorial board for the literary magazine and, in addition, contributed regular essays, reviews, and pieces of fiction to many issues.<sup>319</sup> What is more, as John King notes in his foundational study dedicated to Ocampo’s

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<sup>318</sup> In a 1930 letter to José Ortega y Gasset, whose literary efforts, especially his *Revista de Occidente*, had a large impact on the conceptualization of *Sur*, Victoria writes the following: “This is what I propose to do: publishing a review devoted principally to American problems, in various aspects, to which Americans who have something to say can contribute as well as Europeans who are interested in America. That will be the *leitmotiv* of the review, but naturally it will address itself to other topics as well” (“Vida de la revista *Sur*,” *Sur* (1966-1967): 6-7).

<sup>319</sup> Along with Borges, this initial editorial board also consisted of Eduardo González Lanuza, Eduardo Bullrich, Oliverio Girondo, Alfredo González Garaño, and María Rosa Oliver. The board of *foreign* consultants consisted of Ernest Ansermet, Pierre Drieu la Rochelle, Leo Ferrero, Waldo Frank, Pedro Henríquez Ureña, Alfonso Reyes, Jules Supervielle, and José Ortega y Gasset. Nicolás Helft graciously provided me with a copy of the original document that lists each of these individuals (in their respective groups).

magazine, “*Sur* would be remembered not so much for its publication of scholars as for its promotion of the writer who made scholarship, and in particular philosophical enquiry, a teasing intellectual game: Jorge Luis Borges” (90). Thus, Ocampo’s publishing endeavors tend to be remembered for their promotion of the works and writings of Borges. Throughout my analysis that follows I hope to parse out this intimate connection and think more deeply about the works that Borges published with the Editorial Sur throughout the 1930s, 1940s and into the 1950s, which include, of course, his two most canonical collections: *El jardín de senderos que se bifurcan* (1941) and *Ficciones* (1944).

Even though there is an extensive corpus of critical studies dedicated to Victoria Ocampo’s literary magazine, *Sur*, there is virtually nothing more than a passing phrase dedicated to her creation of her publishing house (of the same name).<sup>320</sup> What is more, most scholars typically refer to the establishment of the Editorial Sur as simply a way to help with the financial burden of running a literary magazine: “An important contributing factor to the continuing stability of the magazine was the foundation of the *Sur* publishing house in September 1933 following the example of the *Revista de Occidente*. The profits of book publishing were put into the magazine and the books themselves were always reviewed in the ‘Notes’ section” (King 50).<sup>321</sup> While it is true that producing and publishing a literary magazine would be a costly expense, especially one that was started as a “luxurious quarterly magazine,” establishing an entire publishing house to help offset these costs does not immediately spring to mind as the only

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<sup>320</sup> Aside from John King’s remarkable study, see María Teresa Gramuglio (1983, 1986, 1989), Parodi (1987), Chiappini (1994), Zuleta, Pasternac, López-Quñones, and Majstorovic.

<sup>321</sup> Majstorovic echoes this exact sentiment in her later study of the literary journal *Sur*: “Victoria Ocampo also founded a publishing houses with the same name as her journal: Sur. She initiated this project following fellow editor Ortega y Gasset’s advice on advancing financial prosperity for the journal through book publishing” (Majstorovic 175).

solution to this financial conundrum (King 50). In addition, considering the Editorial Sur as nothing more than a type of cash cow for the efforts of its literary journal counterpart, *Sur*, does not seem to paint an adequate picture of the *entire* rationale for creating such a firm, especially in light of the fact that some of the works published by the Editorial Sur were distributed *free of cost* and others were luxury works not for sale (i.e. out of circulation). As a result, much of my analysis here will focus on the works produced by the Editorial Sur, instead of those writings that filled the pages of the literary journal of the same name: where were they printed? How much did they cost? Did the typography vary from work to work? What do we know about their circulation? What were the relationships (if any) between the Editorial Sur and the various other Argentine publishing houses at this time?

As previously mentioned, the Editorial Sur starting publishing works in 1933 and put out the following three books in that initial year: Federico García Lorca's *Romancero gitano* (1924-1927), D. H. Lawrence's *Canguro*, and Aldous Huxley's *Contrapunto*. *Romancero gitano*, which was the first published of the three, outlined the general aim of the Editorial Sur's publications for readers in its opening pages: "SUR HA PUBLICADO, INICIANDO SU SERIE DE NOVELAS ARGENTINAS Y EXTRANJERAS, LAS OBRAS CANGURO, DE DAVID H. LAWRENCE, Y CONTRAPUNTO, DE ALDOUS HUXLEY. PUBLICARA EN BREVE ENSAYOS, NOVELA Y POESIA. LAS PRIMERAS DE ESTAS OBRAS SERAN DE VICTORIA OCAMPO, EDUARDO MALLEA, FRANCISCO LUIS BERNARDEZ, LEOPOLDO MARECHAL, RICARDO MOLINARI, CARLOS ALBERTO ERRO,

ETCETERA” (4).<sup>322</sup> The first of these works is mentioned additionally in the September 1933 issue of the literary journal *Sur*:

“SUR” acaba de iniciar con la novela ‘Canguro’, de D. H. Lawrence, la publicación de sus ediciones especiales. “SUR” se propone crear en fecha próxima, diversas ramas que extenderán considerablemente su editorial. Iniciará, así, una colección de novelas argentinas, una colección de ensayos argentinos y una serie de volúmenes de poesía argentina. Paralelamente desarrollará la publicación de obras extranjeras que revistan para nuestro público un interés particular. (157)

A year later, in the opening pages of D. H. Lawrence’s *La virgin y el gitano* (1934), we find that this publishing house’s goal has evolved to providing readers with a “colección de grandes novelas de este tiempo” that will consist of key works that have, to date, not been available in the Spanish language. What is more, each of these editions, and much of their future translations and publications, are “autorizadas por los autores,” which stresses not only Victoria Ocampo’s large number of connections in the literary world (abroad and at home in her native Buenos Aires), but also the crucial role that the Editorial Sur would play in disseminating new literary trends to Argentine readers (and making them readily available).<sup>323</sup>

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<sup>322</sup> All of the authors in this preliminary list first publish works with the Editorial Sur between 1935 and 1936. The only exception is Ricardo Molinari, who does publish anything with the Editorial Sur until 1964 (*Un día, el tiempo, las nubes*).

<sup>323</sup> A curious trait of the Editorial Sur’s books that speaks to Victoria Ocampo’s goal of creating unity between the Americas can be found on the interior flaps, which normally highlight their recently published works. While one of the two flaps tends to list the “últimas ediciones de “SUR”,” the other flap frequently changes the headings that adorn the works listed there. Thus, Virginia Woolf’s *Orlando* (1937) prints “Últimos éxitos editoriales de “SUR”,” while Conrado Nalé Roxlo’s *Claro desvelo* (1937) opts for “Otros libros de autores hispanoamericanos” and Gabriela Mistral’s *Tala* (1938) similarly chooses



The first aspect of these publications that stands out is the production of various *types* of editions, which further supports my claim that the creation of an entire publishing house for the sole purpose of financing the literary journal *Sur* seems doubtful. For instance, looking to the unique printing details for Lorca's *Romancero gitano* (1924-1927) reveals that there were three distinct editions of this work produced by the Editorial Sur, a popular edition, a luxury edition, and a private edition not for sale: "DE ESTE LIBRO SE HAN IMPRESO APARTE DE / LA EDICIÓN POPULAR CIEN EJEMPLARES DE / LUJO... / DE LOS CUALES DIEZ / SEÑALADOS DE A a J FUERA DE COMERCIO / Y NOVENTA EJEMPLARES NUMERADOS DE / 1 a 90 EN PAPEL INGRES ITALY... TODOS / FIRMADOS POR EL AUTOR..." ([2]). When we compare this printing history with that other publishing houses that were in the industry for the sole reason of making money, like the Editorial TOR that we saw in Chapter Two, the decision to generate not just *one* moderately priced edition, but three *distinct* ones, seems like quite a novel publishing practice in Argentina. Although it is possible to chalk up the publication of differing forms of Lorca's *Romancero gitano* as a way to cast their net very wide and attract virtually all interested readers in Buenos Aires, regardless of their socio-economic status, I firmly believe that there are other driving forces at hand.<sup>324</sup> In fact, Lorca's physical presence in Buenos Aires during this time and his tremendous success in the theatre, not to mention his numerous literary and artistic contacts, explain the existence of multiple forms of

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"Libros americanos." Curiously, there is only one author listed on the flap for *Claro desvelo* and that of *Tala* that is not from Argentina: Alfonso Reyes.

<sup>324</sup> The close examination of other works published by the Editorial Sur reveals a similar tendency. For instance, José Bianco's *Las ratas* (1943) informs readers that two distinct editions were printed: "DE ESTA NOVELA SE HAN IMPRESO, ADEMÁS DE LOS EJEMPLARES EN PAPEL OBRA ALISADO QUE CONSTITUYEN LA EDICIÓN COMÚN, VEINTE EJEMPLARES FUERA DE COMERCIO, EN PAPEL LIVERPOOL LEDGER, NUMERADOS DEL I AL XX" ([4]).

*Romancero gitano*.<sup>325</sup> A related example is that of André Gide's *Regreso de la U. R. S. S.* (1936), a short piece outlining the shortcomings and failures of communism, which went through *twenty-two different editions* in the course of one year. What is more, the twentieth edition of this work was printed in a run of 1,000 copies, which speaks to its extreme popularity. To give readers a better understanding of the works published by the Editorial Sur between 1933 and 1951, I have included a full list at the end of this chapter.

Another curious aspect related to the origins and more overarching purpose of the Editorial Sur is its general level of success and, as a result, its change of legal status. In particular, their "Para la constitución de una sociedad editorial," a short pamphlet issued by the Editorial Sur in 1937, provides interested parties with a brief summary of the activities of the literary journal and publishing house of the same name up to that point.<sup>326</sup> Thus we find that the publishing house has had an immense amount of success with their sales and the overall popularity of their works: "No es menos importante consignar que las ediciones de SUR han alcanzado en el mercado librero un éxito totalmente fuera de lo común, como lo prueba la rapidez con que se han agotado los tirajes de diez títulos entre los 40 publicados" ([2-3]). The reader is then reminded of the importance of Victoria Ocampo in this publishing endeavor and the fact that much of it would not have been possible without her financial support as well as that of friends and acquaintances. Moreover, the specific language throughout this document stresses the prestige and unique character of the Editorial Sur, which, unlike many other contemporary

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<sup>325</sup> See Larrea Rubio's *Federico García Lorca en Buenos Aires* (2015) and Mario Hernández's critical edition of his *Romancero gitano* (Alianza Editorial 1983).

<sup>326</sup> The Villa Ocampo in Argentina has conserved the few surviving records related to the Editorial Sur. In addition to this rare pamphlet, they also possess a number of cashbooks (mainly dating from the 1960s until the 1980s) as well as a fair number of original contracts between published authors and the Editorial Sur (again, mainly dating from the 1960s to the 1980s).

publishing houses in Argentina, is “puramente argentina” and therefore “merecedor del apoyo más absoluto por parte de todos aquellos que desean elevar el nivel cultural de nuestro medio” ([3]). As a result, we find the central issue at hand with the circulation of this document is to announce the expansion of their editorial activities and form a limited liability company with the help of interested parties buying stock at 1,000 pesos a share: “Desde ahora podemos anticiparle que esta empresa, según está planteada, y con relación a los resultados positivos obtenidos ya en estos últimos años, ofrece las mayores garantías económicas, produciendo un beneficio neto equivalente al de cualquiera otra inversión de capitales” ([3]). Boasting of their ability to return on any investment with ease, not to mention the high demand for their unique editions, suggests that the Editorial Sur was much more than simply a way to help finance Ocampo’s literary magazine.<sup>327</sup>

In addition to the publication of varied editions of their works and their expanding business model, the Editorial Sur also, at times, named *other* publishing houses as authorized distributors of their works. It is hard to say *exactly* what these relationships entailed, but I imagine that the Editorial Sur got the respective packages of books to storefronts or booksellers associated with their authorized distributors. What is more, these *other* publishing houses also included the Editorial Sur’s works in their own promotional advertising. Among the firms that benefited from such deals were the Editorial Sudamericana, the Editorial Losada, and the Editorial Nova. In light of the fact that the Editorial Losada and the Editorial Nova will be

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<sup>327</sup> If we look to Ortega y Gasset’s *Revista de Occidente*, the source of inspiration for Victoria Ocampo’s literary magazine, *Sur*, we can also identify parallels in the creation of a sister publishing house, especially in terms of the prevalence of translations in both. That being said, Ortega y Gasset’s publishing firm produced works much more sporadically and does not seem to have created multiple types of editions (i.e. common edition, luxury edition, etc.). See Evelyn López Campillo’s *La ‘Revista de Occidente’ y la formación de minorías: 1923-1936* (1972).

discussed later, I will only discuss the case of the Editorial Sudamericana here. In addition to the fact that the Editorial Sudamericana was directed by an exiled Spaniard, Antonio López Llausás, whose previous livelihood had also been the world of publishing, it is important to note that Victoria Ocampo, along with Oliverio Girondo and Alfredo González Garaño (both part of the initial editorial board for the literary journal *Sur*), were among the first writers for this publishing house. What is more, the Editorial Sudamericana popularized the use of sales catalogues, which might account for Victoria Ocampo's close ties to this firm given their effective promotional strategy: "La editorial intentaba, como vemos, llegar a un amplio abanico de lectores y ofrecía tanto entretenimiento como soluciones a problemas prácticos o reflexiones sobre el comportamiento social" (Sagastizábal 108).<sup>328</sup> Regardless of the specific case for choosing the Editorial Sudamericana, they were distributing the Editorial Sur's publications exclusively as early as 1944:

Este prestigioso sello distingue a una empresa cultural fundada y dirigida por la escritora argentina Victoria Ocampo, a cuya influencia directa e indirecta tanto deben las letras argentinas. En efecto, su revista 'sur' fué uno de los primeros periódicos que, en su tiempo, se preocupó por dar a conocer a escritores argentinos y americanos cuya singularidad y sensibilidad los habían mantenido inéditos y que hoy son considerados entre los primeros del país y de América; sus páginas alternaban y alternan con las de los más finos escritores de Europa. Esta labor es complementada con conferencias dictadas por estos últimos que estimulan y fomentan constantemente nuestro movimiento intelectual.

Finalmente, surgió la Editorial 'Sur' – *cuyas primeras publicaciones son*

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<sup>328</sup> Other publishing houses were quick to follow suit and implement their own sales catalogs shortly after.

*distribuidas por la EDITORIAL SUDAMERICANA* –, empresa que popularizó la obra de valores perdurables europeos desconocidos para los lectores de habla española, como el Conde de Keyserling, los hermanos Huxley y V. Woolf, entre otros. (*Catálogo 1944* 160, emphasis mine)

Even though the Editorial Sudamericana is, at first, only responsible for the *distribution* of certain titles produced by the Editorial Sur, it appears that they slowly yet surely began to *reedit* and distribute many of these same works as part of their own publications after seeing their successful sales.<sup>329</sup> Consider, for instance, the case of Virginia Woolf's *Orlando*, translated by none other than Jorge Luis Borges for the Editorial Sur in 1937: "SE ACABÓ DE IMPRI- / MIR ESTE LIBRO, / PARA LA EDITORIAL / SUR, EN SU PRIME- / RA Y ÚNICA TRA- / DUCCIÓN ESPAÑOLA / AUTORIZADA POR LA AUTORA, DI- / RECTAMENTE DEL INGLÉS, EL / DÍA TREINTA DE JUNIO DE / MIL NOVECIENTOS TREIN- / TA Y SIETE, EN LA / IMPRENTA LÓPEZ, / CALLE PERÚ 666 / BUENOS / AIRES" ([324]).<sup>330</sup> Curiously, eight years later in 1945, the Editorial Sudamericana produces an edition of *Orlando*, also translated by Borges, yet instead of identifying it as the first edition (from their publishing house), it is described instead as the *second* edition.<sup>331</sup>

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<sup>329</sup> A number of advertisements in the literary journal *Sur* alert readers when certain works produced by the Editorial Sur are sold out and, subsequently, that they will be issuing a second (or third) edition in light of the popularity of those works.

<sup>330</sup> This colophon appears, as is evident from its contents, in the first edition of *Orlando* (Editorial Sur, 1937).

<sup>331</sup> I say "also translated by Borges" here, but we can infer that the Editorial Sudamericana is using the same translation that was provided by Borges for the Editorial Sur. What is more, a quick perusal of the Editorial Sudamericana's catalogues from the late 1940s reveals that they were producing "new" editions of not only *Orlando* for the "Colección Horizonte," but also several other translated works that originated from the Editorial Sur. These works would then be reproduced into *other* collections with the Editorial Sudamericana, including their "Piragua" collection. As a result, it is quite clear that these translations

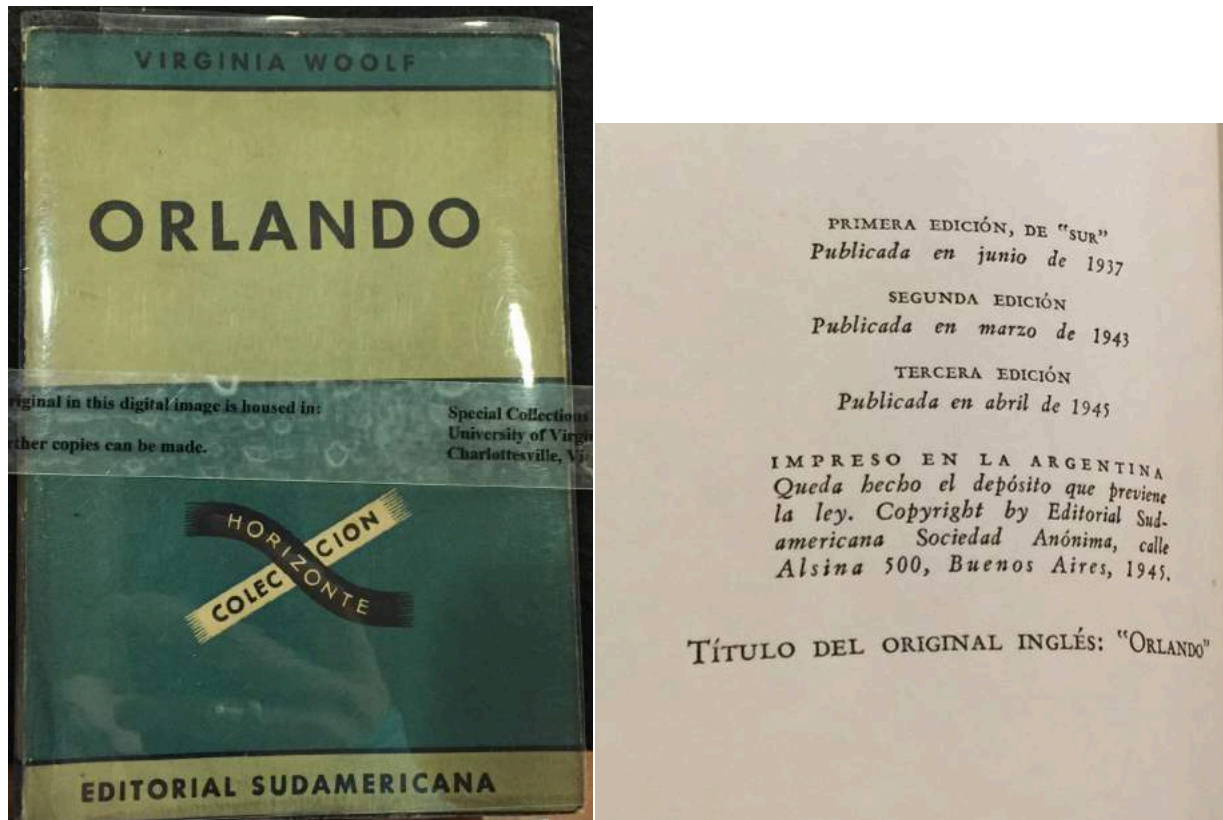


Figure 45: Virginia Woolf, *Orlando* (Editorial Sudamericana, 1945)

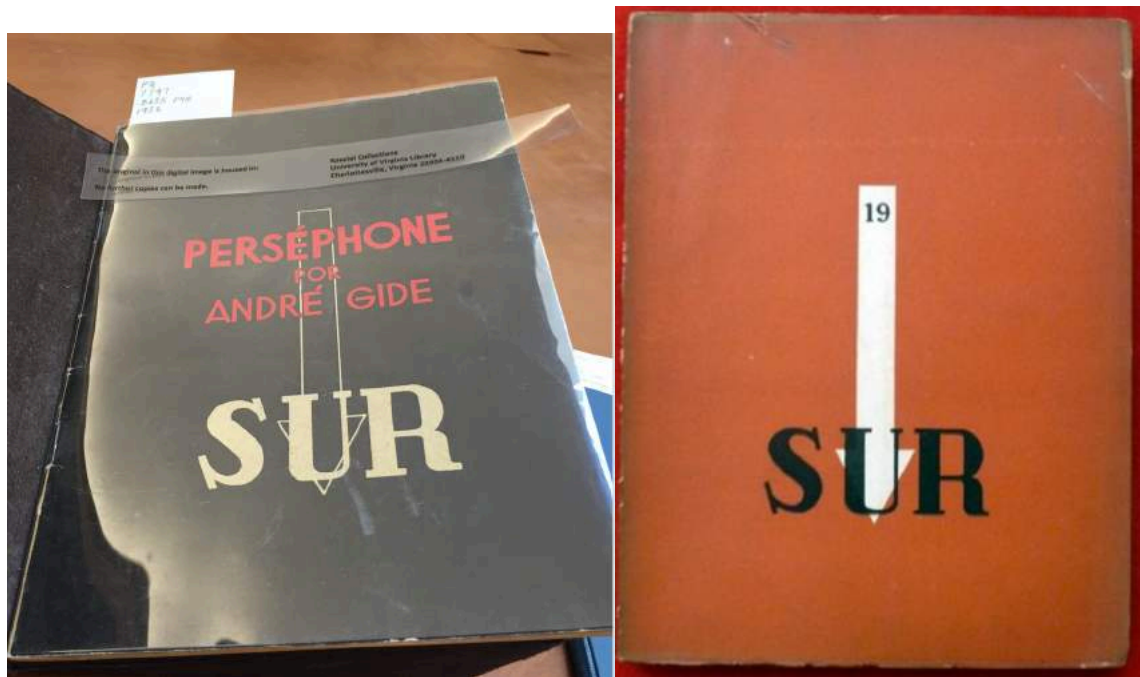
[Source: Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia]

In terms of his translation work for the Editorial Sur, Borges translated André Gide's *Perséphone* (1936), Virginia Woolf's *Un cuarto propio* (1936), and Henri Michaux's *Un bárbaro en Asia* (1941), in addition to the already mentioned *Orlando* (1937). Along with their unique physical characteristics, each of these works also has something of a complex publication and distribution history. While there are a number of shared traits (such as the name "Sur" and the downward arrow that adorns each of the covers for these three works), there are also a stark number of differences. Starting with the earliest, Gide's *Perséphone*, we discover that the size and placement of the typography (not to mention the similar serif typeface) on the front cover

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were a way to bring in new readers and, perhaps, encourage them to buy *other* works in the same collection.

more resembles the literary journal *Sur* as opposed to any given book published with the Editorial Sur. More specifically, the fact that the downward arrow extends not only through “SUR,” but also through the entire *title* of the work in question brings to mind the cover for virtually any one of the literary journal’s numbers<sup>332</sup>:



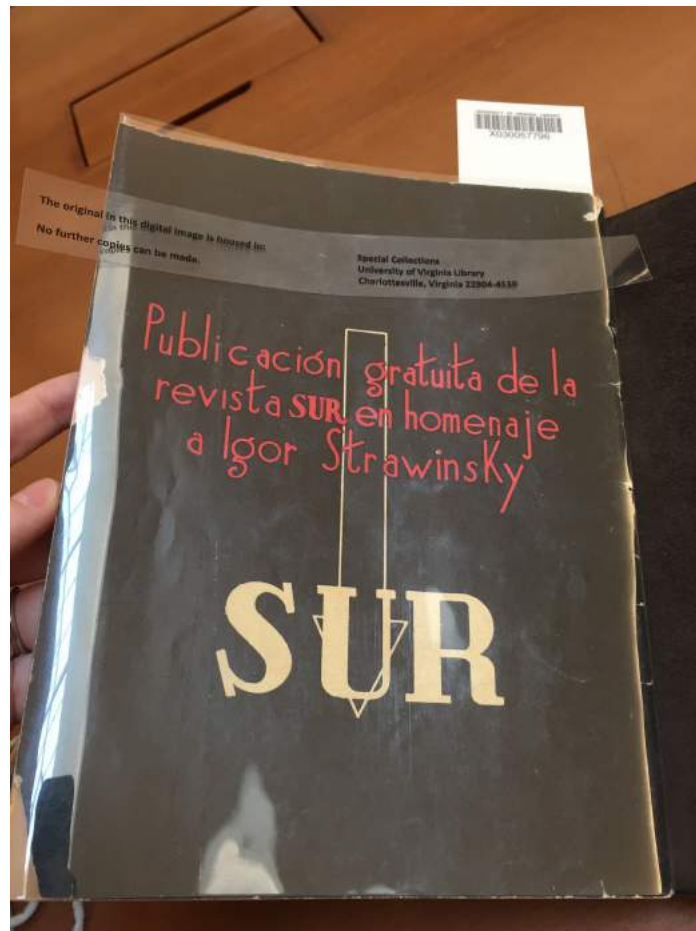
**Figure 46:** André Gide, *Perséphone* (Editorial Sur, 1936), *Sur* 19 (1936)

[Source: Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia]

Much like a literary journal that might have a special issue dedicated to a specific theme or person, the Editorial Sur’s publication of Gide’s *Perséphone* was produced “en homenaje a Igor Stravinsky” (back cover). This interest in honoring the work of Stravinsky permeates the entire Editorial Sur since his *Crónicas de mi vida* was published the previous year (1935) and the second installment (*Nuevas crónicas de mi vida*) appeared a few months later in 1936, following

<sup>332</sup> I’ve taken the liberty of including the April 1936 issue (no. 19) above for comparison. This selection is not entirely random since it *also* includes Borges’s translation of Gide’s *Perséphone* and was published right around the same time as the stand-alone work.

the publication of Gide's *Perséphone*. Of particular note with Borges's translation is the fact that the Editorial Sur distributed this work *free of cost*, which certainly seems to echo a promotional strategy that one might expect from a literary journal, not necessarily a fully-fledged publishing house.<sup>333</sup>



**Figure 47:** André Gide, *Perséphone* (Editorial Sur, 1936)

[Source: Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia]

<sup>333</sup> Borges's translation of Gide's *Perséphone* appeared in the literary journal *Sur* (No. 19, April 1936) one month prior to the production of the free edition, which suggests a type of reverse marketing to attract potential subscribers by giving them access to a (successful) sample of the type of material they publish.



While the free nature of this work might suggest that there was less care or precision taken during its production (or that, perhaps, materials of a lower quality were used in its production), we find that there is an inserted green page with “modificaciones” at the start of the book, which stresses the fact that, even though the Editorial Sur would not have gained any revenue from this publication, they were still very much concerned about putting out a work of the highest quality. Furthermore, in light of the fact that interested readers would have acquired this publication free of cost suggests that not every work published by the Editorial Sur was for a profit, which rather undermines many critics’ arguments concerning the function of this firm.

Turning to the next work that Borges translated for the Editorial Sur, Virginia Woolf’s *Un cuarto propio*, we discover (from the work’s colophon) that it was the “primera y única traducción española autorizada por la autora” and, like many other of the works they produced, with a few minor exceptions of luxury editions, it was printed by the Imprenta López ([134]).<sup>334</sup> Before diving into an analysis of this specific book, I will pause here to elaborate on the kinds of works produced by the printing firm López in light of the fact that they are responsible not only for a large portion of the Editorial Sur’s publications (as well as the majority of the early issues of the literary journal *Sur*), but also for many works published with other Argentine publishing houses that we will discuss later in this chapter.

Founded in 1908 by Juan Bautista and José López García, the Imprenta López started as a small business that reflected the interests of their entire family: the graphic arts. As the labors of

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<sup>334</sup> A large number of the works translated for the Editorial Sur contain similar messages in their colophons, which might explain why these *specific* translations circulate to other publishing houses (and eventually ended up being used for their own future collections). That being said, the lack of a publisher’s archive for the Editorial Sur (or for any other of the firms in question, such as the Editorial Sudamericana or the Editorial Losada) makes it impossible to know for certain the costs, use, and implications of the subsequent printings of these first translations by *other* publishing houses.

their trade grew and expanded, they moved from their more modest offices at Tacuarí 634 to several other locations before finally settling at Perú 666, which is their best known address and the one that appears printed on all of the works from the publishing houses discussed in this chapter (and other previous chapters).<sup>335</sup> Over the years, the Imprenta López perfected their craft and became known for the high quality of their works and, consequently, attracted numerous writers and editors from all corners of the Americas. Along with printing, they were also known in their initial years for binding and providing interested parties with quality paper: “Imprenta, papelería y encuadernación de José López García, rezaban pomposamente el cartel de hierro que colgaba en la puerta, la vidriera y algunos impresos que acreditaron la existencia de aquel negocio que abrió el 15 de Setiembre de 1908 en la calle Tacuarí 634” (López 10). What is more, we also know the various types of printing presses used by López and the evolution of these machines over the years. Thus, when they first opened in 1908, they had nothing more than two Minerva printing presses, a paper cutter, and a borer (López 10). Their machinery first changed to the more advanced flatbed press with their move to Perú 538. As their work began to take off, they purchased two linotype machines from another company that had gone bankrupt (López 13). In terms of their typefaces, we see a great amount of diversity, which is emphasized in the “Homenaje a Don José López García” produced for the thirtieth anniversary of the Imprenta López and composed “a mano, seleccionado del surtido de la Imprenta López, los tipos y adornos que rememoran las distintas épocas del establecimiento” (López [33]).

In light of the wide net that the Imprenta López cast over the Argentine book industry, it should come as no surprise that this particular firm was responsible for printing and producing

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<sup>335</sup> In addition to the above-mentioned addresses, the Imprenta López also occupied the following addresses throughout their early years: Perú 538 and Tacuarí 761.

works for a large number of publishing firms throughout Argentina.<sup>336</sup> In fact, even though the luxury printer Francisco A. Colombo printed issues one through eight of Ocampo's literary journal *Sur*, the Imprenta López took over starting with the ninth issue and printed virtually every subsequent issue throughout the 1930s and much of the 1940s. As a result, there is a fair amount of advertisement for this firm throughout the pages of each issue of *Sur*<sup>337</sup>:

**El Arte del Libro**

●

**IMPRENTA  
LÓPEZ**  
Arte y Técnica  
al servicio del libro.



PERU 666, B. AIRES  
U. T. 33 - 5261 y 6917

El arte de imprimir libros no puede ser el producto de una improvisación apresurada, sino el resultado de una sólida experiencia alcanzada a través de una constante y esmerada dedicación. El buen impresor de libros ha de ser artista en su oficio y cooperar con el escritor para la perfecta materialización de sus pensamientos.

*Contribuiremos al éxito de su obra.*  
**C O N S U L T E N O S**

Figure 48: Advertisement for the Imprenta López

<sup>336</sup> The Editorial Kraft's *Quién es quién* (1968), which provides interested readers with short biographies of important figures in Argentina, highlights the Imprenta López's fruitful ties to many publishing houses that were started by Spanish exiles: "Estallada la guerra civil española, las más destacadas editoras, al radicarse en nuestro medio, confiaron también sus trabajos a la Imprenta López y entre ambos se lograron realizaciones en verdad extraordinarias" (945).

<sup>337</sup> These selected advertisements date from June 1936 to February 1948 and appear in chronological order.

[Source: Literary Magazine *Sur* 19 (1936)]

**IMPRENTA LOPEZ**  
GRANDES TALLERES GRAFICOS

**IMPRENTA LOPEZ**  
GRANDES TALLERES GRAFICOS

PERÚ 666  
BUENOS AIRES  
TELEFONOS,  
33 AVENIDA 2981 - 2 - 3

La más importante organización en Sudamérica, al servicio del libro.

**La Imprenta López**  
Perú 666, Buenos Aires,  
es una organización completa  
al servicio del libro.


Su participación en la creación de la industria editorial argentina ha sido decisiva: en calidad, nos dicen nuestros clientes; en cantidad, podemos asegurarlo nosotros.

**IMPRENTA LOPEZ**  
*Una organización completa al servicio del libro*

Su participación en la creación de la industria editorial argentina ha sido decisiva: en calidad, nos dicen nuestros clientes; en cantidad, podemos asegurarlo nosotros.

**Figure 49:** Advertisements for the Imprenta López in the literary journal *Sur*

[Source: Literary journal *Sur* 114-127 (1944-1945)]





*La*  
**IMPRENTA LOPEZ**

es la primera organización creada en Hispano - América dedicada exclusivamente a la impresión de libros. Su participación en la creación de la industria editorial argentina ha sido decisiva. Su nombre como impresores, unido al de los editores, marca una etapa culminante en la historia del libro argentino.

•

El arte y la técnica de la **IMPRENTA LOPEZ** en conjunción maravillosa realizan el milagro de producir las más bellas y cuidadas ediciones, tanto de lujo como populares, a precios convenientes, pues su especialización le permite dar calidad sin aumentar el costo.

**IMPRENTA LOPEZ**  
AL SERVICIO DEL LIBRO  
PERU 666 - BUENOS AIRES



*Una mirada vigilante acompañará a su original desde que usted nos lo confía hasta que se lo devolvamos transformado en libro.*



**IMPRENTA LOPEZ**  
al servicio del libro  
PERU 666 - BUENOS AIRES

Figure 50: Advertisements for the Imprenta López in the literary journal *Sur*

[Source: Literary journal *Sur* 114-127 (1944-1945)]

In addition to their varying advertisements, the Imprenta López also produced a full-color promotional book, *Cómo se imprime un libro* (1942), in an effort to stress the quality of their work and their dedication to producing the best work for each client's needs:



Trabajamos con el lema de que la tipografía es un arte aplicado al servicio de la divulgación del pensamiento. Nunca caeremos en el vanidoso descarrío de proceder como si la tipografía fuese un arte independiente, de fueros ilimitados y con campo libre para buscar satisfacciones estéticas por sí misma sirviéndose del texto y no sirviéndolo. Nuestra posición en esto es bien clara: ante todo, reproducir fielmente el pensamiento en *forma del libro*; después dar dignidad y belleza a esa *forma* en coherencia estilística con las demás expresiones estéticas de nuestra época, pues la belleza tipográfica de un libro será tanto más eficaz en su servicio de divulgación del pensamiento cuanto más concuerde con el estilo general de las tendencias artísticas actuales. (2)

Thus, the ways in which the Imprenta López describes their goals as well as the ways in which they promote their work sets them apart from other competitors in the industry.

Returning to our central thread of Borges's translations and prefaced works for the Editorial Sur, it is clear that his edition of Virginia Woolf's *Un cuarto propio*, unlike other editions from the Editorial Sur (that were also printed by the Imprenta López), is of a much higher quality.<sup>338</sup> For starters, the paper is thicker and has visible (vertical) chain lines. The majority of works from this firm that were also printed by the Imprenta López are on much more brittle paper that, with aging, have yellowed significantly and have neither chain lines nor wire lines. What is more, there are very large margins on all sides of the text block throughout the work, which is a traditional trait for luxury or more expensive works. In a similar vein, the serif typography with its vertical stress is clean, neat, and easily readable. When we compare Woolf's *Un cuarto propio* (1936) with her *Orlando* (1937), both of which were translated directly from the English by Borges, published with the Editorial Sur, and printed by the Imprenta López, there are a number of stylistic differences. While the title pages in each work use a very similar (though *not* identical) san-serif typeface, the letters are more drastically leaded, or spaced apart, in *Un cuarto propio*, which calls to mind the luxury printing work of Francisco A. Colombo that

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<sup>338</sup> There is no mention of the print run and the colophon does not shed any light on the issue either.

we saw in Chapter Two. What is more, *Orlando* maintains the same san-serif typeface for the copyright statement and indication of the original English title of the work (found on the verso facing the title page) while *Un cuarto propio* prints this information in a more elegant serif typeface. Entering the texts, *Un cuarto propio* presents each chapter title on a separate page from the text itself whereas *Orlando* has each chapter title as a heading directly above the text of these sections, which appears to indicate a desire to conserve space and use *less* paper and materials for the latter's production. In addition, *Un cuarto propio* is a much larger book than *Orlando* and the margins in this former work also surpass those of the latter. All of these characteristics align *Un cuarto propio* with many traditional concepts of what constitutes a luxury book (size, use of space, elegant typography, high-quality paper).

The last work that Borges translated for the Editorial Sur is Henri Michaux's *Un bárbaro en Asia* (1941). In terms of its physical features we can start to identify a pattern that will become synonymous with the Editorial Sur. Recalling what we saw with Virginia Woolf's *Orlando* (translated by Borges), the crisp, clean covers of *Un bárbaro en Asia* present the name of the author and the title in capital (white) san serifs, while the name of the publishing house appears in a more elegant serif typeface with a downward (red) arrow behind the central "U" of the firm's name. Much like the paper used for *Orlando*, the pages of Michaux's work is brittle, yellowed, and worn from age and use, which points to its lower quality. A modern serif typeface is used throughout the work, even for the closing colophon, where the reader discovers that the Imprenta López printed this work, which might account for the physical similarities between this book and the others analyzed thus far. The most curious aspect of the Editorial Sur's edition of *Un bárbaro en Asia* is the following phrase, which appears printed on the back cover:

"Concesionario exclusivo para la venta: EDITORIAL LOSADA, S. A. – BUENOS AIRES." In

light of the fact that the Editorial Sur, much like the literary journal of the same name, did not have an established storefront from which Victoria Ocampo, or any of her editorial board members, would be able to market and sell the works they directly produced, it makes sense that each edition bearing this firm's name would be marketed and sold elsewhere. That being said, it is quite peculiar that the Editorial Sur would name *exclusive* authorized dealers for certain works that they produce as they have done with Michaux's *Un bárbaro en Asia*.<sup>339</sup>

Even though Borges's translations are not the *only* translations produced for the Editorial Sur, they give readers a good sense of the types of works that are translated: foreign works that, more often than not, appear in English, French, or German originally. In addition, much like many of the works that Borges reviewed in his column for the magazine *El Hogar*, a large number of the authors that are published, with or without translation, would be best characterized as high modernist, elite, or hard-to-access writers. Thus, in addition to Virginia Woolf, we also find the likes of James Joyce, Albert Camus, Jean-Paul Sartre, Thomas Mann, Aldous Huxley, C. G. Jung, André Breton, H. G. Wells, and Roger Caillois, among others. Bearing in mind that the Editorial Sur's publication of the works of these writers (and others) would have most likely been the first encounter that many individuals in Argentina had with them, it is quite surprising that virtually all of these books lacked what might be deemed an essential component in aiding these readers: a prologue.<sup>340</sup> Perhaps this omission speaks to the type of audience that would read these works in the sense that these individuals would already know how to approach these works

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<sup>339</sup> As we shall see later in this chapter, the Editorial Losada is not the only publishing house that the Editorial Sur names as an authorized distributor; Emecé Editores and the Editorial Nova, as well as the Editorial Sudamericana that was mentioned earlier in this section, are also named as distributors of other works published by Victoria Ocampo's firm.

<sup>340</sup> While I have yet to examine each and every work produced by the Editorial Sur from 1933 to 1950, I can say for certain that, at the very least, all of Borges's translations lack a prologue.

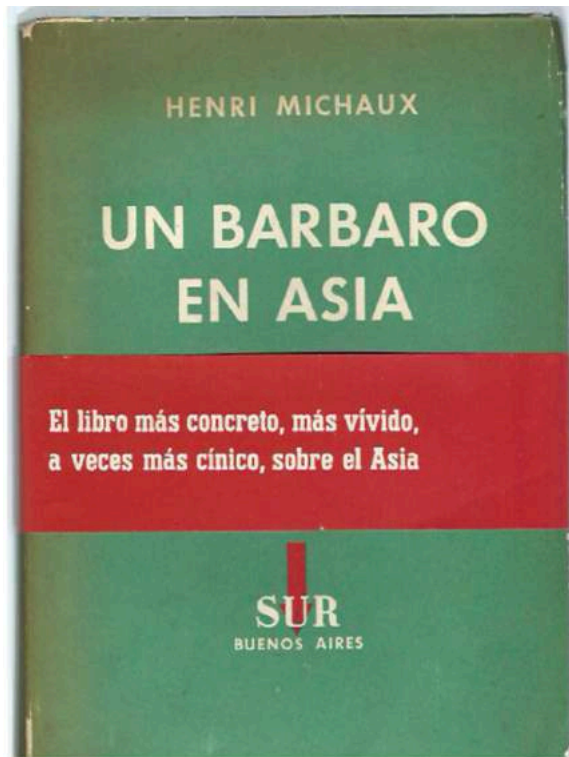


and, as a result, would not need a road map or guide of sorts from someone else. This idea is further emphasized by the fact that prologues are quite scarce for the works produced by the Editorial Sur, not just those translated by Borges.<sup>341</sup>

Any analysis of Borges's editorial or literary contributions to the Editorial Sur would be incomplete without a discussion of his two illustrious collections of fiction published by this firm in the early 1940s: *El jardín de senderos que se bifurcan* (1941) and *Ficciones* (1944). Even though Borges was crafting and publishing short stories for a myriad of different journals and newspapers with a certain level of regularity throughout the 1930s, *El jardín de senderos que se bifurcan* is the first book-length compilation of such writings. From the initial advertising band that originally adorned this book, readers learn about its contents as a way of drawing them in: "Una muerte simbólica, una biblioteca infinita, una lotería implacable, un libro que abolirá la realidad." Even though virtually all of the Editorial Sur's works were housed in similar bands, there is a marked difference with this particular one, which has a much more of a seductive and mysterious feel. Take, for instance, the advertising band for Michaux's *Un bárbaro en Asia* (1941), "El libro más concreto, más vivido, a veces más cínico, sobre el Asia":

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<sup>341</sup> Aside from an occasional introductory note by the author of the work itself, virtually no other prologues exist, save a few *short* introductions by Victoria Ocampo that appear in a sparse number of books produced by the Editorial Sur. In light of the fact that she was the editor of this firm, many of these notes reflect her decision to publish (or translate) certain works and, at times, even provide a type of warning for readers (see, for instance, her prologue to T. E. Lawrence's widely-censored *El Troquel*).



**Figure 51:** Henri Michaux, *Un bárbaro en Asia* (Editorial Sur, 1941) with original advertising band

[Source: Google Image]

The prose is much more direct and provides readers with a clearer idea of what this book is about. We find similar cases with Victoria Ocampo's *Tres Guineas* (1941), “Un libro constructivo y seductor. Todos los hombres conscientes deben leerlo; y no solo leerlo, sino estudiarlo, todas las mujeres responsables que tengan algún deseo de ayudar a la humanidad,” and even that of H. G. Wells's *El destino del homo sapiens* (1941), “Los orígenes de la guerra actual. Juicio magistral sobre el nazismo, el comunismo y la democracia.”<sup>342</sup> In comparison,

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<sup>342</sup> While I have been unable to track down images or physical copies of the advertising sashes for most of the works published by the Editorial Sur, I found a curious overlap between the wording on the bands I have seen and the advertisements for these works in the literary journal *Sur*. Therefore, my working theory is that the texts for these sashes were duplicated below the titles of each advertised work in the journal and, as a result, even if we do not have the original bands, we can look to extant copies of *Sur* for a better idea of their promotional framing.

there is something much more poetic and enchanting about the advertising band for *El jardín de senderos que se bifurcan* and, much like the ways in which Borges described these promotional accouterments, they successfully aid in drawing the reader into the work.<sup>343</sup>

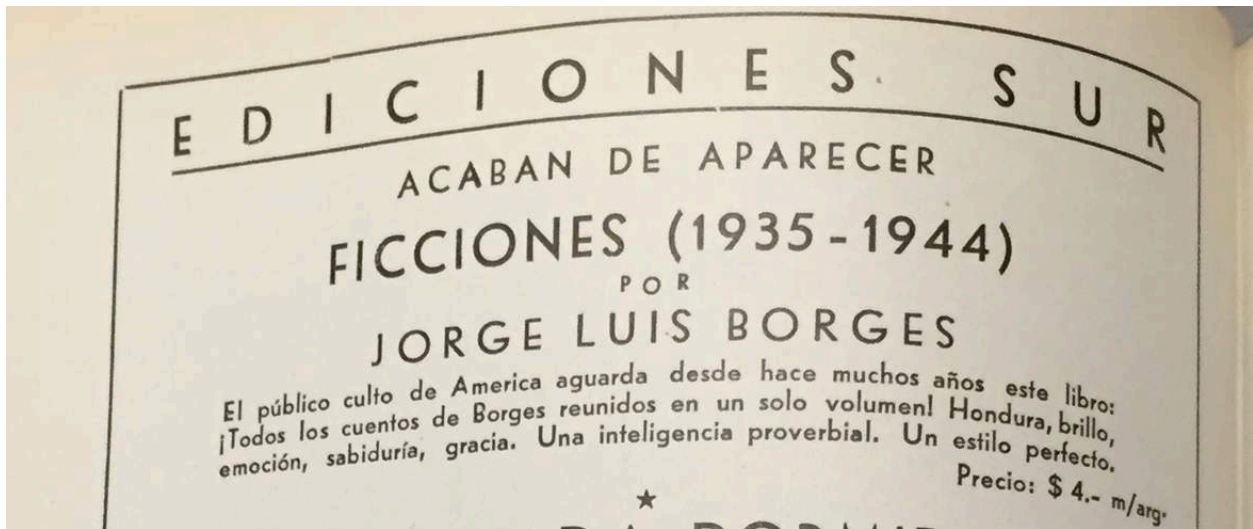
When we turn to *Ficciones*, published three years later by the Editorial Sur, there is a marked shift from the lyrical and seductive quality of the language used on the advertising band to one of authorial promotion: “El público culto de America [*sic*] aguarda desde hace muchos años este libro: ¡Todos los cuentos de Borges reunidos en un solo volumen! Hondura, brillo, emoción, sabiduría, gracia. Una inteligencia proverbial. Un estilo perfecto.”<sup>344</sup> Of particular note is the identification of a *specific* type of reader that has been anticipating the publication of this work for many years, an *educated* or *learned* reader, which further stresses the link between the Editorial Sur’s (literary) production and an elite audience. Another intriguing feature of the advertising sash that adorns Borges’s *Ficciones* is the fact that it changes within a few months after its first release in 1944. More specifically, by June of 1945, the text on this advertising band reads: “Gran Premio de Honor de la Sociedad de Escritores.” The fact that Borges was the very first recipient of this prize, a prize that might have not been known to readers at the time, might account for the need to highlight such a distinction.<sup>345</sup> Curiously, even with such a change, that not only emphasizes the importance of this Argentine writer, but also would require the production of a completely new sash, there was no change in *price* for the Editorial Sur’s edition of *Ficciones*:

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<sup>343</sup> We see a similar trend with the promotional sash that adorns Borges’s *Historia universal de la infamia*, published by the Editorial Tor in 1935: “Toda la escoria del mundo.” That being said, there are virtually no extant bands from *other* works published by this firm and, as a result, it is nearly impossible to draw any conclusions about their use of promotional sashes.

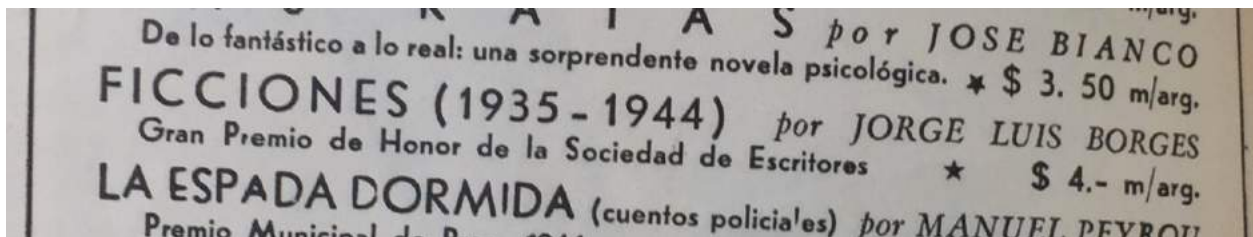
<sup>344</sup> Much like the previously cited sash texts, the following examples from the Editorial Sur’s edition of *Ficciones* (1944) are taken from the literary journal *Sur*’s advertisement pages.

<sup>345</sup> The Sociedad Argentina de Escritores (SADE) still awards this prize to distinguished writers.



**Figure 52:** Advertisments for *Ficciones* in the literary journal *Sur*

[Source: Literary journal *Sur* 116 (1944)]

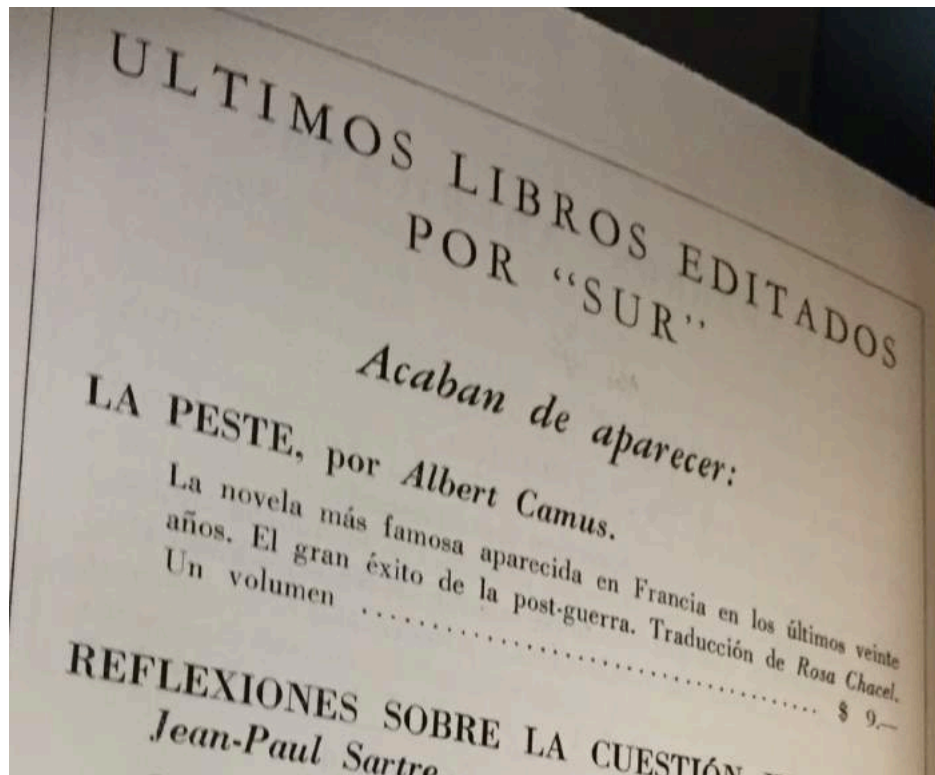


**Figure 53:** Advertisments for *Ficciones* in the literary journal *Sur*

[Source: Literary journal *Sur* 151 (1947)]

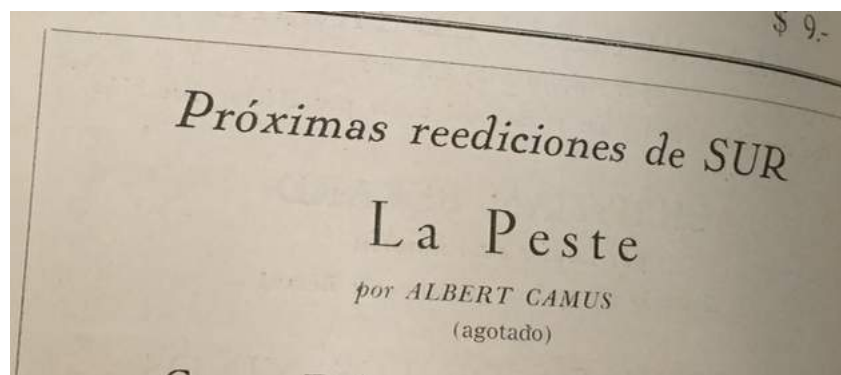
Thus, even though *Ficciones* is intended for a markedly elite audience, who undoubtedly would appreciate the value of such a work, it is no more or less costly than most other edition produced by the Editorial Sur during the 1940s. What is more, *Ficciones* does not appear to have had the same amount of sales that certain other works produced, such as Albert Camus's *La Peste* (1948), which not only sold out and went through multiple editions, but also increased in price

with each new edition as we can see from the below advertisements taken from the literary journal *Sur*'s pages between December 1948 and November 1949:<sup>346</sup>

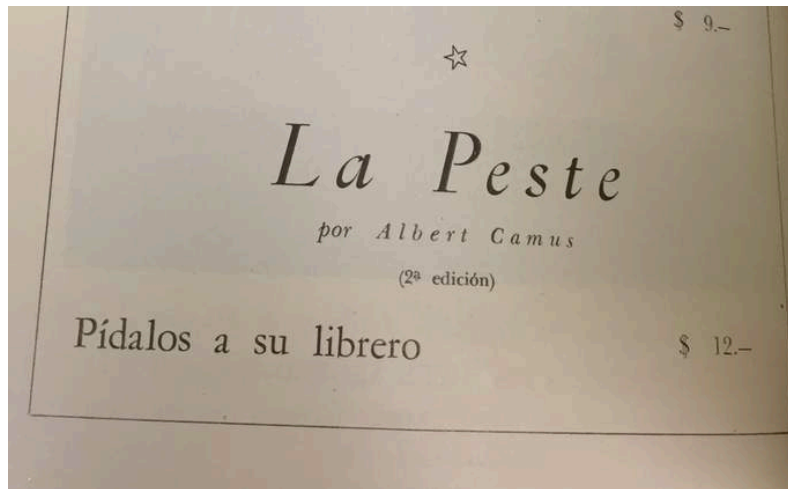


**Figure 54:** Advertisements for Editorial Sur

[Source: Literary journal *Sur* 167 (1948)]



<sup>346</sup> The first edition of Camus's work appeared in December 1948, while the second edition appeared in November 1949.

**Figure 55:** Advertisements for the Editorial Sur[Source: *Literary journal Sur* 178 (1949)]**Figure 56:** Advertisements for the Imprenta López[Source: *Literary journal Sur* 182 (1949)]

This example highlights the fact that there is not yet the following and deep-seated interest in Borges's works from a public standpoint, regardless of whether or not this public is middle, lower, or upper class.

### *Emecé Editores*

This next publishing house will be paramount for Borges's later career. As we saw in the last chapter, Emecé Editores "was founded by an exile from Spain, Mariano Medina del Río, who linked up with Álvaro de las Cases in Buenos Aires, a literary man, and Carlos Braun Menéndez, who had studied with Medina del Río in Spain. 'Emecé' was an amalgam of their names" (Woodall 128). Borges was also employed by Emecé for a number of years in an effort to help increase the meager wages he earned at the National Library. Similar to the work he did

for the Editorial Sur and other Argentine publishing firms of the time, Borges often contributed prefaces to works as well as translations of short stories by foreign authors. Given his presence and interaction with Emecé over the years, “[f]rom 1951, they would publish all of Borges’s prose and poetry, and become his main house in the Spanish-speaking world, until his death” (Woodall 128).<sup>347</sup>

Although Borges’s greatest contribution to Emecé Editores is most commonly cited as the “Séptimo Círculo” series, or even his complete edited works, this Argentine writer first started working with this publishing house in 1943 as what Sara del Carril calls an “asesor literario”: “Leía libros y aconsejaba sobre su publicación, preparaba prólogos, corregía textos, etcétera” (125). Thus, unlike the large number of creative fictions and translations he produced for the Editorial Sur, his work for Emecé primarily consisted of writing prologues, selecting titles and editing collections, not to mention re-publishing certain of his fictions. As a result, the common trend that we find in these works is not only a sense of framing, but also a deep-seated interest in producing *successful* works (i.e. works that will be popular and will sell well with the Argentine populace). Harking back to the previous chapter, this is *precisely* what we saw with Emecé’s *Los mejores cuentos policiales*, which went through not only two separate series, but also numerous editions (primarily due to its large sales). In addition, readers will recall that for the initial production of this edited collection of detective fiction, Emecé Editores did not wish to have the name of their firm printed on the cover, just the names of the work’s editors (Adolfo Bioy Casares and Jorge Luis Borges) as, perhaps, a sort of promotional strategy (Bioy, *Memorias*

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<sup>347</sup> Sara del Carril, Bonifacio’s daughter who worked at Emecé for a number of years, dates Borges’s position as an official writer of Emecé in 1953 with the publication of *Historia de la eternidad* (Emecé 1953): “En 1952 José Edmundo Clemente conversó con Borges para reeditar los libros que tenía agotados. Luego Clemente le propuso a Emecé el proyecto. Emecé se tomó un tiempo para pensarlo y finalmente decidió publicar a Borges pero a condición de poder reeditar toda la obra del autor” (125).

100). In line with this project, which resulted in the creation of an entire series of subsequent books (“Séptimo Círculo”), Borges was also invited to write prologues for a number of works that formed part of the following different collections produced by Emecé during the 1940s: “Cuadernos de la Quimera,” “El Navío,” “Biblioteca Emecé,” “Teatro del Mundo,” and “Clásicos Emecé.”<sup>348</sup> Before describing these framing texts and the physical formats of their works, it is necessary to detail the ways in which Emecé undertook the creation of their books, how they viewed their publications, and the efforts they made to ensure that their works reached the greatest number of people possible.

The first volume of Emecé’s *Catálogo General Perpetuo*, a massive seven-volume reference source that allows readers to stay up to date on *all* of the works produced by this firm, opens by outlining the cultural importance of books as well as the great labor undertaken in their creation and circulation: “No cabe duda...que si la base intelectual de la cultura es el libro, la constitución de una biblioteca, por modesta que sea, en todos los hogares dignos de tal nombre es una necesidad fundamental, una exigencia imperativa de la vida espiritual... Contribuir a esta empresa social, hacer asequible al mayor número posible la formación de esa biblioteca familiar, es el propósito cardinal de esta colección.”<sup>349</sup> In order to achieve this goal, this publishing firm focuses on two aspects when producing each of their books: the *textual* presentation of the works and the *material* presentation of the works. First, each work is painstakingly edited and corrected of any error and also provided with all the necessary annotations so that readers will have no

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<sup>348</sup> In addition to the already mentioned “Séptimo Círculo” series, Borges also contributed to Emecé’s “Colección Buen Aire” (*El Compadrito* (1945) that we analyzed in chapter four), and directed their “La Puerta de Marfil” with Adolfo Bioy Casares. This last collection (1946-1949) focused on the newest literature of the time and published works by authors such as Joseph Conrad, Vera Caspary, Henry James, H. G. Wells, and James M. Cain. José Bonomi designed the cover illustration for each work in this collection.

<sup>349</sup> This catalogue does not have any page numbers.



trouble in approaching any given book.<sup>350</sup> Second, in terms of the *physical* presentation, the editors of this firm stress their use of quality paper, legible printings, and bindings that are both beautiful and durable. Thus, these works are valuable for not only their content, but also their *form*. Emecé Editores's twenty-fifth anniversary catalogue also stresses the quality of each work produced by their firm in a similar way (i.e. in terms of their content and their form): "Fue también idea del grupo iniciador presentar los libros irreprochablemente impresos, diagramados con el mayor cuidado posible, vigilados en la ejecución de todos los aspectos de la labor gráfica. Bajo la experta creación y dirección de Juan Antonio Spotorno *los libros de EMECÉ fueron un verdadero ejemplo e influyeron grandemente en el perfeccionamiento de la industria del libro en la Argentina*" (6, emphasis mine). Most striking is the fact that Emecé's dedication to well-made works (in content and form) served to influence other publishing firms throughout Buenos Aires and became one of their defining features. Thus, we find that Emecé was known for producing works that would contribute to the "obra cultural e intelectual" of Argentina in all senses of the phrase (6).

A new periodical publication that would be fundamental for the book world in Buenos Aires appeared around the same time that Emecé Editores produced their *Catálogo general perpetuo* and, as a result, is worth a closer look. This journal was titled *Papel, Libro, Revista* and each of its issues tackled the various problems facing the publishing industry in Argentina including, but not limited to, paper shortages, transportation issues, and the production of cost-effective works of the highest quality. The first installment of *Papel, Libro, Revista* (March 1942) outlines the central aim in creating such a publication: "Su lema será servir por igual al

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<sup>350</sup> The *textual* presentation of works also consists of "traducciones fieles a la letra y al espíritu... [e] índices onomásticos o analíticos cuando la índole del libro así lo requiere."

papelero, al editor y al librero, ponerlos en contacto por medio de sus páginas e informarles de cuanto se relaciona con sus propias actividades. En las páginas de esta revista colaborarán las figuras más destacadas de la industria, el comercio y la inteligencia; sus artículos abarcarán infinidad de temas que irán desde la venta en el mostrador de un artículo o libro hasta la decoración de vidrieras” (12). True to its initial statements, *Papel, Libro, Revista* published articles such as “El arte de vender libros” and “Base científica de la decoración de vidrieras” in their June 1942 issue and dedicated an entire section to the “Feria del libro” in their May 1943 issue, which also includes images of each publishing firm’s booth such as that of Emecé Editores:



**Figure 57:** Emecé Editores model storefront at the first “Feria del libro argentino”

[Source: *Papel, libro, revista* 14-15 (1943): 521]

In light of the fact that there were advertisements and other sections dedicated to Emecé Editores, such as a detailed description of its funds and the *type* of company it was, we can venture to say that this firm must have been not only aware of this periodical, but also a reader of its contents.

In fact, according to Leandro de Sagastizábal, one of the key factors that set Emecé Editores apart from other Argentine publishing firms was their method of promotion (and awareness of the importance of promotion), which seems to suggest a possible engagement with the articles published in *Papel, Libro, Revista*:

La empresa daba a conocer periódicamente, mediante folletos, otros aspectos: comerciales, promocionales, de capacitación del personal. Muy lejos de la improvisación que caracterizaba el trabajo del libro en esos días, proponía desde pautas de consumo, como, por ejemplo, la fabricación y promoción – verdadero anticipo del actual ‘merchandising’ – de un mueble-biblioteca, hasta un estilo determinado de publicidad y difusión destinado a acrecentar la [*sic*] ventas: descripción de la [*sic*] virtudes de sus productos, elogio de su calidad y precio, y resumen de las acciones futuras de la editorial, a modo de adelanto. (85-6)<sup>351</sup>

We see this strong sense of promotion that verges on our current understanding of marketing (or merchandizing, as Sagastizábal calls it) when we consider the fact that each of Emecé’s previously mentioned catalogues were available (and intended) for consumers. That is to say, in the initial pages of each volume of their *Catálogo General Perpetuo* this publishing house made

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<sup>351</sup> In terms of the “mueble-biblioteca” mentioned by Sagastizábal, he cites from an original Emecé flyer that advertises for shelves and other furniture that they have available to interested clients after they have purchased their books.

an effort to reserve a few lines that were aimed directly at potential buyers. In addition, at the close of each volume these same readers could find specific information about how to go about purchasing materials from Emecé.<sup>352</sup>

Having detailed the *type* of works that Emecé Editores crafted for their readers, I can now move on to describe the particular collections that contain Borges's (framing) contributions, in the form of prologues or "notas preliminares." Unlike his work for the Editorial Sur, which consisted exclusively of translations and original creative fictions, Borges mainly provided Emecé Editores with prologues for a number of books in their different collections, which seems to suggest that these works were intended for quite a different public. In light of the fact that many aspects of this dissertation develop from a chronological scope, I will move through Borges's work for each of these collections in the same fashion. The earliest collection that Borges contributes to is the "Cuadernos de la Quimera" series. Readers will recall from Chapter Three that this series was directed by Eduardo Mallea and, unlike virtually any other collection put out by Emecé, was dedicated to the lesser-studied form of the novella, which was longer than a short story and shorter than a novel. As we saw in this earlier chapter, the writers whose work appeared throughout this particular collection can be linked to Borges's column in *El Hogar* as well as the literary journal *Destiempo* that Borges founded and edited with Bioy Casares. Along with these connections, the authors published in "Cuadernos de la quimera" were more often than not commercial successes in other countries (mainly Europe) and, as a result, more likely to

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<sup>352</sup> We also learn from the magazine *Papel, Libro, Revista* (1943) that Emecé Editores had great successes in their first five years and were able to "[transformarse] en sociedad anónima... con capital autorizado de \$ 1.000.000" (407).

sell well in Argentina if they were promoted adequately.<sup>353</sup> Aside from Emecé's personal methods of promotion through their catalogues and connections with various booksellers, another key factor to consider when discussing the "Cuadernos de la quimera" series, in addition to several other collections produced by this publishing firm, is the central role of its director, Eduardo Mallea.

In addition to being a well-known writer, whose works were published with various firms including the Editorial Sur, and a literary critic, Mallea was also director of *La Nación*'s literary supplement from 1931 until 1955. This position allowed Mallea to "[ejercer] una influencia decisiva en la literatura argentina y [contribuir] a moldear el gusto del público," which echoes much of what I argue are the effects of Borges's review column for *El Hogar* on the Argentine populace.<sup>354</sup> When we catch a glimpse of some of the names of the many invited foreign contributors, as well as the regular Argentine writers, that Mallea chose to fill the pages of his literary supplements, readers should not be surprised to find that many of these individuals were the same writers published through the pages of Victoria Ocampo's literary journal *Sur* and her publishing house of the same name. A short list of some of these usual suspects includes the following: André Gide, Aldous Huxley, Pierre Drieu la Rochelle, Jean Cocteau, Jules Supervielle, Hermann von Keyserling, José Ortega y Gasset, Ramón Gómez de la Serna, Gregorio Marañón, Jorge Luis Borges, Adolfo Bioy Casares, Silvina Ocampo, and José Bianco. None of these names requires a supplementary introduction and virtually all of them have at least one work published with the Editorial Sur during this same period, which speaks to the high

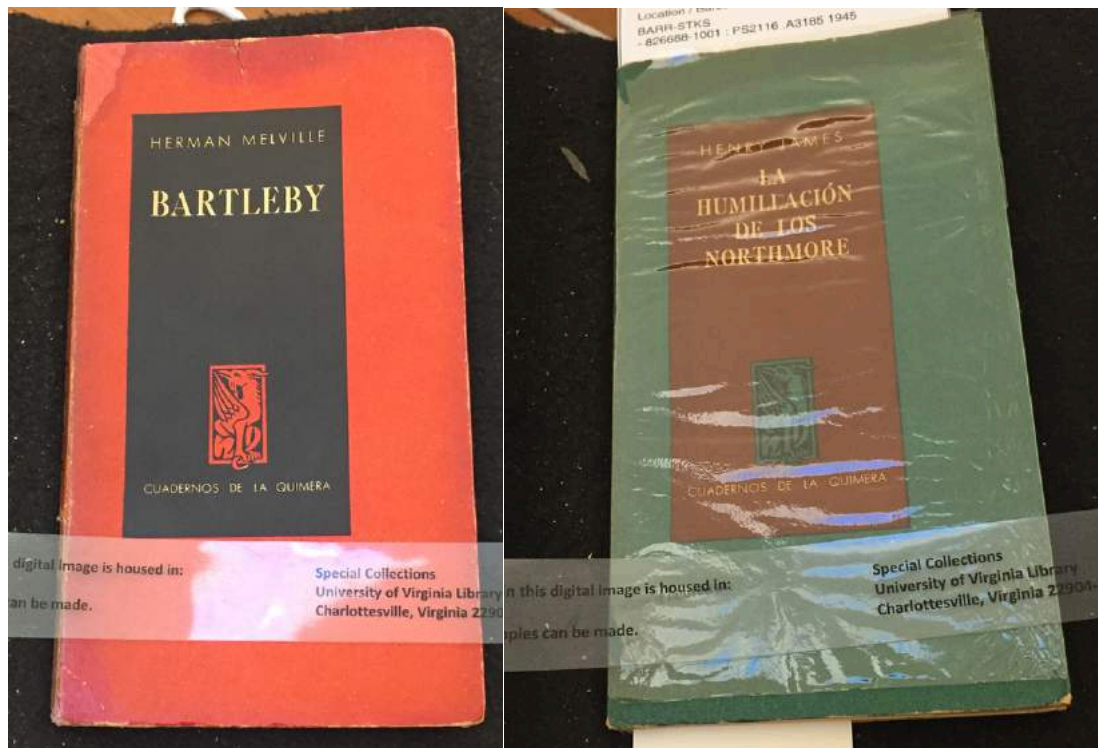
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<sup>353</sup> See Chapter Three, Collaboration and a Narrowing of Focus (1936-1946): *El Hogar*, *La Nación*, *Destiempo*, *Sur*, pp. 141-2.

<sup>354</sup> <http://www.lanacion.com.ar/517653-el-domingo-se-recordara-a-eduardo-mallea>

impact of elite circles, literary connections, and the interconnectedness of the book industry in Argentina.

In terms of their physical features, each volume in the “Cuadernos de la quimera” series is notably smaller and thinner in size than a traditional book, which reflects the fact that the defining characteristic of all of these works is their shorter length. In fact, these works more resemble a pamphlet or booklet that might have been distributed free of cost rather than a book. The cover of each work has a rectangle, in a different color than the remainder of the cover, with the author’s name, the title of the work, and the name of the series (printed in a crème color) along with the emblem of the series, a chimera, printed in a smaller rectangle in the same color as the larger portions of the cover:



**Figure 58:** Herman Melville, *Bartleby* (Emecé Editores, 1943); Henry James, *La humillación de los Northmore* (Emecé Editores, 1945)

[Source: Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia]

In an effort to distinguish the titles of these works, Emecé Editores (and possibly Eduardo Mallea) has chosen an old-style serif typeface, much resembling Caslon, for these parts of the cover, while the author's names and the name of the series in a small-caps sans serif typeface. While the specific choice of the mythological figure of the chimera is unknown, its selection might possibly allude to the sundry mix of works that form the "Cuadernos de la quimera" that parallels the unique composition of this creature, which is traditionally described as having the head of a lion, the body of a goat, and the tail of a serpent.

As I mentioned in chapter four, Borges played a part in the production of two works in the "Cuadernos de la quimera" series. Herman Melville's *Bartleby* (1943), which was both translated and prologued by Borges, appeared as the first title in the collection. From the opening words of his prologue, we can easily see that the books that comprise this collection are intended for readers who might not be well versed in Melville's oeuvre. That is to say, Borges spends a great deal of time chronicling the importance of his *Moby Dick* and all of the criticism that this work has received over the years, which would be commonplace for a reader who was familiar with Melville's writings, especially when we consider the fact that this monumental work was first published in 1851 and most likely available at English-language bookstores in Buenos Aires such as Mackern's.<sup>355</sup> In addition, Borges ends this introductory piece with a quick survey of the reception of Melville in which he tellingly cites his beloved eleventh edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*: "La grandeza de Melville es sustantiva, pero su Gloria es nueva. Melville murió en 1891; a los veinte años de su muerte la undécima edición de la *Encyclopaedia Britannica* lo considera un mero cronista de la vida marítima" (12). The only other work in this collection that

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<sup>355</sup> See Chapter One for more details on Mackern's and other bookstores in Buenos Aires that specialized in books published in certain languages including English and German.



contains a prologue by Borges is Henry James's *La humillación de los Northmore* (1945). Here the style has been altered slightly from that of Melville's *Bartleby* and much more resembles an extended version of the short biographies that Borges and Bioy Casares composed for *Los mejores cuentos policiales*. More specifically, one might argue that Borges is swiftly approaching the tone and technique of an encyclopedia entry. Thus, readers can easily learn about the life, education, and various accomplishments of Henry James, while also perusing any of the cited critical works for further reading.

Another Emecé series directed by Eduardo Mallea was "El Navío," which is described in Emecé's *Catálogo general perpetuo* as a "Colección de Grandes Obras Continentales" (emphasis mine). Thus, the name of an *American* author, in the broadest sense, can be expected to adorn each cover in this series, which accounts for following unique combination of individuals: Domingo F. Sarmiento, Herman Melville, Henry David Thoreau, General José María Paz, Mark Twain, Walt Whitman, Thomas Wolfe, Lidia Besouchet, and José Lins do Rego. What is more, the specific emblem of the collection, an uppercase "N" in a boat on the water, also speaks to the historical origins of the Americas:

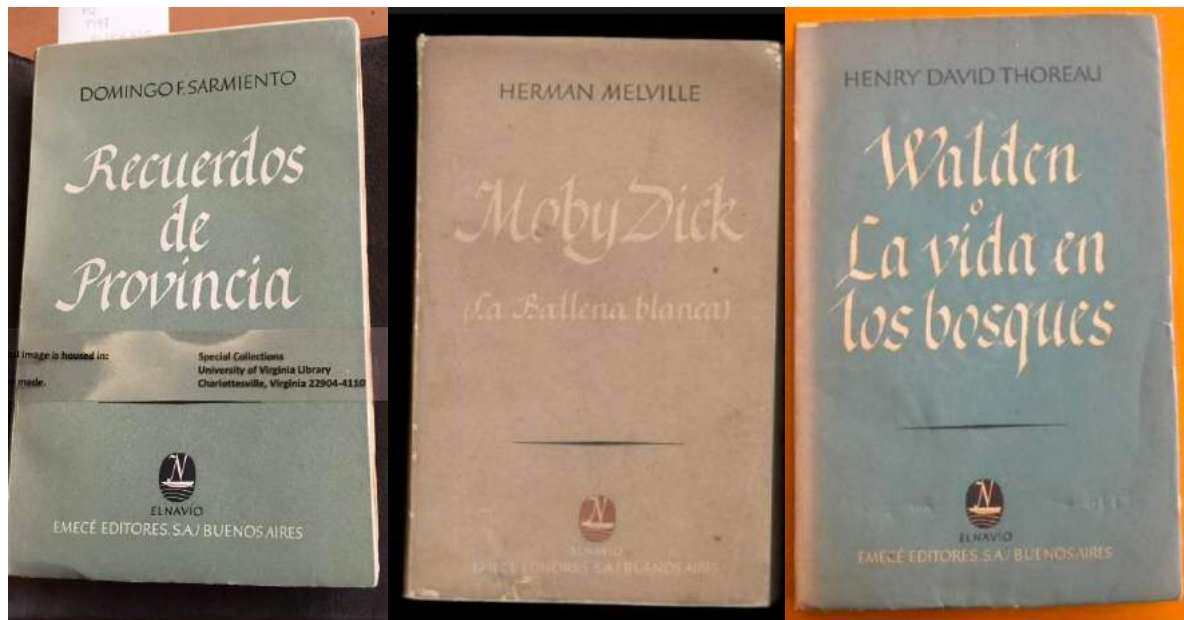


**Figure 59: Logo for Emecé Editores's Collection "El Navío"**

[Source: Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia]



Echoing what we saw with the “Cuadernos de la quimera” series, the first volume in Emecé’s “El Navío,” Domingo F. Sarmiento’s *Recuerdos de provincia* (1944), presents readers with a prologue by none other than Jorge Luis Borges. Even though this commonality might seem a mere coincidence, I believe it points to an intricate web of connections among the elite circles of writers in Buenos Aires that would, more often than not, control the framing and presentation of texts for the entire Argentine reading public.<sup>356</sup> Turning to the book in question, readers are struck almost immediately by the unique typographic details that characterize the collection as a whole:



**Figure 60:** Domingo F. Sarmiento, *Recuerdos de la Provincia* (Emecé Editores, 1944), Herman Melville, *Moby Dick* (Emecé Editores, 1944), Henry David Thoreau, *Walden, La vida en los bosques* (Emecé Editores, 1945)

[Source: Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia]

In contrast to the transitional serif typefaces found on the covers of the “Cuadernos de la quimera” series, Emecé’s “El Navío” utilizes more lyrical and flowing typography that is

<sup>356</sup> This idea is supported further by the fact that Borges was also chosen to provide the prologue (and translation) of Kafka’s *La metamorfosis* as the *first* work in the Editorial Losada’s “Pajarita de papel” series, as we shall see in the next section.

reminiscent of many old-style serif typefaces that draw on the humble origins of typography: a subtle imitation of calligraphic forms. In light of the fact that this particular series contains some of the most important (literary) works in the history of the *Americas*, the use of such a typeface, which recalls the format and feel of many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century documents, not to mention the entire manuscript tradition, is fitting. That is to say, the covers in this collection highlight the artistry of Emecé and their constant striving to link form and content. What is more, from the colophon for *Recuerdos de provincia* we learn that these works were issued in *two* distinct forms: a regular edition and a small luxury edition (of forty seven copies) that was numbered, printed on Conqueror paper, and bound by the famous French binder, Julien Leprêtre.

Borges's prologue that opens Emecé's edition of Sarmiento's *Recuerdos de provincia* is much more theoretical and abstract in comparison with the detail-oriented examples from the "Cuadernos de la quimera" series that immediately home in on the writer in question. Thus, Borges begins with a rumination on the art of literary analysis before placing the work of Sarmiento into one of his pre-established categories: "Otros, aún más misteriosos, no son analíticamente justificables... A esa categoría de escritores que no puede explicar la mera razón, pertenece nuestro Sarmiento" (9). In essence, according to Borges, Sarmiento's prose is extremely complex even though it might appear quite simple alongside that of writers such as Lugones. That being said, the importance of this work resides in the fact that Sarmiento's critiques of society and of its many tyrannies continue to resonate with Argentine (contemporary) history. Moreover, Borges stresses the changing viewpoint toward this work (and, perhaps, other contemporaneous books) that naturally occurs when each new generation reads it. Generally speaking, in this prologue we see a marked shift from chronicling the entire

*life* and times of an author to that of focusing almost entirely on the specific work at hand, both in theoretical as well as material terms.

Even though Eduardo Mallea's "Cuadernos de la quimera" and "El Navío" series are important for an analysis of the publishing trends as well as the depth and breadth of Emecé Editores's production, their "Biblioteca Emecé" encapsulates their all-encompassing reach and goals. Divided into twelve unique categories by subject (and color), bringing to mind many of Penguin's editions, the "Biblioteca Emecé" is, without doubt, one of Emecé Editores crowning achievements.<sup>357</sup> According to their *Catálogo general perpetuo*, "esta biblioteca... comprenderá las más grandes obras de la cultura universal en sus diversos órdenes." This collection will not solely be for entertainment or leisure, but rather is an entire "orientación de cultura" and, as a result, will have something of a focus on "los clásicos de la literatura universal, antigua y moderna, y las obras maestras de historia o de crítica en los diversos órdenes del conocimiento." To give readers a better idea of the breadth of this collection, consider the themes of each section:

I. Biografías y memorias; Epistolarios y oratoria
II. Ciencias
III. Poesía y Teatro
IV. Ensayo y Crítica
V. Ficción (novela y cuento)
VI. Filosofía y religión

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<sup>357</sup> What is more, this is one of the few collections that presented its books in a hardcover format with dust jackets that corresponded in color to the specific subject of the work.

VII. Clásicos castellanos
VIII. Clásicos griegos y latinos
IX. Viajes y exploraciones
X. Historia y arqueología
XI. Referencias y varios
XII. Clásicos de la juventud

Over the two years 1945 and 1946 Borges wrote four prologues for four distinct works in this collection, each of which speak to his personal (literary) interests: William James's *Pragmatismo* (1945 – Section VI.); Thomas Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus* (1945 – Section IV.)<sup>358</sup>; Francis Bret Harte's *Bocetos californianos* (1946 – Section V.); and Miguel de Cervantes's *Novelas ejemplares* (1946 – Section VII.). In light of the fact that these works form part of an entire library that purports to educate interested parties on the most important literatures of the world, it should come as no surprise that each short description of the work in Emecé *Catálogo general perpetuo* contains not only a short biographical note on the author, but also immediately homes in on the work contained in that specific volume. Borges's prologues for several of the works in the "Biblioteca Emecé de Obras Universales" are not this scripted. For instance, his prologue to Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus* focuses on the key role of idealism for this book and then proceeds to give a short synopsis of its central arguments, concluding, powerfully, that "No sé de un libro

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<sup>358</sup> Borges provided a prologue for a different work by Thomas Carlyle, *De los héroes*, for the publishing house W. M. Jackson in 1949 (Ralph Waldo Emerson's *Hombres representativos* was also prologued by Borges for W. M. Jackson and tends to appear alongside Carlyle's work). Even though this work falls within the general scope of my project, I have chosen to not include materials published by W. M. Jackson for reasons of space.

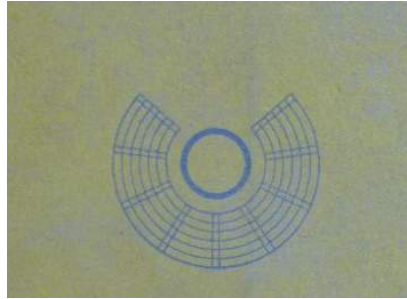
más ardido y volcánico, más trabajado por la desolación, que *Sartor Resartus*” (33).<sup>359</sup> In contrast, his prologue for Francis Bret Harte’s *Bocetos californianos* much resembles many of the synthetic biographies that he wrote for *El Hogar* during the 1930s. More specifically, we see an interest in describing the author’s life, his upbringing, and how he and his work fit into more canonical trends in world literature, particularly that of the Americas.

In essence, the general trend that we can observe, with regard to Borges’s prologues for the “Biblioteca Emecé,” is that like types of writings go with like types of writings. In other words, when writing about works that fall into this library’s category of “Ensayo y crítica,” such as Carlyle’s *Sartor Resartus*, Borges’s prologues read like one of the essays out of his *Discusión* (1932) or the later *Otras inquisiciones* (1952) that tend to be more philosophical. On the other hand, prologues for works from their section of “Ficción (novela y cuento),” like Francis Harte’s *Bocetos californianos*, are akin to his many literary reviews published in *El Hogar*, *La Nación*, or even the literary journal *Sur*. Therefore, with regard to this specific collection, it appears that there is not always a clear line of division between an essay or short story by Borges and one of his prologues for another author’s work, which makes the question of framing (and promotional) all the more intriguing.

Emecé’s “Teatro del mundo” collection contains *contemporary* works of theatre, as the title suggests, by playwrights such as T. S. Eliot, Paul Claudel, Franz Werfel, Jean Cocteau, and Henry de Montherlant. As with the other Emecé collections discussed thus far, the “Teatro del mundo” serie has a unique emblem relating to the subject of its works, the bird’s eye view of a semicircular amphitheater:

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<sup>359</sup> Cited in Borges’s *Prólogos con un prólogo de prólogos* (1975).



**Figure 61:** Logo for Emecé Editores's Collection "Teatro del mundo"

[Source: Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia]

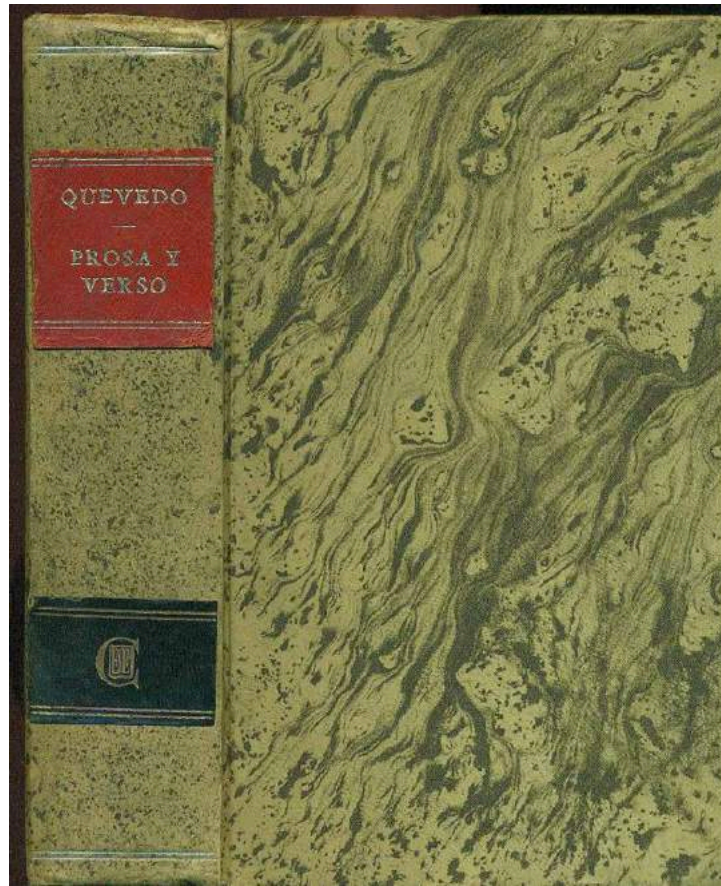
Even though the genre of this collection differs from those discussed above (with the exception of the "Biblioteca Emecé" that has its own theater section), Borges prologue for Werfel's *Juaréz y Maximiliano* much resembles another one of his critical essays fused with a sort of literary review. In particular, we see Borges immediately emphasizing one of his favorite themes at the start of this prologue: "En su clamoroso decurso, Werfel renueva un tema predilecto de las neurosis, de las literaturas y de los mitos: el doble, el *doppelgaenger*" (7).

Turning to the last of Emecé's collections for which Borges wrote a prologue, their "Clásicos Emecé," there is a certain level of similarity between the description and goals of *this* series in comparison with their "Biblioteca Emecé": "Las obras más ilustres y fundamentales de la cultura clásica."<sup>360</sup> That being said, one of the distinguishing features of the "Clásicos Emecé" collection is their *physical* form that imitates many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century bindings. More specifically, their hardcover bindings mimic a marbled calf skin, the unique emblem of the collection is printed in gold on a navy leather piece attached to the spine, the title of the work is printed in gold on a red leather piece attached to the spine, and the endpapers are marbled as

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<sup>360</sup> From Emecé's *Catálogo general perpetuo*.

well.<sup>361</sup> Consider, for instance, Quevedo's *Prosa y verso*, for which Borges wrote the original prologue in 1948.<sup>362</sup>



In comparison with his other prologues for Emecé's works, this particular text is much lengthier, which is due to the fact that Borges not only introduces the importance of the figure of Quevedo, but also describes his prose and poetry in great detail, going so far as to include a few poetic excerpts with their accompanying textual analysis. Thus, this prologue comes close to something

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<sup>361</sup> Compare this binding with that of the "Biblioteca de Autores Españoles":  
<http://www.calibanbooks.com/pictures/medium/z05761.jpg>.

<sup>362</sup> It should also be noted that Borges and Bioy Casares picked the selections and wrote all of the notes included in the work as well.

that we might find in the opening pages of a Cátedra edition for its more erudite and scholarly nature.

Along with all of the various prologues that Borges wrote for Emecé Editores (fourteen in total between the years of 1943 and 1951),<sup>363</sup> he also published a collection of original short stories in 1951: *La muerte y la brújula*. While this collection is certainly important for the history of Emecé and Borges's relationship with this specific publishing house, its contents are in no way novel. That is to say, the selection of short stories that makes up *La muerte y la brújula* is taken entirely from two previously published collections, *Ficciones* (Sur, 1944) and *El Aleph* (Losada, 1949), and much like the latter of the two, it draws its name from the last piece included in the collection.<sup>364</sup> One of the aspects that sets this specific edition apart from any of the previously published collections, aside from its price, is the elaborate color illustration by F. Schonbach that fills virtually all of the cover.<sup>365</sup>

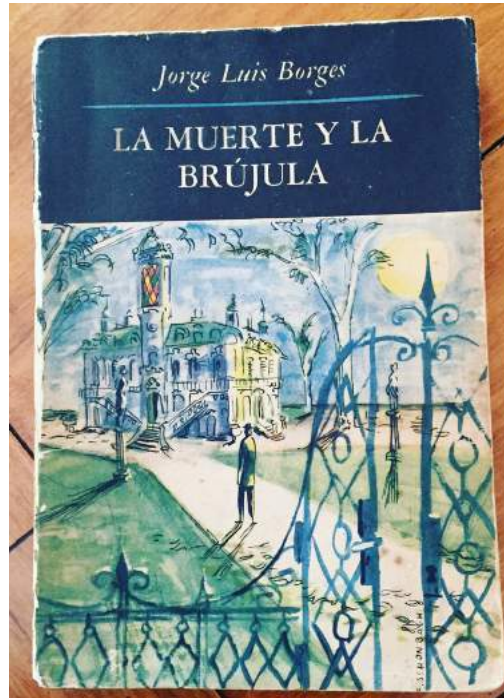
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<sup>363</sup> This number does *not* include his brief biographical introductions to the various works he and Bioy Casares selected for Emecé's "Séptimo Círculo" series.

<sup>364</sup> Moreover, several of these short stories appeared earlier in various literary journals or Argentine periodicals.

<sup>365</sup> The first edition of *Ficciones* cost \$4 pesos, the first edition of *El Aleph* cost \$7 pesos, while the first edition of *La muerte y la brújula* cost \$14 pesos.





**Figure 62:** Jorge Luis Borges, *La muerte y la brújula* (Emecé Editores, 1951)

[Source: Personal Collection]

While virtually all of the works discussed up to this point that were produced by Emecé Editores lacked such a level of detail, it is important to note that this specific publishing house was known for the quality and the diversity of their products.<sup>366</sup> It is also quite possible that Emecé wished to distance their product from those of their competition and, as a result, ensured that their edition of Borges's short stories was unique and eye-catching.

The extremely wide net that Emecé Editores casts over the Argentine book market is remarkable. A quiet perusal of their *Catálogo general perpetuo* reveals the existence of a total of twenty-five different collections or series of works, each focused on a specific aspect of the written word. Ranging from scientific manuals to contemporary crime novels, Emecé's output is

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<sup>366</sup> See, for instance, their elaborate edition of *Don Quijote* (1956), illustrated by Salvador Dalí and Carlos Alonso, or their entire collection dedicated to architecture and the arts.

virtually exhaustive and points not only to their immediate saturation of the market from an early moment, but also their uncanny ability to *maintain* this key position for many, many years. What is more, Borges played a more behind-the-scenes role at the publishing house in the 1940s, editing collections and writing prologues, and would not publish his *own* work with them until 1951, which is the very moment that starts the process of him becoming an exclusive author of Emecé.

### *Editorial Losada*

Gonzalo Losada, a Spanish exile, founded the Editorial Losada in Buenos Aires on August 18, 1938. Much like Emecé Editores and a number of other publishing firms in Buenos Aires that emerged in the 1930s and early 1940s, Losada had a great deal of experience in the Spanish publishing world. More specifically, he had worked at a paper mill in Spain, which might account for his future interests in the physical form and composition of the book. When he arrived in Argentina, he started working as a director for Espasa-Calpe's branch in Buenos Aires and soon after came up with the idea for their "Colección Austral," which was "el primer intento de libros de bolsillo – los pockets – realizado en tierras sudamericanas," thus showing his understanding of book market needs and novelties.<sup>367</sup> Following the Spanish Civil War, Espasa-Calpe made their strong support of Franco very known through imposing certain kinds of censorship and, as a result, Losada, along with some of his colleagues at Espasa-Calpe, including Guillermo de Torre, who was in charge of their "Colección Austral," banded together to start a new publishing house: "En 1938, ejecutivos de la editorial española viajaron a Argentina y

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<sup>367</sup> <http://www.magicasruinas.com.ar/revistero/argentina/nace-editorial-losada.htm>.

pusieron duras condiciones a Losada, entre ellas la prohibición de editar a autores argentinos y un férreo control muy parecido a la censura.”<sup>368</sup> Along with Gonzalo Losada and Guillermo de Torre, Attilio Rossi, Amado Alonso, and Pedro Henríquez Ureña also joined forces to form the original members of the Editorial Losada.<sup>369</sup> What is more, over the course of the years, a number of exiled Spaniards not only worked at this publishing house, but also had their writings published by this firm: “Los editores de la Argentina que habían llegado a estas tierras desde España, volvían allí a través de los libros que aquí editaban” (Sagastizábal 119).<sup>370</sup> In fact, many of the Spanish works that the Editorial Losada published during the 1930s and the 1940s were those that had been banned or censored in Spain, especially those of Federico García Lorca. Thus, one of the defining characteristics of Gonzalo Losada, and of the publishing house that bears his name, is that of independence.

Having worked at a paper mill in his younger years, Losada always showed a certain affinity for the material aspects of his book, which explains his tendency to “[conservar] en su escritorio instrumentos para medir la calidad y el gramaje del papel” (Sagastizábal 111). Moreover, the fact that Attilio Rossi was the design director for many of the works that the Editorial Losada produced during this time also speaks to their high aesthetic qualities.<sup>371</sup> This

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<sup>368</sup> [http://elpais.com/diario/2002/04/13/cultura/1018648803\\_850215.html](http://elpais.com/diario/2002/04/13/cultura/1018648803_850215.html).

<sup>369</sup> The other initial members were Francisco Romero, Lorenzo Luzuriaga, Teodoro Becú, and Felipe Jiménez de Asúa. Losada also worked to establish a good working relationship with Juan López and his print shop.

<sup>370</sup> In particular, the works of Alberti, Lorca, and Aleixandre all appeared in Buenos Aires with the imprint of the Editorial Losada.

<sup>371</sup> The overlap in quality among certain editions produced by the Editoria Losada, the Editorial Sur, and Emecé Editores can be explained by the fact that Attilio Rossi was not only the artistic director for the Editorial Losada, but also for the Imprenta López, which printed the large majority of the works of all three firms: “Attilio Rossi, Director artístico de la Editorial Losada, S. A. y de la Imprenta López” (“Cocktail-Party, celebrando la aparición de ‘Papel, Libro-Revista’,” *Papel, Libro, Revista* 2 (1942): 52).

particular interest comes out most in his writings for the previously mentioned journal *Papel, Libro, Revista*, most notably his piece entitled “Los problemas del libro” in which he cites the shortage of paper and other socio-cultural problems preventing the diffusion of the book:

Creo que los grandes obstáculos que los editores tendremos que salvar habrán de influir mucho en la calidad de los libros pues no será posible invertir tiempo y materiales preciosos en la publicación de obras innecesarias o de mediana calidad, de suerte, que lo que por una parte pierda el libro en su presentación material al tener que emplear para su confección papel y telas inferiores tanto por la carencia de clases finas como para poder mantener precios razonables, se ganará con la mejor calidad literaria, científica, etc., del conjunto de la producción editorial.

(13)

Losada builds off these ideas a few years later and advocates for the professionalization of editors in light of the fact that “ser editor en nuestro tiempo es sumamente difícil, pues exige amor al libro, una cultura general amplia y siempre ágil y despierta, conocimientos industriales y comerciales, gran probidad y un sentido de responsabilidad a toda prueba” (cited in Sagastizábal 114). These deep-seated concerns for the entire book shine through in virtually all of the Editorial Losada’s published works.

Similar to his contributions to the Editorial Sur, Borges provided the Editorial Losada with not only translations and prologues, but also two *original* works. While Guillermo de Torre’s central role in the foundation and day-to-day operations of the Editorial Losada might explain the noticeable presence of Borges, who was, after all, Guillermo’s brother-in-law, it seems highly unlikely that this correlation is the *only* reason that the Editorial Losada published the Argentine writer’s prologues, translations, and original pieces. In terms of the specifics of

Borges's contributions, I will focus almost entirely on his prologues and original writings since the only work he translated for the Editorial Losada, Franz Kafka's *La metamorfosis* (1938), is the first book in the "Pajarita de papel" series, directed by Guillermo de Torre, which I discussed at length in chapter three.<sup>372</sup> What is more, scholars have contested the authenticity of this translation in recent years and, as a result, I will only (briefly) discuss the prologue that opens the work in conjunction with Borges's other prologues written for the Editorial Losada.<sup>373</sup> Echoing the prologues for the "Biblioteca Emecé," the opening text for Kafka's *La metamorfosis* resembles much of the style that Borges adopted for his many literary reviews throughout the 1930s. In particular, we find a snapshot of Kafka's life and upbringing that is followed almost immediately by the two central themes in all of his works: "La subordinación es la primera de los dos; el infinito, la segunda" (8). From here Borges moves through a few concrete examples from Kafka's writings then briefly describes a few critical approaches to his works and the lasting effects of his prose. Sprinkled throughout this prologue are references to some of Borges's favorite philosophical topics, including Zeno's paradox, which is the subject of his early essay, "La paradoja de Aquiles y la tortuga." Such allusions elevate the prologue and equate it more with any one of the writer's critical essays that might be published alongside "La paradoja de

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<sup>372</sup> This work was republished a few years later as part of a *different* collection for the Editorial Losada, their "Biblioteca Clásica y Contemporánea," which speaks to the success of this work with readers. Moreover, its republication also illustrates possible promotional strategies since the "Pajarita de papel" series would have been slightly more expensive given their hardback covers, illustrated endpapers, and decorative typographic ornaments throughout.

<sup>373</sup> For instance, in an interview with Fernando Sorrentino, collected in *Seven Conversations with Jorge Luis Borges*, Borges notes the following: "I'm not the author of the translation of [Kafka's *The Metamorphosis*]. A proof of this – in addition to my word – is that I know something about German... That translation has to be – I have some impression because of a few turns of phrase – the work of some Spaniard. What I did translate were the other stories by Kafka which are in the same volume published by the Editorial Losada" (69).

Aquiles y la tortuga,” thus reinforcing the claim that the prologue, for Borges, might take on various forms or shapes but, all in all, it is just another form of *writing*.

Borges’s prologues for works published with the Editorial Losada are quite different from those that he wrote for the Emecé Editores. More precisely, the two prologues he writes are for works written by his close friends (i.e. other than Kafka), rather than for works by foreign (or native) authors that he might have never met, yet whose writings have been influential or important for him: Adolfo Bioy Casares’s *La invención de Morel* (1940) and Attilio Rossi’s *Buenos Aires en tinta china* (1951).<sup>374</sup> The intimate friendship between Borges and Bioy Casares, more commonly referred to as “Biorges,” has been well established (especially in Chapters Three and Four) by this point and needs no further elaboration. Moreover, we will return to the unique editorial fruits of this particular friendship in Chapter Six with a discussion of their *own* publishing houses.

Attilio Rossi, an Italian exile who lived in Argentina for nearly twenty years (1935-1950), is most known for his artistic affinities. Both a painter and a designer, he first worked for Espasa-Calpe in Buenos Aires as their graphic designer, creating their logo for the “Colección Austral,” and, with Losada and de Torre, helped start the Editorial Losada, for which he also designed the logo. The magazine *Papel, Libro, Revista*, in their “Quién es quién” section, points out that “su trabajo en la editorial Espasa-Calpe marca el comienzo de una nueva ruta para la industria editorial argentina. En efecto, crea, con la Colección Austral, la posibilidad de hacer libros al alcance de todos. Rossi declara que si bien esta modalidad tenía ya su precedente – los Penguin Books – en la Argentina era nueva, pues no se había llegado a la industrialización del

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<sup>374</sup> Borges also contributed a critical essay, “Nota sobre ‘La tierra purpúrea,’” to the Editorial Losada’s “*Antología* de Guillermo E. Hudson” (1941), but since this piece is not an official prologue, I will not discuss it here.

libro” (727).<sup>375</sup> What is more, he ultimately hopes that his artistic tendencies will help distinguish the Argentine book from the North American and, furthermore, make it even greater than European book. The artistic talents of Rossi can easily be identified in Losada’s “Pajarita de papel” collection that we saw in Chapter Three. What is more, Attilio Rossi also contributed his expertise to Victoria Ocampo’s literary journal *Sur*, as Borges remembers in his letter to the artist in 1951: “¡Con que gusto recuerdo, memorias, de horas inquebrantables compartidas en SUR! Cuantas notas tuyas, sabias de equilibrio entre la amistad y el arte, que les era propia y de ellos, y cuántos le deban estar agradecidos por su dedicada crítica, que siempre buscaba enriquecer obra y autor.”<sup>376</sup> Thus, very similar to Borges’s *own* involvement with *Sur*, as well as many other publishing houses and literary journals during this time, Rossi was entrenched in all aspects of publishing, from editing to the ultimate design.<sup>377</sup> Most notable is his aspiration to create the “libro de máquina perfecto para leer” that would surpass both the North American and the European models.

Another common link between these two specific prologues that Borges wrote for the Editorial Losada is the fact that neither includes any biographical information on Bioy Casares nor Rossi. In light of the fact that Borges shared an intimate relationship with each of these intellectuals might account for such an absence. What is more, there is a greater level of praise for each work in these prologues, in comparison with what we saw in earlier prologues for

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<sup>375</sup> “Quién es quién. Attilio Rossi.” *Papel, Libro, Revista* 20 (1944): 727.

<sup>376</sup> This letter is part of the Jorge Luis Borges collection housed in the Special Collections library at the University of Virginia (MS 10155-ac).

<sup>377</sup> In their “Quién es quién” section from October 1944, the magazine *Papel, Libro, Revista* characterizes Rossi’s role with the literary journal *Sur* as their “crítico de arte,” which started upon his arrival in Argentina in 1935. What is more, this same piece notes his involvement in designing certain works for the Editorial Sur: “[Rossi] obtuvo... el primer premio del libro ilustrado con cuatro ilustraciones al libro de Eduardo Mallea, *La ciudad junto al río inmóvil*” (727).

Emecé Editores. Thus, in his opening text for *La invención de Morel*, which the Editorial Sur republished in 1948, Borges confidently describes this work as *perfect*: “He discutido con su autor los pormenores de su trama, la he releído; no me parece una imprecisión o una hipérbole calificarla de perfecta” (7). The main basis for such high regard stems from Bioy Casares’s ability to negate Borges’s claim, with great success, that the psychological novel is superior to a work of pure action. In addition, Borges lauds his dear friend for resuscitating the age-old concept akin to *déjà vu* that Saint Augustine first introduces: “Bástame declarar que Bioy renueva literariamente un concepto que San Agustín y Orígenes refutaron, que Louis Auguste Blanqui razonó y que dijo con música memorable Dante Gabriel Rossetti” (7). In other words, as Borges concludes at the close of his prologue, Bioy Casares has, with this work, brought back an old literary genre and, in the process, “[trasladó] a nuestra tierras y a nuestro idioma un género *nuevo*” (8, emphasis mine).

This same idea of resuscitation and novelty resonates throughout Borges’s prologue for Attilio Rossi’s *Buenos Aires en tinta china*: “En algún tiempo, el concepto de paisajes urbanos debe haber sido paradójico; no sé quién lo introdujo en las artes plásticas; fuera de algún ejercicio satírico... , su aparición en la literatura, que yo recuerde, no es anterior a Dickens... Este libro evidencia la felicidad con que Rossi cultiva tal género” (7). Much like his praises for Bioy Casares’s prose, Borges celebrates the sheer artistry of Rossi’s drawings: “déjese de bobadas en que cambiar el proscenio por sus dibujos, que son por lo demás mejores que aquél.”<sup>378</sup> What is more, in this same letter we discover that Attilio himself had *asked* Borges to write the prologue to his book: “venga a mi vivienda sobre la calle Maipú 944. Allí me encontrará por la tarde y conversaremos sobre su prólogo... Lo haré con gusto y aceptaré sus

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<sup>378</sup> See note 370.



dibujos pues viene de un gran amigo y muy buena persona.”<sup>379</sup> Although it is difficult to discern whether or not the practice of asking a friend, or a well-known writer, to compose the prologue for a work would have been normal or routine in Argentina during this time, the close connection between Rossi and Borges, in addition to their continued involvement with publishing, is more than likely the cause.

In terms of the physical features of these works, there is a shift from what we saw with the Editorial Sur and Emecé Editores to include more hand-drawn illustrations on the covers. In light of the fact that Bioy Casares was very close to Borges, it is only fitting that his sister, Norah Borges de Torre, created the dust jacket and cover designs for *La invención de Morel*:

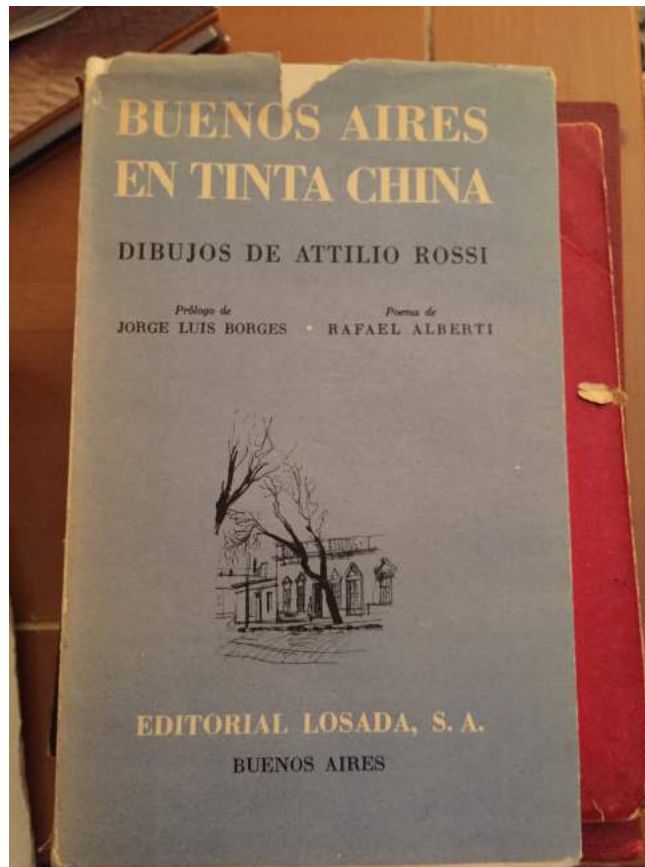


**Figure 63:** Adolfo Bioy Casares, *La invención de Morel* (Editorial Losada, 1940); bookjacket (left) and cover illustrations (right) by Norah Borges

[Source: Omar González, “La invención de Morel”: <http://notasomargonzalez.blogspot.com/2012/10/la-invencion-de-morel.html>]

<sup>379</sup> Ibid.

It should come as no surprise to readers that Atilio Rossi was responsible for the design and execution of his own cover illustration:



**Figure 64:** Atilio Rossi, *Buenos Aires en Tinta China* (Editorial Losada, 1951)

[Source: *Personal Collection*]

Even though both of these works are quite distinctive, with regard to their illustrations, the sheer *presence* of drawings that, in these two cases, relate to the content of their works, marks a new tendency in this particular sphere of Argentine publishing. This artistic element will permeate all of the works discussed here, including the original works by Borges, which makes the production of the Editorial Losada all the more unique.

Similar to Borges' personal publications with the Editorial Sur during the 1940s, the Argentine writer also brought out two original works with the Editorial Losada: *Poemas (1922-1943)* (1943) and *El Aleph* (1949). Forming part of their "Poetas de España y América" series, directed by Amado Alonso and Guillermo de Torre, Borges's *Poemas (1922-1943)* presented readers with a complete collection of virtually all of his published works of poetry to date. In light of the fact that many of Borges's early collections were very difficult to find, not to mention the fact that he frequently looked down on these earlier works, this new work was a unique opportunity for interested readers. Thus, along with a few new poems, *Poemas (1922-1943)* consisted of his *Fervor de Buenos Aires* (1923), *Luna de enfrente* (1925), and *Cuaderno San Martín* (1929). That being said, virtually all of the earlier collections found in the Editorial Losada's edition of *Poemas (1922-1943)* reflect Borges's common tendency to edit, emend, and delete. For instance, several poems have been eliminated from his *Fervor de Buenos Aires* (1923): "Música patria," "Ciudad," "Hallazgo," "Dictamen," "Alba desdibujada," "Llamarada," "Cercanías," and "Caña de ámbar." What is more, certain titles have been changed and much of the poetry itself has been edited and refined.<sup>380</sup>

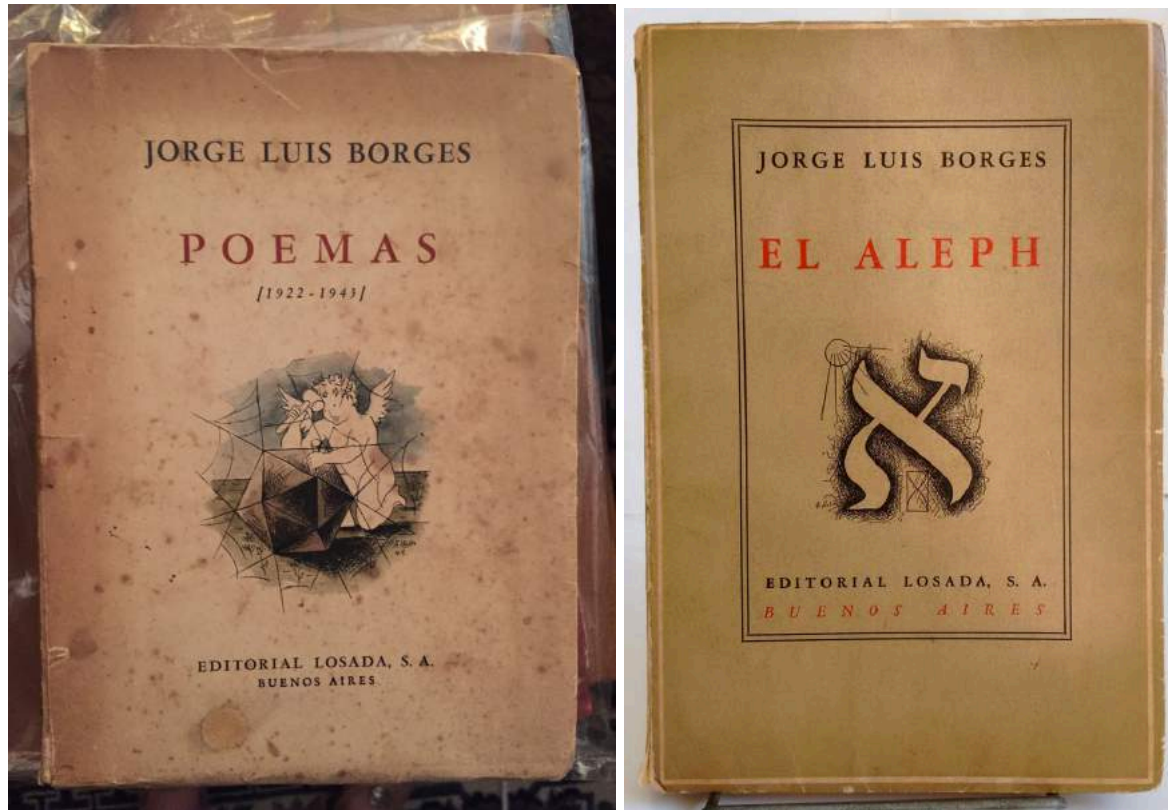
Alongside the novel contents of both *Poemas (1922-1943)* and *El Aleph* are the cover illustrations, both designed by Attilio Rossi.<sup>381</sup> As we saw with the two works that Borges prologued for the Editorial Losada, the inclusion of eye-catching cover illustrations set their publications apart from most other Argentine firms. In fact, Gonzalo Losada praises the positive effects that these designs had on their overall sales and reception, focusing on the specific series

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<sup>380</sup> See Hernaiz (2015) for more details on the specific editorial changes made to *Fervor de Buenos Aires* in the Editorial Losada edition.

<sup>381</sup> The second edition of *El Aleph* (1952) contains a more elaborate version of the design on the first (*not* by Rossi), but since this latter edition is outside the scope of my project, I will only discuss Rossi's illustration.

for which *El Aleph* forms a part: “La gran revolución que nuestra casa provocó en el medio editorial... fueron las tapas que Attilio Rossi dibujó para la colección Novelistas, de España y América.”<sup>382</sup> Compare the covers of the two works:



**Figure 65:** Jorge Luis Borges, *Poemas, 1922-1943* (Editorial Losada, 1943); Jorge Luis Borges, *El Aleph* (Editorial Losada, 1949)

[Source: Personal Collection and the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia]

<sup>382</sup> <http://www.magicasruinas.com.ar/revistero/argentina/nace-editorial-losada.htm>.



**Figure 66:** Jorge Luis Borges, *Poemas, 1922-1943* (Editorial Losada, 1943); Jorge Luis Borges, *El Aleph* (Editorial Losada, 1949)

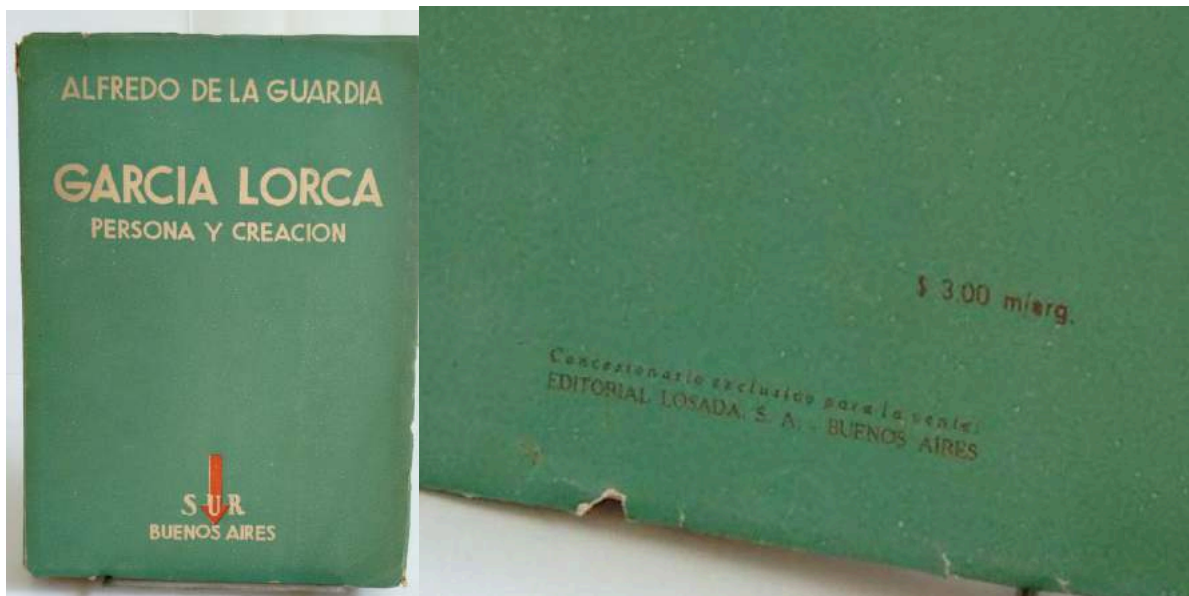
[Source: Personal Collection and the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia]

While the typefaces and the use of colors are quite similar, the images, in contrast, are very distinct, which speaks to the different topics of each work. Thus, the somewhat cryptic cherub figure depicted on the cover of *Poemas (1922-1943)*, who is seen in the process of chiseling away at a polygon in an open field and opaquely covered by a cobweb, might represent the almost unearthly experience of composing poetry. The illustration on the cover of *El Aleph* is much more straightforward since it is precisely the first letter of the Semitic writing system: the aleph. As a result, this image speaks to not only the collection as a whole, but also the last short story in the collection, “El Aleph,” where this figure represents not just a letter, but also a single point in the world where the protagonist (or any other person) can see the entirety of the universe all at once. In essence, both of these illustrations encapsulate key aspects of the works they adorn and, therefore, serve a purpose beyond simple visual appeal.

In addition to their striking use of illustrations and a general ambition to avoid censorship, the Editorial Losada also stands out among other publishing houses in the Argentine book market for being another exclusive distributor of the works of the Editorial Sur for a long



period of time.<sup>383</sup> The unique perspectives and experiences of the founding members of the Editorial Losada, especially those of Attilio Rossi and his desire to reinvent the Argentine book so that it would stand out from the types of works produced in the United States and throughout Europe, might explain the choice of this publishing house for the Editorial Sur's distribution. The physical evidence linking the two publishing houses can be found on the books themselves and throughout a number of the literary journal *Sur*'s advertisements for their publishing house's newest releases<sup>384</sup>:



**Figure 67:** Alfredo de la Guardia, *García Lorca, persona y creación* (Editorial Sur, 1941)

[Source: Personal Collection]

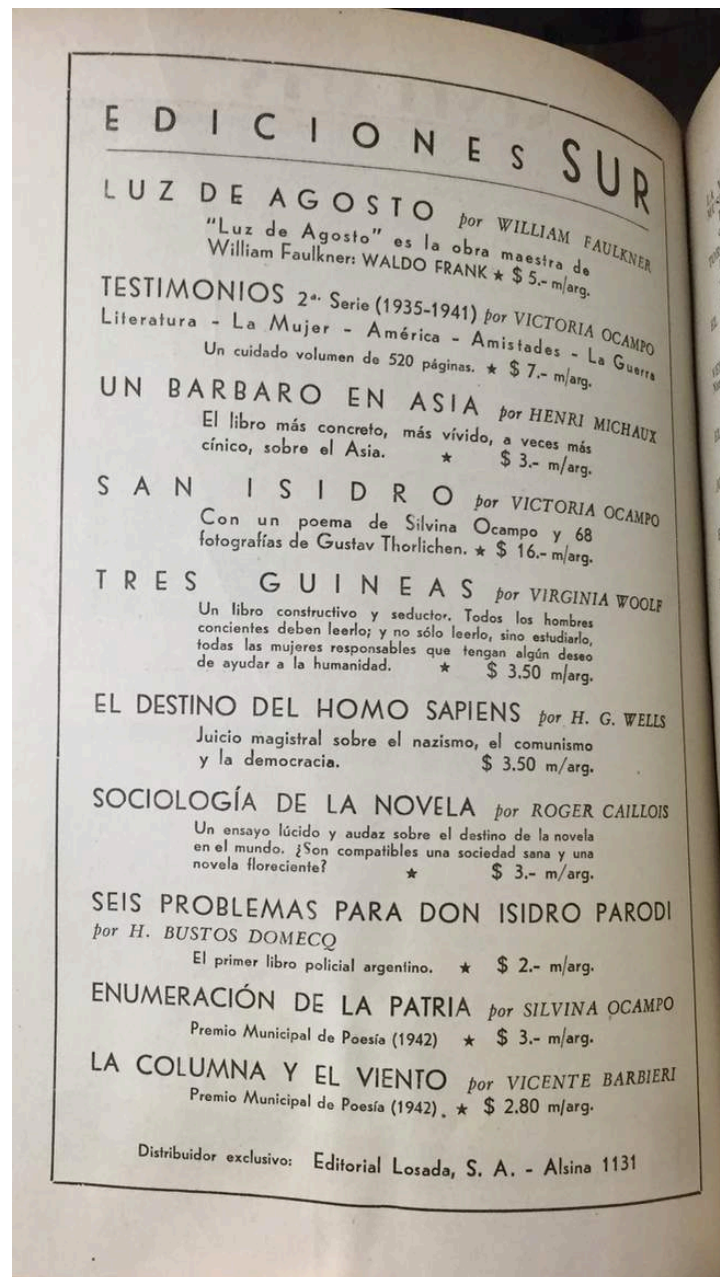
<sup>383</sup> Earlier in this chapter I discussed how the Editorial Sudamericana was the first publishing house to include works by the Editorial Sur in their catalogues.

<sup>384</sup> The following images are just a few examples of the Editorial Losada's relationship with the Editorial Sur. From these types of printed marks and advertisements, we can date the role of the Editorial Losada as the "concesionario exclusivo para la venta" for the Editorial Sur from as early as 1943 to as late as 1946.



**Figure 68:** Henri Michaux, *Un bárbaro en Asia* (Editorial Sur, 1941)

[Source: Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia]



**Figure 69:** Advertisements for the Editorial Sur in the literary journal *Sur*

[Source: *Literary journal Sur* 116 (1944)]

In light of the fact that the literary journal *Sur* was available to readers on a subscription basis, it seems peculiar that they would not use a similar system for the books produced by their publishing house. If the sole function of the Editorial Sur was to support the running costs of the literary magazine of the same name, why limit the avenues of distribution? What is more, did the



Editorial Losada make these works available to their readers at no extra charge to Victoria Ocampo or would she have had to pay for the space in the bookstores they would supply? All of these additional unanswered questions that crop up when analyzing the modes of distribution for many of the works produced by these elite Argentine publishing houses complicate matters and highlight the fact that this intricate web of friends, family, and acquaintances involved in the industry relied on specific modes of promotion for the ultimate circulation of their publications. In terms of the Editorial Losada and their central role in this network, we see the novel visual elements of their publications standing out from those of their competitors. What is more, the countless years of combined experience that their founding members share, both inside and outside of Argentina, suggest a deep-seated understanding of the ins and outs of the book industry. The combination of these two strengths, visual appeal and knowledge of the market, reinforce the Editorial Sur's logical choice of the Editorial Losada as their authorized distributor for a number of years.

### *Editorial Nova*

A common trend throughout the late 1930s and early 1940s in the Argentine publishing industry was the coming and going of employees from one firm to another. In particular, with the explosion of the book market during this time, editors and artists alike would often branch off from a previous publishing house to work at another or, even more frequently, start their *own* firm, as we saw with the Editorial Losada. Another such case is that of the Editorial Nova, founded in 1942 by two former employees of Emecé Editores, Luis Seoane and Arturo Cuadrado. Upon discovering the broad diversification of Emecé's publications and the marked shift from their original interest in the production and distribution of solely Galician works,

Seoane, a native of Buenos Aires, and Cuadrado, a native of Galicia, hoped that their Editorial Nova would “mantener viva la actividad cultural previa al estallido de la Guerra Civil existente en Galicia y en España.”<sup>385</sup> Even though Seoane was born in Buenos Aires, his parents were exiles from Galicia and, therefore, he spent much of his youth in La Coruña, which accounts for his avid interest in the preservation of Spanish culture as opposed to that of Argentina. Both men had a significant amount of experience in the publishing industry, Cuadrado having worked for a variety of firms and several newspapers throughout Spain and Seoane boasting experience as an editor, artist, and typographer, which allowed them to enter the Argentine market quite easily. In addition, they also gained invaluable experiences from their time at Emecé: “Seoane y Cuadrado se desempeñarán en diferentes tareas, desde la lectura previa y selección de obras, el trabajo directo con la imprenta, la corrección de pruebas, e incluso la distribución. Además, el propio Seoane se encarga de cuidar el diseño y la diagramación de los libros hasta 1942, y las ilustraciones de algunos de ellos” (Gerhardt 5). Along with these daily tasks, Seoane and Cuadrado were also responsible for the two main collections of Galician literature at Emecé: the “Colección Dorna” and the “Colección Hórreo.” More specifically, these two controlled virtually all aspects involved in the production and publication of works within these collections from the typographic design to the endpaper selection.

The fact that these two had worked previously for Emecé Editores explains certain overlaps between the two firms, such as the common use of the Imprenta López, who would be a founding *partner* of the Editorial Nova and responsible for printing every single work produced

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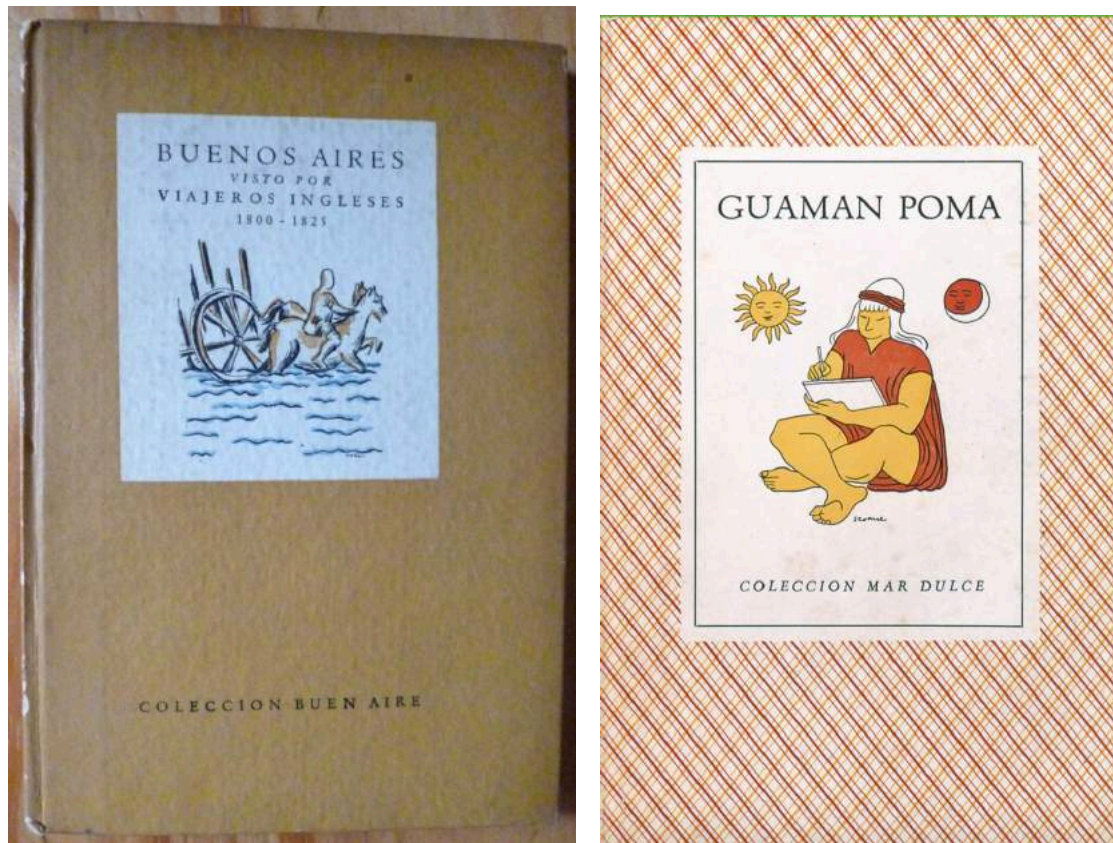
<sup>385</sup> <http://www.fundacionluisseoane.gal/fundacionls/es/agenda/luis-seoane-editor-nova-bos-aires-1942-1947>.

by this latter publishing house.<sup>386</sup> More striking is the level of similarity, both in terms of content and physical form, between Emecé Editores's "Colección Buen Aire" and the Editorial Nova's "Colección Mar Dulce," which should come to no surprise for readers since Seoane and Cuadrado were responsible for *both* collections.<sup>387</sup> Certain critics have outlined the uniting trait of a historic past, the "Colección Buen Aire" centers on that of Argentina, while the "Colección Mar Dulce" centers on that of America more broadly, which immediately establishes a central divide between the production of these two publishing houses. That being said, the visual similarities between these two collections have yet to be discussed. Consider the first work produced by Emecé's collection and the Editorial Nova's collection, respectively:

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<sup>386</sup> "Seoane y Cuadrado fundan en diciembre de 1942 la Editorial Nova, sello del que es parte también la Imprenta López con el 50%, mientras que la mitad restante se reparte en partes iguales entre los mencionados editores gallegos" (Gerhardt 7).

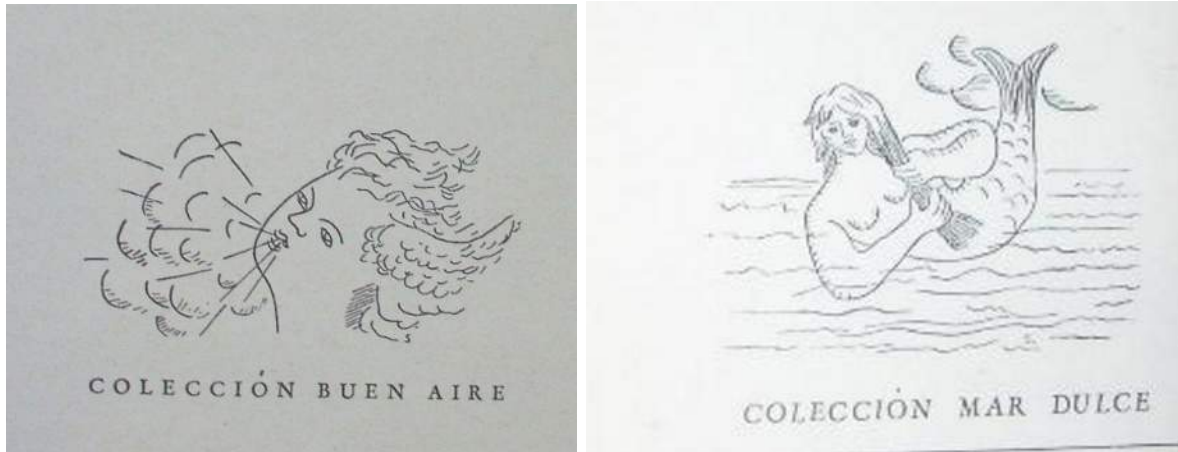
<sup>387</sup> Luis Baudizzone was also involved in the creation and production of Emecé's "Colección Buen Aire."



**Figure 70:** Alexander Gillespie, *Buenos Aires visto por viajeros ingleses, 1800-1825* (Emecé, 1941); Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala, *Guaman Poma* (Editorial Nova, 1943)

[Source: Google Image]

Along with the common use of a cover illustration related to the work in question, both collections present their works in a small hardcover format with comparable serif typography for not only their titles, but also the names of the series. Upon inspection of the title pages of various works in these two collections, it also becomes evident that each series made use of a drawing above the name of the collection as a type of branding:



**Figure 71:** Logos for Emecé’s “Colección Buen Aire” and the Editorial Nova’s “Colección Mar Dulce,” respectively

[Source: Google Image]

Even though each of these illustrations is unique and related to the specific collection it stands for, the *style* of the two drawings, in terms of their fluid lines and almost ethereal qualities, is very similar, not to mention the fact that both of these drawings depict somewhat mythic creatures: a figure inspired by the classical gods of the wind and a mermaid. Another link between the “Colección Buen Aire” and the “Colección Mar Dulce,” albeit more tangential, is the presence of at least one prologue by Borges in each. Thus, Borges provided the prologue for *El Compadrito* (1945) in Emecé’s “Colección Buen Aire,” as we saw in Chapter Four, and, one year later, composed a prologue for Estanisalo del Campo’s *Fausto* (1946), which was to form part of the Editorial Nova’s “Colección Mar Dulce.”

Following the initial establishment of their Editorial Nova in 1942, Seoane and Cuadrado founded a *second* publishing firm in 1946: Ediciones Botella al Mar. From the one work that contains a prologue by Borges, Ema Risso Platero’s *Arquitectura del insomnia* (1948), we discover that these two publishing houses were very closely linked since the following phrase is printed on the back cover of the first edition: “Concesionario exclusivo para la venta

EDITORIAL NOVA.” This statement undoubtedly brings to mind several of the works published by the Editorial Sur during this same period and their exclusive sales with the Editorial Losada. Curiously, around the same time that Seaone and Cuadrado founded their Ediciones Botella al Mar, the Editorial Sur begins to cite a *new* exclusive vendor for their works: the Editorial Nova. More specifically, a quick perusal of the June 1947 issue of the literary journal *Sur* results in several advertisements for available or forthcoming editions from the Editorial Sur through their “distributor exclusivo: EDITORIAL NOVA, Perú 613, Buenos Aires.” In light of the fact that the Imprenta López was not only a founding partner for the Editorial Nova, but also one of the main printers for the large majority of the numbers of Victoria Ocampo’s literary journal as well as the books produced with her publishing house, might account for this shift. The proximity of the Editorial Nova (Perú 613) to the offices of the Imprenta López (Perú 666) might be another reason for the change, which would then appear to be one of convenience.

Through an examination of a number of Borges’s prologues and translations, we have seen the enormous impact of elite Argentine publishers and their extreme levels of interconnectedness in this specific book market. In particular, the impressive efforts of Victoria Ocampo with her literary journal and publishing house of the same name paved the way for the circulation and distribution of important works by foreign authors. As a part of the original editorial board for the Editorial Sur, Borges was very much involved in this process of cultural dissemination through his own translations, which were modes of promotion of certain types of literature. Even though he did not write any prologues for the works published with the Editorial Sur, nor were there very many prologues for their works in general, he did write an extremely large number of introductory pieces for virtually all of the other elite publishing houses, mainly Emecé Editores and the Editorial Losada, which highlights his affinity for promoting the work of

other authors, for helping to establish an awareness regarding literary trends, and for encouraging a local culture based on a literary sensitivity. Thus, much like the type of prologue that he describes in his final notes for the *Antología de la moderna poesía antología* (1926) that open this chapter, Borges's prologues virtually always promote and advocate for the work in question, which is precisely a method of extending the enticing presentations of the bookstore windows and the various pieces of advertising that might adorn these same books. Thus, Borges's almost fanatical interest in editing works and helping to produce books from behind the scenes is complemented by his framing techniques of prologues or prefaces (and, in the case of the Editorial Sur, translations) that can be equated with yet another type of storefront adornment for interested readers. In essence, *all* aspects of the book matter for Borges.

1933	Federico García Lorca, <i>Romancero gitano (1924-1927)</i> D. H. Lawrence, <i>Canguro</i> Aldous Huxley, <i>Contrapunto</i>	1939	Roger Caillois, <i>El mito y el hombre</i> Oliverio Gironde, <i>Interlunio</i> Hermann de Keyserling, <i>Del sufrimiento a la plenitud</i> Luis Emilio Soto, <i>Crítica y estimación</i> Xavier Villaurrutia, <i>Nostalgia de la muerte</i> Leon Chestov, <i>Las revelaciones de la muerte</i>
1934	D. H. Lawrence, <i>La virgen y el gitano</i>		
1935	Eduardo Mallea, <i>Nocturno europeo</i> Victoria Ocampo, <i>Testimonios. Primera serie (1920-1934)</i> Francisco Luis Bernárdez, <i>El buque</i> Victoria Ocampo, <i>Supremacía del alma y de la sangre</i> Eduardo Mallea, <i>Conocimiento y expresión de la Argentina</i> Igor Stawinsky, <i>Crónicas de mi vida</i>	1940	Samuel Eichelbaum, <i>Pájaro de barrio</i> Thyssen-Hitler. <i>Documentos inéditos relativos a este proceso</i> Denis de Rougemont, <i>Diario de Alemania</i> Charles de Gaulle, <i>El ejército del porvenir</i>
1936	C. G. Jung, <i>Tipos psicológicos</i> Victoria Ocampo, <i>La mujer y su expresión</i> André Malraux, <i>La condición humana</i> Jacques Maritain, <i>Carta sobre la independencia</i> André Gide, <i>Perséphone</i> André Gide, <i>Regreso de la U. R. S. S.</i> Carlos Alberto Erro, <i>Tiempo lacerado</i> Eduardo Mallea, <i>La ciudad junto al río inmovil</i> Victoria Ocampo, <i>Domingos en Hyde Park</i> Virginia Woolf, <i>Un cuarto propio</i> Igor Strawinsky, <i>Nuevas crónicas de mi vida</i> André Gide y nuestro tiempo Leopoldo Marechal, <i>Laberinto de amor</i> Aldous Huxley, <i>¿Cómo lo resuelve Ud.? El problema de la paz constructiva</i>	1941	Victoria Ocampo, <i>Testimonios. Segunda serie</i> H. G. Wells, <i>El destino del homo sapiens</i> Henri Michaux, <i>Un bárbaro en Asia</i> Virginia Woolf, <i>Tres guineas</i> Alfredo de la Guardia, <i>García Lorca persona y creación</i> Denis de Rougemont, <i>¿Cambiar la vida o cambiar al hombre?</i> Jorge Luis Borges, <i>El jardín de senderos que se bifurcan</i> Victoria Ocampo, 338171.TE Roger Caillois, <i>Le Roman policier</i>
		1942	William Faulkner, <i>Luz de agosto</i> Vicente Barbieri, <i>La columna y el viento</i> André Breton, <i>Fata Morgana</i> Silvina Ocampo, <i>Enumeración de la patria y otros poemas</i> Roger Caillois, <i>Sociología de la novela</i>
1937	Gregorio Marañón, <i>Vida e historia</i> Virginia Woolf, <i>Orlando</i> James Joyce, <i>Desterrados</i> André Gide, <i>Retoques a mi regreso de la U. R. S. S.</i> Carlos Alberto Erro, <i>Diálogo existencial</i> Jacques Maritain, <i>Sobre la guerra santa</i> Francisco Luis Bernárdez, <i>Cielo de tierra</i> Alfonso Reyes, <i>Las vísperas de España</i> Ramón Gómez de la Serna, <i>El cólera azul</i> Conrado Nalé Roxlo, <i>Claro desvelo</i> Silvina Ocampo, <i>Viaje olvidado</i> Aldous Huxley, <i>Con los esclavos en la noria</i> Louis-Ferdinand Céline, <i>Mea culpa seguido de la vida y la obra de Semmelweis</i> Eduardo Mallea, <i>Historia de una pasión argentina</i> Eduardo González Lanuza, <i>La degollación de los inocentes</i> Emile Gouiran, <i>Prolegómenos de una filosofía de la existencia</i> Julio Irazusta, <i>Actores y espectadores</i>	1943	Eduardo González Lanuza, <i>Transitable cristal</i> H. Bustos Domecq, <i>Seis problemas para don Isidro Parodi</i> José Bianco, <i>Las ratas</i>
		1944	Jorge Luis Borges, <i>Ficciones</i> Charles Baudelaire, <i>Journaux intimes</i> Manuel Peyrou, <i>La espada dormida</i> Roger Caillois, <i>Les impostures de la poésie</i> Jules Supervielle, <i>La belle au bois</i> T. E. Lawrence, <i>Los siete pilares de la sabiduría</i> Grévières, <i>El desdichado</i> Gérard de Nerval, <i>Sylvie suivi de les chimères</i> T. E. Lawrence, <i>Cartas</i> Paul Valéry, <i>Un poète inconnu</i> Fr. Guizot, <i>Des conspiraciones et de la justice politique</i>
		1945	Victoria Ocampo, <i>Le vert paradis</i> Silvina Ocampo, <i>Espacios métricos</i> Saint-John Perse, <i>Quatre poèmes (1941-1944)</i>
1938	Jacques Maritain, <i>Los judíos entre las naciones</i> Virginia Woolf, <i>Al faro</i> Francisco Luis Bernárdez, <i>La ciudad sin Laura</i> Alain Fournier, <i>El gran meaulnes</i> Victoria Ocampo, <i>Emily Brontë (Terra incognita)</i> Gabriela Mistral, <i>Tala</i> María Luisa Bombal, <i>La amortajada</i> Victoria Ocampo, <i>Virginia Woolf, Orlando y Cía</i> Arthur Stanley Eddington, <i>La naturaleza del mundo físico</i> Thomas Mann, <i>Advertencia a Europa</i> Pierre-Henri Simon, <i>Los católicos, la política y el dinero</i> Ramón Fernández, <i>¿Es humano el hombre?</i> Robert Aron, <i>Napoleón venció en Waterloo</i> Emily Brontë, <i>Cumbres borrascosas</i>	1946	Alberto Girri, <i>Línea de la vida</i>
		1947	Jean-Paul Sartre, <i>El existencialismo es un humanismo</i> Victoria Ocampo, <i>Henry V y Laurence Olivier</i> Victoria Kent, <i>Cuatro años en París (1940-1944)</i>
		1948	Albert Camus, <i>La Peste</i> Christopher Isherwood, <i>Adiós a Berlín</i> George Orwell, <i>Ensayos críticos</i> Ernesto Sábato, <i>El túnel</i> Jean-Paul Sartre, <i>Reflexiones sobre la cuestión judía</i>
		1949	Cyril Connolly, <i>La tumba sin sosiego</i> Adolfo Bioy Casares, <i>La invención de Morel (2a ed.)</i> Silvina Ocampo, <i>Autobiografía de Irene</i> Adolfo Bioy Casares, <i>La trama celeste</i> Graham Greene, <i>El revés de la trama</i>
		1950	Victoria Ocampo, <i>Testimonios. Cuarta serie</i> Victoria Ocampo, <i>San Isidro (con fotografías de S. Thorlingen)</i> Victoria Ocampo, <i>Hamlet</i>

Figure 72: Editorial Sur publications (1933-1951)



## Chapter 6 – Borges’s Personal Publishing Houses (1936-1954): Editorial Destiempo and Editorial Oportet & Haereses

“Exigua ¡que canastos! fue la contribución que pude prestar esa primer mañana de consagración a las letras, pues, ...yo leía y leía, sin advertir las más garrafales erratas, las líneas traspuestas, las páginas omitidas o empasteladas.”

–Honario Bustos Domecq, “El signo” (1946)

Borges’s interest in the physical form of the book culminates in the formation of two distinct publishing houses with his close friend, Adolfo Bioy Casares: the Editorial Destiempo and the Editorial Oportet & Haereses. Although we have analyzed his various levels of involvement with the publishing industry (editor, co-director of literary magazines, copy-editor), this undertaking is the most curious in light of the fact that creating and running a publishing house is quite different from simply helping with one single aspect of book production. As readers will recall from the start of this project,

publishing is that set of activities that connect the production or manufacturing activities of the book trade, [creation, manufacturing, supply], with the commercial or distributive activities, [financing, distribution, audience]. In a sense, *the publisher is the entrepreneur of the book trade, making the decisions that bring together all the other activities and arranging for the coordination and credit* – always important in a business where income realized from the sale of a product often comes months or years after the expense of production – and taking the risks necessary to make the whole book trade function. (Winship 67, emphasis mine)

In short, establishing and running an entire publishing house is equivalent to running any other type of business, which not only requires a new level of interaction with the book from start to finish, but also a cultivation of relationships with other players in the industry such as printers and booksellers.

While these firms were not comparable to or even as *real* as others we have seen throughout this dissertation, they demonstrate Borges's ties to the entire process of book production in Argentina. Moreover, these almost secretive editorial endeavors stress the strains placed on all aspects of Argentine culture by a series of military coups in the early 1940s that ended with the rise of Juan Perón to power in 1946. While his censorship mainly focuses on popular modes of media transmission (newspaper, movies, and radio), the *extensive* amount of censorship, and its looming presence throughout Argentina, surely affected virtually all types of cultural production. What is more, several of the newspapers and literary journals for which Borges had worked (or that had published an article or two of his) soon fell under the control of Perón, mainly those periodicals published by the Editorial Haynes, such as *El Mundo* and *El Hogar* (Varela 6). In an effort to explore this idea in greater detail in this chapter, I will analyze the formation of each of Bioy Casares's and Borges's publishing houses, the specific works that these firms produced (in terms of both their form and their content), and ultimately show how the creation of the Editorial Destiempo and the Editorial Oportet & Haereses can be seen as the pinnacle of the two writers' critique of Argentine culture and methods of education.

### *Editorial Destiempo*

As we saw in Chapter Three, Borges's and Bioy Casares's first collaborative foray into the world of publishing came in the form of their literary magazine *Destiempo*, which was very

short-lived, lasting for a mere three issues between 1936 and early 1937.<sup>388</sup> That being said, a small announcement in the third and final installment of *Destiempo* introduced their *porteño* readers to a series of books that would soon be available for their reading pleasure. Curiously, each of these works was to be published by a newly minted firm, the Editorial Destiempo, and available through subscription:

**Apareció**  
**MAREA DE LAGRIMAS**  
 Poemas  
 de  
**ULYSES PETIT de MURAT**

●

**LIBROS EN SUBSCRIPCION**

**U. Petit de Murat. Marea de Lágrimas, (diciembre 1937)**  
**Alfonso Reyes. Mallarmé, (febrero 1938)**  
**Carlos Mastronardi. La Rosa Infinita, (abril 1938)**  
**Ezequiel Martínez Estrada. Buenos Aires, (junio 1938)**  
**Antología de Cuentos Irreales, (agosto 1938)**  
**Novalis. Fragmentos (Versión directa y notas de J. L. Borges). (octubre 1938)**

**SUBSCRIPCION A LOS 6 LIBROS \$ 6.—**

**Precio del ejemplar \$ 2.—**

Giro postal o bancario a Ernesto Plesavini, Secretario de la  
**EDITORIAL DESTIEMPO**  
**Avenida QUINTANA 174** **Buenos Aires**

**Figure 73:** Advertisement for the Editorial Destiempo in the last issue of the literary magazine *Destiempo*

[Source: Archivo Histórico de Revistas Argentinas (<http://www.ahira.com.ar/destiempo.php>)]

<sup>388</sup> In light of the fact that this chapter focuses on the (apocryphal) publishing houses that Borges and Bioy Casares founded in the 1930s and 1940s, I will not dedicate any space to the description (or impact) of this ephemeral literary magazine. That being said, for an extensive overview and (descriptive) analysis of *Destiempo*, see Fabiana Sabsay-Herrera's article "Para la prehistoria de H. Bustos Domecq: *Destiempo*, una colaboración olvidada de Jorge Luis Borges y Adolfo Bioy Casares" *Variaciones Borges* 5 (1998): 106-22.

Much resembling the somewhat spontaneous formation of Victoria Ocampo's Editorial Sur in 1933 (and, by extension, Ortega y Gasset's *Revista de Occidente* publishing house), the Editorial Destiempo emerges unexpectedly with an advertisement in the last issue of the literary magazine *Destiempo* for six unique works, one of which has already appeared (Ulyses Petit de Murat's *Marea de lágrimas*) and, thus, highlights the overlap between the creation of the publishing house and the last issue of the literary magazine.<sup>389</sup> That being said, since the literary journal *Destiempo* ceased production abruptly after its third issue, the works published by the Editorial Destiempo cannot be seen as a simple side project with the goal of funding the literary journal of the same name. Moreover, in true "Borges" fashion, neither of the two Argentine writers' names appears to be attached to this new publishing firm. Instead, interested parties are instructed to mail their subscriptions to "Ernesto Pissavini, secretario de la EDITORIAL DESTIEMPO Avenida QUINTANA 174 Buenos Aires." Curiously, rather than being an actual administrative secretary for this publishing firm, Ernesto Pissavini worked for the Casares family and the Quintana address listed was that of Bioy Casares's parents:

Ernesto Pissavini no tenía antes de la creación de *Destiempo*, ni tendrá luego de la desaparición de la revista, ninguna relación con el medio literario argentino. Ya en este hecho se puede vislumbrar sin duda una de las vetas que marcará la producción de Borges-Bioy: el único nombre que aparece como responsable de *Destiempo* tiene una existencia real... pero su función en la publicación es una

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<sup>389</sup> One of the only references (and it is just that, a *reference*) to this publishing house appears in Fabiana Sabsay-Herrera's article (see note 1); in the closing pages of this piece, Sabsay-Herrera comments on the unique introduction of Bioy Casares's and Borges's publishing house: "El nombre de la revista no desaparecerá junto con su tercer y último número sino que se prolongará un tiempo más en una editorial que estará también a cargo de Bioy y de Borges y que, como lo recuerda Alicia Jurado, 'llegó a publicar pocos libros' (52)" (118).

invención de los verdaderos directores de la revista, que logran de esta manera que ficción y realidad se confundan. (Sabsay-Herrera 107-8).

Thus, Borges's and Bioy Casares's own publishing house is just as fun and playful as virtually all of their collaborative fictions that appear in print under any number of inventive pseudonyms. As a result, there is a clear level of humor present in their joint literary efforts from the initial moment of creative inspiration to the final stages of production and distribution, which resonates with the first advertisement for the Editorial Destiempo's publications.

Scanning the list of the authors of each of the slated works in the above advertisement reveals that these individuals are some of "Borges" close friends (Ulyses Petit de Murat, Alfonso Reyes, Carlos Mastronardi, Ezequiel Martínez Estrada, and Jorge Luis Borges himself) and have appeared in a number of their previous publishing endeavors.<sup>390</sup> That being said, of these six works, only *two* come to fruition in the form of a physically published book: Ulyses Petit de Murat's *Marea de lágrimas* (1937) and Alfonso Reyes's *Mallarmé entre nosotros* (1938). The remaining four works never appear in print. What is more, even though Ulyses Petit de Murat's collection of poems is the first *advertised* work, the first published book by the Editorial Destiempo—and one that does not appear in the list at all—was authored by one of its two cofounders, Adolfo Bioy Casares, suggesting that the origins of this firm were very personal. Moreover, in light of the fact that Bioy Casares, and Borges, published many of their own works

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<sup>390</sup> Aside from being featured in the three issues of the literary magazine *Destiempo*, most these writers appear in Borges and Bioy Casares's *Antología poética argentina* (Ulyses Petit de Murat, Carlos Mastronardi, Ezequiel Martínez Estrada), which is featured in Chapter Four. Readers will also recall from Chapter Two that Borges and Ulyses Petit de Murat worked as co-directors of the *Revista Multicolor de los Sábados*, the literary supplement to the magazine *Crítica*, from 1933 to 1934. Borges was known to have a close relationship with Alfonso Reyes and he frequently contributed to the literary journal *Proa* and was even placed in charge of the projected third installment of this journal, which never saw the light of day (García 2016). Furthermore, Reyes oversaw the Editorial Proa's "Cuadernos de la Plata," which published Borges's *Cuaderno San Martín* (1928) as their second work in the series.

in previous years *without* a unique publisher (in other words, they simply sent them to a printer), why would these two writers decide to invent a publishing house? This question is certainly relevant for the other (apocryphal) publishing house that we will discuss later in this chapter, but it is particularly apt for the Editorial Destiempo considering that multiple books by different authors appeared under the name of this firm, and not just works by Borges and Bioy Casares.<sup>391</sup>

Before delving more specifically into the specific titles that the Editorial Destiempo published, it is important to consider the title of the firm itself and its unique insignia. For starters, the name “Destiempo,” which translates literally as either late or at the wrong, or inopportune, time, can be linked to Borges and Bioy Casares’ mutual sentiments (and reactions) regarding the perpetual onslaught of literary movements and trends during the early part of the twentieth century. In a similar vein, Bioy Casares later recalls the specific choice of the name *Destiempo* for their literary magazine (and their later publishing firm of the same name) as arising from the two writers’ frustration with contemporary traditions regarding the hierarchical importance of some literary works over others:

El título indicaba nuestro anhelo de sustraernos a las supersticiones de la época.

Objetábamos particularmente la tendencia de alumnos críticos a pasar por alto el valor intrínseco de las obras y a demorarse en aspectos folklóricos y estadísticas sociológicas. Creíamos que los preciosos antecedentes de una escuela eran a veces tan dignos de olvido como las probables o inevitables trilogías sobre el gaucho, la modista de clase media, etc. (cited in Bosco 80)

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<sup>391</sup> Each work published by the Editorial Destiempo is copyrighted.

“Biorges’s” marked level of discontent with certain standards of literary critique, and an irrational favoring of almost mythological lines of thought, lies at the heart of the foundation of both the literary magazine *Destiempo* and its connected publishing house, the Editorial Destiempo. In other words, aside from conveying a level of humor, the creation of this firm can be seen as satirizing and even mocking prevalent trends in their contemporary Argentine literary canons, which would make their firm literally “out of sync” with most trends.

A quick perusal of the physical features of each of the works published with the Editorial Destiempo reveals an intriguing attempt to create a unique logo, or insignia, for the firm. Thus, the first work produced by this publishing house, Adolfo Bioy Casares’s *Luis Greve, muerto* (1937), presents readers with the following design, framed triangularly by the name of the firm itself:



**Figure 74:** Original Logo for the Editorial Destiempo

[Source: Google Image]

Even though there is a slight typographical anomaly with the repetition of an “L” at the end of “EDITORIAL” and a “D” at the start of “DESTIEMPO,” these triangulated words serve as a framing device for the original insignia of the publishing house, which resembles a flying fish, or a fish out of water, and, as a result, draw our attention to this odd figure. While this particular typographical formation disappears in subsequent publications, the fish-like insignia remains a constant:



**Figure 75:** Logo for the Editorial Destiempo

[Source: *Personal Collection*]

The above image is taken from Ulyses Petit de Murat’s *Marea de lágrimas* (1937), the second work produced by the Editorial Destiempo, but the identical fish-like insignia and simplified “DESTIEMPO” also adorn the next two publications (by Alfonso Reyes and Nicolás Olivari). Even though this illustrated logo is quite simple, its dream-like, ethereal, and completely random quality echo many historical avant-garde trends that can be found in the plastic arts associated with Modernism, Futurism, Surrealism, and even Dadaism, which resonates with the previous discussion of the firm’s name.

In total, the Editorial Destiempo would publish six different works over the course of seventeen years:



Adolfo Bioy Casares, <i>Luis Greve, muerto</i> (1937)
Ulyses Petit de Murat, <i>Marea de lágrimas</i> (1937)
Nicolás Olivari, <i>Diez poemas sin poesía</i> (1938) (con dibujos de Carybé) [not on the original subscription list]
Alfonso Reyes, <i>Mallarmé entre nosotros</i> (1938)
Vicente Barbieri, <i>Cabeza yacente</i> (1945)
Adolfo Bioy Casares, <i>Homenaje a Francisco Almeyra</i> (1954)

Bioy Casares's two works, which serve as bookends for the published works of the Editorial Destiempo, are all fantastic stories, a fact which highlights the great influence that Borges had on this young Argentine writer. In fact, Borges himself reviews Bioy Casares's *Luis Greve, muerto* in the December 1937 issue of the literary journal *Sur* (no. 39) and praises him for bringing more fantastic literature to Argentine letters: "Nuestra literatura es muy pobre de relatos fantásticos. La facundia y la pereza criolla prefieren la informe 'tranche de vie' o la mera acumulación de ocurrencias. De ahí lo inusual de la obra de Bioy Casares" (85-6). In a sense, we can see this favorable review as a type of promotional strategy since, as one critic notes, these short stories are "flimsy and clumsy" (King 91). In general terms, *Luis Greve, muerto* is a collection of twenty-two short stories with "temas cada vez más irreales y peculiares," while *Homenaje a Francisco Almeyra* "es una alegoría de la suerte de los intelectuales bajo el régimen

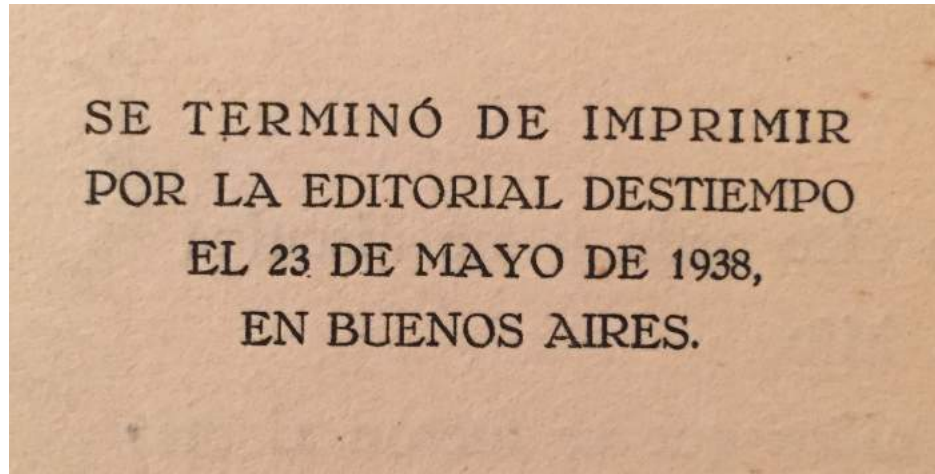
peronista.”<sup>392</sup> The remaining four works are either collections of poetry (Petit de Murat, Olivari, Barbieri) or essays about poetry (Reyes). This unique combination of fantastic literature and poetry strangely echoes the two anthologies that Borges and Bioy Casares would jointly edit in the early 1940s, the *Antología de la literatura fantástica* (1940) and the *Antología poética argentina* (1941), which were discussed at length in chapter four. Thus, much as we saw in that chapter, Borges’s and Bioy Casares’s editorial endeavors, whether for their own publishing firm or that of another Argentine one, continuously strive to promote underrepresented intellectual voices in literature that deserve to be part of the larger Argentine canon. What is more, the subtle nuances of political and social critique that permeate both of Bioy Casares’s books emphasize the fact that these Editorial Destiempo works were *not* intended for the average (Argentine) reader, but rather signal a more elite and well-educated individual.

In addition to the flying-fish logo that adorns virtually all of the covers of the Editorial Destiempo’s publications, there is a certain level of uniformity in terms of the paper, typography, and general binding of the majority of their works. In particular, the first four books in the above chart, all published between 1937 and 1938, possess virtually identical stylistic aesthetics from their burnt orange covers to their navy blue typography. What is more, many (if not all) of the typefaces used for these works also appear throughout the pages of the short-lived literary journal *Destiempo*. These physical similarities easily can be accounted for when we consider the fact that each of these works (*Luis Greve, muerto* (1937), *Marea de lágrimas* (1937), *Diez poemas sin poesía* (1938), and *Mallarmé entre nosotros* (1938)), and also the entire run of the literary journal *Destiempo*, was printed by Francisco A. Colombo. While three of the four works

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<sup>392</sup> These descriptions, and any subsequent description of Bioy Casares’s works published by the Editorial Destiempo, are taken from his literary agent Carmen Balcells’s webpage: <http://www.agenciabalcells.com/pt/autores/obra/adolfo-bioy-casares/luis-greve-muerto/>.

make this connection to Colombo explicit by including his name in their colophons, Nicolás Olivari's *Diez poemas sin poesía* (1938) excludes this information:



**Figure 76:** Colophon from Nicolás Olivari's *Diez poemas sin poesía* (Editorial Destiempo. 1938)

[Source: InterLibrary Loan]

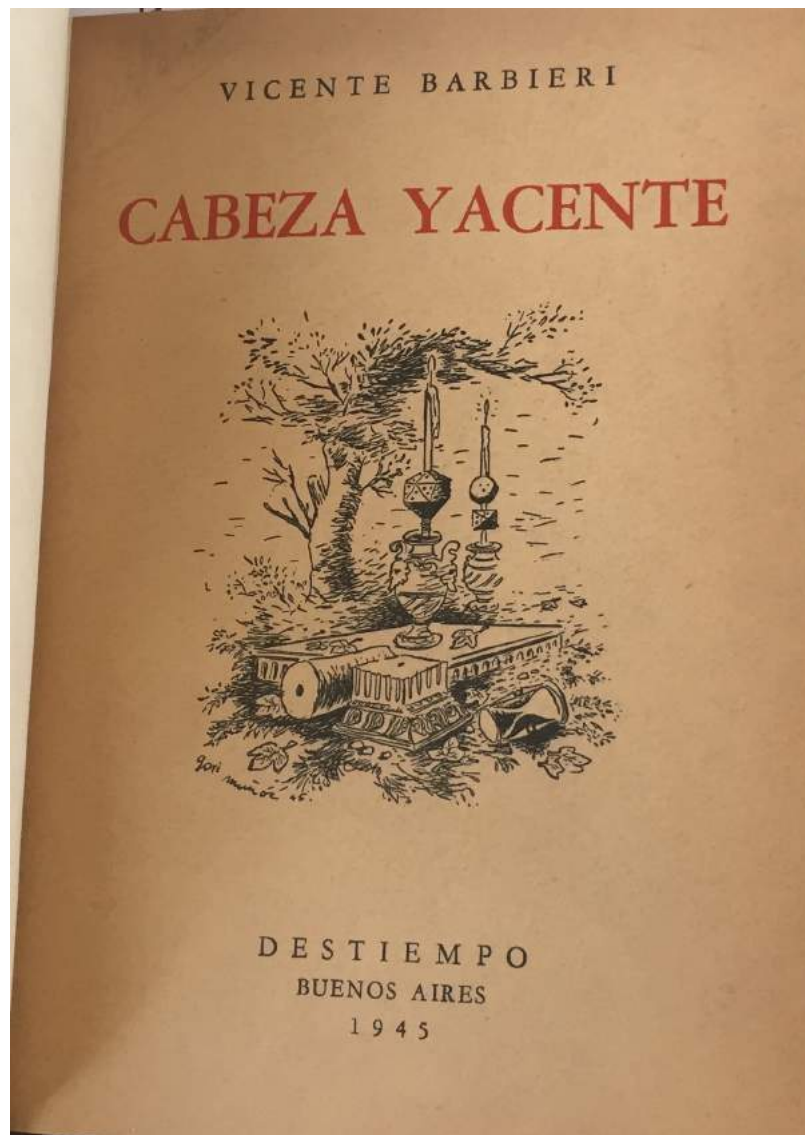
By including no other information about this work's production other than the fact that it was printed for the Editorial Destiempo stresses the importance of the publishing firm itself. Another curious feature of (at least) two of these four early books produced by the Editorial Destiempo is their appearance in multiple forms. In other words, much like the earliest works published by the Editorial Sur that we saw in the last chapter, the Editorial Destiempo produced certain books in both a luxury edition and a regular edition. For instance, in the opening pages of Ulyses Petit de Murat's *Marea de lágrimas* (1937) we find a note alerting readers to the existence of two such distinct forms of the book: "De esta obra se han impreso diez ejemplares en papel Croxley, numerados de I a X fuera de comercio, y trescientos ejemplares en papel pluma" (6). In a similar vein, Bioy Casares's *Luis Greve, muerto* (1937) includes a note describing its specific print run: "De esta obra se ha impreso, 500 ejemplares sobre papel Holanda y 10 ejemplares numerados de I a X, fuera de comercio, sobre papel hilo Croxley" (155). There is no explicit information about

the number of copies printed for each of the remaining works, but given the typical runs of works produced by Colombo, and the data gathered from *Luis Greve, muerto* and *Marea de lágrimas*, we can imagine that these books were published in smaller batches of no more than 500 copies. In terms of their prices, Bioy Casares's *Luis Greve, muerte* is advertised as costing \$1.50, while Petit de Murat's *Marea de lágrimas* and Alfonso Reyes's *Mallarmé entre nosotros* sold for \$2 each (or \$6 for a subscription to a series of six works, four of which were never published as we will see below).<sup>393</sup>

When we turn to the remaining two works published by the Editorial Destiempo, Vicente Barbieri's *Cabeza yacente* (1945) and Adolfo Bioy Casares's *Homenaje a Francisco Almeyra* (1954), there is a marked shift in style and cohesion. In other words, neither of these two works is bound in burnt orange covers, nor do they bear the flying-fish logo that appeared on each of the previous works. That being said, the fact that both of these books are still printed by Francisco A. Colombo serves to link the entire group of works produced by the Editorial Destiempo during their almost two-decade long run of existence. That being said, similar to *Luis Greve, muerto* (1937) and *Marea de lágrimas* (1937), Vicente Barbieri's *Cabeza yacente* provides readers with a "justificación del tiraje" at the opening of the work: "De esta obra se han impreso trescientos ejemplares en papel Polar, numerados y firmados por el autor" (6). Without a doubt this statement is quite reminiscent of the print run of Federico García Lorca's *Romancero gitano* with the Editorial Sur (1933). The last aspect that sets Barbieri's work apart from any other of the Editorial Destiempo's publication is its unique cover art:

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<sup>393</sup> All of these prices appear on the inside flap of Alfonso Reyes's *Mallarmé entre nosotros* (1938). Nicolás Olivari's *Diez poemas sin poesía* (1938) is also listed there, but without a price.

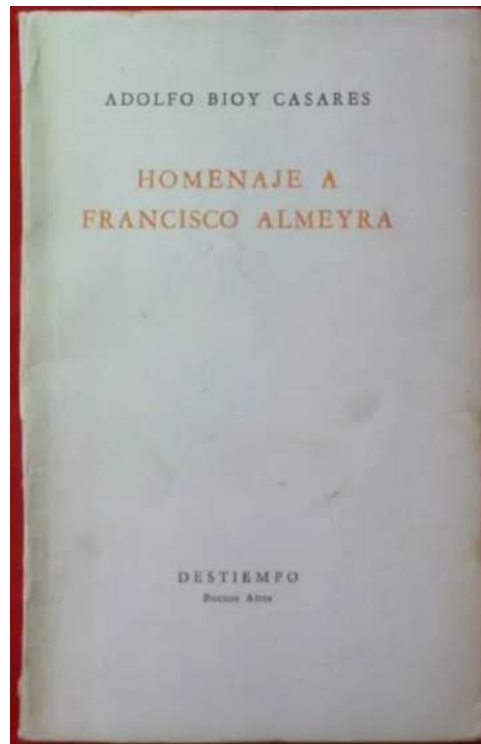


**Figure 77:** Vicente Barbieri, *Cabeza yacente* (Editorial Destiempo, 1945)

[Source: InterLibrary Loan]

Although Nicolás Olivari's *Diez poemas sin poesía* (1938) included drawings by the illustrator Carymbé, the cover of this work has no other printing than its typography. What is more, the artist responsible for not only the cover art of *Cabeza yacente*, but also the series of illustrations throughout the work, Gori Muñoz, is not one of the usual suspects that are typically associated with Borges and Bioy Casares. In contrast, Bioy Casares's *Homenaje a Francisco Almeyra*

(1954), the last work produced by the Editorial Destiempo, resembles many of Borges's earliest publications that were printed by Francisco A. Colombo such as *Las Kenningar* and *Historia de la eternidad* for its clean, crisp covers and distinctive use of orange typography for the title:



**Figure 78:** Adolfo Bioy Casares, *Homenaje a Francisco Ameyra* (Editorial Destiempo, 1954)

[Source: Google Image]

Alongside these six published works, another six books, which were never published by this firm (or any other firm for that matter), were advertised either in the literary magazine *Destiempo* or on the inside-cover flaps of published works:

Carlos Mastronardi, <i>La rosa infinita</i>
Ezequiel Martínez Estrada, <i>Buenos Aires</i>

<i>Antología de cuentos irreales</i>
Novalis, <i>Fragmentos</i> (versión directa y notas de J. L. Borges)
Adolfo Bioy Casares, <i>Teseo fatal</i>
Macedonio Fernández, <i>Continuación de la nada</i> <sup>394</sup>

Even though none of these works was ever published, making it quite difficult to discuss their relation to the previous six works, readers will note the reappearance of certain names including Carlos Mastronardi, Ezequiel Martínez Estrada, and Macedonio Fernández, not to mention those of Borges and Bioy Casares. Moreover, the above-mentioned *Antología de cuentos irreales* calls to mind the *Antología de cuentos fantásticos* and the description of Bioy Casares's two works published by the Editorial Destiempo. As a result, Borges's and Bioy Casares's initial foray into running a publishing house serves to highlight the fact that many of their literary interests and concerns related to canon formation and critical (literary) education are perennial issues that surface in virtually all of their collaborative endeavors.<sup>395</sup> Moreover, virtually all of these collaborative endeavors point to an elite and well-educated audience.

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<sup>394</sup> Both Macedonio Fernández's *Continuación de la Nada* and Adolfo Bioy Casares's *Teseo fatal* are described as "en preparación" on the inside flap for Alfonso Reyes's *Mallermé entre nosotros* (1938).

<sup>395</sup> Some of these recurring concerns and motifs can be seen in their creation and direction of the "Séptimo Círculo" series for Emecé Editores, the previously mentioned *Antología de la literatura fantástica* and the *Antología poética argentina*, as well as the *Antología de la poesía norteamericana*, not to mention their collaborative fictions such as *Seis problemas para don Isidro Parodi*.

*Editorial Oportet & Haereses*

The second publishing house that Borges and Bioy Casares create in the 1940s, the Editorial Oportet & Haereses, is strikingly different from their previous Editorial Destiempo and is what I would call an apocryphal firm for two central reasons. First, in the most general sense of the term, apocryphal can refer to the fictitious nature of this publishing house. More specifically, this firm seems to have appeared out of thin air and, unlike the Editorial Destiempo, cannot trace its roots or emergence to a like-named literary journal or magazine. What is more, the only works published by this firm are those of its two founders, Borges and Bioy Casares. For these reasons, the works produced by the Editorial Oportet & Haereses are not very different from earlier works that Borges and Bioy Casares sent straight to a printer to be self-published without the name of a specific firm adorning their covers. Here, we only see the addition of an invented publisher's name, perhaps to give these works a greater sense of authority for having passed through the hands of an unbiased editor. Second, in addition to denoting something that is fake or false, the term apocryphal, when applied to literature, takes on the meaning of rare or secretive:

Turning now to the consideration of the word 'apocryphal' itself, we find that in its earliest use it was applied in a laudatory sense to writings, (1) *which were kept secret because they were the vehicles of esoteric knowledge which was too profound or too sacred to be imparted to any save the initiated...* (2) But the word was applied to writings that were *kept from public circulation* not because of their transcendent, but of, their secondary or questionable value... (3) The word came finally to mean what is false, spurious, bad, heretical. (Charles, "Apocryphal Literature" 176, emphasis mine)



As we shall see in the analysis below, all of the works published by the Editorial Oportet & Haereses contain esoteric subject matters (and writing styles) and were printed in small runs (no more than 300 copies), which most likely circulated among close friends of Borges and Bioy Casares as opposed to the larger Buenos Aires populace at large. In light of the fact that the publication of all of these works (1946-1947) coincides with Juan Perón's initial reign in Argentina signals that these unique (apocryphal) characteristics can be seen as not only a possible strategy of avoiding censorship, but also a way of critiquing and subverting his rule.

A short anecdote from a work produced by this apocryphal publishing house best serves as an introduction to its existence. "El Signo," one of "Biorges's" short stories, published under the pseudonym of H. Bustos Domecq and forming part of *Dos fantasías memorables* (1946), carefully weaves the thread of censorship into its central argument. Here, the protagonist, T. Mascarenhas, recounts his chance encounter with Wenceslao Zalduendo on a train bound for San Vicente. While the narrator stresses the fact that he virtually always maintains his distance with strangers, he becomes particularly interested in Zalduendo when he catches sight of "el lápiz Faber y un rollo de pruebas de imprenta, amén del diccionario de Roque Barcia" that he carried with him (136).<sup>396</sup> Luckily for him, a conversation sparked shortly thereafter and our protagonist was able to ascertain that this don Wenceslao was none other than the proof corrector for the Editorial Oportet & Haereses and, in fact, was looking for help in working on his current proofs. Thus, before he knew it, he was entrenched in reading the proofs for Amancio Alcorta's *Instrucción secundaria*, and soon discovered that he might not be the best suited party for the job: "Exigua ¡qué canastos! fue la contribución que pude prestar esa primer mañana de consagración a las letras, pues, arrebatado por todos esos problemones del magisterio, yo leía y

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<sup>396</sup> All citations come from the collected works in collaboration.

leía, sin advertir las más garrafales erratas, las líneas traspuestas, las páginas omitidas o empasteladas” (137).

Zalduendo’s profession not only aligns perfectly with that of Borges and Bioy Casares at this moment in time, but also involves the same publishing house that these two Argentine writers started in 1946 (the Editorial Oportet & Haereses), which undoubtedly merits a deeper examination. What is more, in her case study of “El signo,” Cristina Parodi cites a passage in Bioy Casares’s biography of Borges that mentions the fact that a popular printer in Buenos Aires most likely served as the inspiration for the central character of Wenceslao Zalduendo: “Borges me anuncia que esta noche va a una comida que le dan a José López Soto, el dueño de la imprenta López y de la editorial Nova. Yo le digo que iré también: López Soto, el probable original del héroe de una de las *Fantasías memorables* (la de los alimentos celestiales), es un hombre muy simpático [...] Redondo, sereno y suave” (*Borges* 599). Aside from Bioy’s statement concerning the link between López and don Wenceslao, there is another more glaring connection between this individual and their *Dos fantasías memorables*: it was printed by the Imprenta López. That being said, it is first worth a closer look at the list of specific works that the narrator/protagonist and Zalduendo edit for this firm.

Unlike some of Borges’s previous short stories and essays, all of the titles mentioned in “El signo” are real. What is more, all of the works, which can be easily grouped into two distinct categories, appear to provide a type of commentary on Juan Perón’s level of censorship and reform in Argentina at the time. Thus, the first set of works that the narrator edits and corrects are all produced by the same publishing firm, José Ingenieros’s “La Cultura Argentina”: Amancio Alcorta’s *La instrucción secundaria* (1916), Raquel Camaña’s *Pedagogía social* (1916), Pedro Goyena’s *Crítica literaria* (1917), José de Maturana’s *Naranja en flor* (1918), and

Raquel Camaña's *El dilettantismo sentimental* (1916). Four of these five titles immediately key the reader into one of Ingenieros's main interests in producing books: education and curriculum. More specifically, after traveling abroad to Europe, Ingenieros soon realized that his native Buenos Aires should strive to develop an education system that was more separated from national institutions, especially the university. He also wanted to insert Argentina into the larger (capitalist) world by including "otras voces y otros recortes históricos y discursos" (Hermida 18). Thus, instead of indoctrinating young (Argentine) students with a limited view of the world and its (historical, social, economic, and literary) formation, Ingenieros hoped to "formar ciudadanos libres," which meant the inclusion of not just educators in the curriculum, but also writers, editors, and literary critics (Hermida 22).

Having outlined Ingenieros's educational goals associated with "La Cultura Argentina" we can now return to the first group of titles in question that the protagonist corrects for don Wenceslao in "El Signo," which are first produced by Ingenieros himself in Buenos Aires. Shortly after making this new acquaintance on the train, our protagonist almost immediately begins reviewing galley proofs for Amancio Alcorta's *Instrucción secundaria* at the request of don Wenceslao. In line with Ingenieros's interest in education, Alcorta's work "antes de estudiar el espíritu de la enseñanza argentina, examina el desarrollo de la misma en todos los países civilizados, para hacer inferencias comparativas" (9).<sup>397</sup> What is more, we find that the key argument at the heart of Alcorta's work is his belief in the need for a *secular* school system without any kind of religious teaching. Alcorta also notes the heavy influence of Eduardo

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<sup>397</sup> In light of the fact that Alcorta's *Instrucción secundaria* was one of the first published as part of Ingenieros's "La Cultura Argentina" series, all of the cited passages come from this specific edition of the work.

Wilde's earlier work, specifically his concept of the "escuela única" or non-specialized schooling, on his own arguments:

La 'escuela única', decía el Dr. Wilde, como Ministro de la Instrucción Pública, la enseñanza sin bifurcaciones ni escuelas especiales, es la solución deseada y la que debemos mantener. En la escuela única se forma el hombre instruido, el que debe bastarse para determinar la dirección de sus fuerzas ejercitando sus deberes públicos y sus deberes privados, al par que se forma también el que, con mayores ambiciones y una inteligencia bien equilibrada, busca un título profesional como la legítima realización de sus propósitos. (100-1)<sup>398</sup>

Even though Alcorta's work was written almost half a century before Bioy Casares and Borges's collaborative fiction and also pertains to a much earlier educational debate in Argentine history, the central arguments of *Instrucción secundaria* almost eerily provide a retort to many of Juan Perón's views on education at the start of his first political term (1946-1952).<sup>399</sup> More specifically, immediately after assuming his presidential position for the first time in 1946, Perón explicitly outlined several aspects of Argentine culture that he saw as problems to resolve including the "immorality in public administration, *the absence of God in public schools*, ... the lack of moral authority of the judicial system, and the Communist threat" (Plotkin 20, emphasis

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<sup>398</sup> Eduardo Wilde played a key role in developing and enacting the foundational Law 1420, which established free, secular education in Argentina (1884).

<sup>399</sup> As we will see throughout this chapter, a common strategy that Borges and Bioy Casares employ in their collaborative writings is this type of indirect critique. In other words, they frequently refer to earlier problems in Argentine history that echo many contemporary issues (especially those involving Juan Perón).

mine).<sup>400</sup> Thus, “Biorges” appears to be coyly commenting on Perón’s level of control over educational methods and practices and, by extension, the degree of his general censorship of the Argentine populace.

Following this first editorial task, don Wenceslao informs our protagonist that he has secured him a job at the Librería Europa. Similar to the list of edited works peppered throughout this short story, the Librería Europa, or the Librería *Europea*, was a *real* bookstore and publishing firm founded in Buenos Aires by Luis Jacobsen, a Danish immigrant, toward the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>401</sup> In general terms, this shop “ofrecía libros técnicos en varios idiomas y revistas extranjeras, iniciando la importación con ritmo rápido de las novedades europeas, principalmente francesas” (Riera 26). Owing to the fact that Jacobsen was “culto, bibliófilo y políglota,” the Librería Europea quickly became synonymous with the *highest quality* imported foreign works (De Diego “alemanes” 229). Moreover, the key location on the “porteñísima calle” Florida in Buenos Aires, which was also the heart of the book industry, most definitely aided in the success of Jacobsen’s business (Buonocore 42).<sup>402</sup> Along with its impressive catalogue of imported works, the Librería Europea was also an Argentine landmark for being a “punto de encuentro de importantes escritores como Miguel Cané, Paul Groussac y Rubén Darío,” which is quite a cast of intellectuals and could have easily included our very own Jorge

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<sup>400</sup> By 1952, the “Peronization” of the education system had gone so far as passing a law (14,126) that *required* the use of Eva Perón’s biography, *La razón de mi vida*, as a primary textbook for all school levels (Plotkin 108).

<sup>401</sup> Some sources refer to Jacobsen’s firm as the “Librería Europa,” while others call it the “Librería Europea.” In light of the fact that *most* sources, including Buonocore’s canonical reference work for Argentine publishing houses in the first part of the twentieth century, use the “Librería Europea,” I will use this latter name for the remainder of this chapter.

<sup>402</sup> First opening shop on Florida 242, Jacobsen moved his Librería Europea after a few years between Florida and Lavalle and, a few years later, made one final move to Charcas (today know as Marcelo T. de Alvear).

Luis Borges were it a few decades later.<sup>403</sup> Each of these individuals, and their intellectual legacies, has left a distinctive mark on Buenos Aires culture and is clearly another nod to Borges's and Bioy Casares's subtle criticism of Perón's regime. In particular, the mention of Paul Groussac, former librarian of the Biblioteca Nacional in Buenos Aires and one of Borges's idols, is quite telling. Much like Amancio Alcorta and Eduardo Wilde, Groussac, who was appointed to the position of the National Inspector of Education in Argentina in 1874, was in favor of secular education. He expressed these views clearly in his paper at the first pedagogical conference in Buenos Aires (1882) on "El estado actual de la educación primaria en la República Argentina, sus causas, sus remedios." As a result, the fact that don Wenceslao chooses this specific "sucursal muy seria" for our narrator appears to be no accident.

After announcing his newly gained position at the *Libería Europa*, the narrator of "El signo" goes on to list the remaining works he corrects for don Wenceslao, all of which, as noted earlier, were first published with Ingenieros's "La Cultura Argentina." Similar to Alcorta's *Instrucción secundaria*, the two works by Raquel Camaña, *Pedagogía social* and *El dilettantismo sentimental*, pertain to desired changes in the (Argentine) educational system. More specifically, Camaña, from a sociological perspective, shows a marked interest in questions of (social) inequality and how these manifest themselves in educational systems and the curriculum present in many schools. Thus, throughout her *Pedagogía social* she advocates for a coeducational school that will be for *all* students, not only males *and* females, but also children from any and every socio-economic background. Alongside Camaña's work is Pedro Goyena's *Crítica literaria*, which might seem like an outlier in light of the fact that Goyena was a staunch Catholic and, as a result, against the secularization of schools in Argentina. That being said, this

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<sup>403</sup> <http://www.buenosaires.gob.ar/derechoshumanos/observatorio/colectividad-danesa>

specific group of Goyena's texts is quite distinct from any of his dogmatic diatribes; it is, instead, a series of critical essays on Argentina's literature during his own lifetime, originally published in the *Revista Argentina* in the 1870s. Together with the other "literary" work listed in "El Signo" (José de Maturana's *Naranja en flor*), this collection of critical essays highlights the importance of not just works *about* educational standards for "La Cultura Argentina," but also works that can be used *in* the classroom for educational purposes.

The second set of works that appears in "El signo," which *only* don Wenceslao corrects for the Editorial Oportet & Haereses (rather than with the assistance of T. Mascarenhas), shows a marked deviation from the educational theme of the first group of texts. More specifically, instead of books that engage with pedagogical standards and curriculum, these other works are quite lewd and scandalous. Our protagonist's reaction to this lascivious subject matter, complete with obscene graphics, best summarizes the unexpected shift in published material: "rodó por el suelo uno de los pliegos que estaba corrigiendo don Wenceslao. Conozco mi obligación y, sobre el pucho me acomodé en cuatro patas para recogerlo. No haberlo hecho: vi una figura de lo más deslenguada, que me puse como un tomate" (138). When the narrator celebrates his birthday a few days later, he decides to visit don Wenceslao's home where he lays eyes on the finished books to which those prurient proofs belonged:

...había un alto de libros que me permití revistar. De nuevo le digo, eran de la Imprenta Oportet & Haereses y mejor no haberlo hecho. Bien dicen que cabeza en la que entra poco retiene el poco; hasta el día de hoy no puedo olvidarme de esos libros que hacía imprimir don Wenceslao. Las tapas eran con prójimas desnudas y de todos colores, y llevaban por título *El jardín perfumado*, *El espión chino*, *El hermafrodita* de Antonio Panormitano, *Kama-sutra* y/o *Ananga-Ranga*, *Las*

*capotas melancólicas*, las obras de Eléfantis y las de Arzobispo de Benevento.

(139)

All but one of the above cited titles are real books with the common link of controversy. The majority of the works are erotic literature or sex manuals (*El jardín perfumado*, *El hermafrodita*, and *Kama-sutra y/o Ananga-Ranga*), one is a critique of the social and political customs of the world (*El espión chino*), and the mention of the works of Elephantis conjures up her mysterious work on the art of love.<sup>404</sup> The only work from this second group that “Biorges” invents, most likely for its humor, is *Las capotas melancólicas*, which Parodi links to a note from Richard Burton’s *The Book of The Thousand Nights and a Night* that alludes to the invention and crafting of condoms: “La nota de Burton aclara que, en árabe, *Al-Musrán* designa la bolsa rellena con sangre que Ali utiliza para disfrazarse de mujer y fingir un aborto; precisa que se trata un trozo de intestino delgado de oveja, un ‘cundum’, y agrega: ...une capote anglaise, a ‘check upon child’, utilizado también para prevenir enfermedades venéreas... Es evidente que Borges y Bioy apreciaron la nota de Burton, evocando la imagen de los ‘condones taciturnos’” (197). In essence, each of these volumes could easily appear on a list of banned books created for a conservative (Catholic) country, such as Argentina in the late 1940s. This claim is supported by the mention of the works of the Arzobispo de Benevento since his *Catalogo di diverse opere, compositioni et libri, li quali come eretici, sospetti, impii et scandalosi si dichiarano dannati et prohibiti in questa inclita città di Vinegia* (1549) consisted of a list of 149 works that were prohibited (by the Catholic Church) in Venice for their heretical nature. The scandal and shock

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<sup>404</sup> While the general traits of these works are familiar to readers, a more in-depth study of their connections and relevance to Borges and Bioy Casares’s Argentina can be found in Cristina Parodi’s recent case study of “El signo” that serves as an outline for her anticipated book-length project that seeks to provide a gloss for all of “Biorges’s” collaborative writings.



that the narrator expresses upon seeing these titles aligns with the sad fate of his friend don Wenceslao, who shortly after is “acusado de estafa y de traficar en libros infames” and, for those reasons, sentenced to two years in jail, which undoubtedly echoes much of Perón’s authoritarian control and censorship of Argentine print culture during his reign (140).<sup>405</sup>

In addition to the educational theme that emerges from the works that our protagonist corrects for don Wenceslao,<sup>406</sup> there is also a very strong *religious* thread that runs throughout the entire short story. We first see this motif in the epigraph, Genesis 9:13, which states: “I have set my bow in the clouds, and it shall be a sign of the covenant between me and the earth.”<sup>407</sup> Even though the content of this short story is quite removed from the biblical flood, after which the above covenant is made between God and the earth, signaling a clean slate and a cleansing of the fallen peoples, there is an echo of this moment with the persecution and sentencing of don Wenceslao for producing explicitly pornographic material. Moreover, while he is trying to pass the time in his jail cell he decides to pray and, as a result, starts to have strange visions: “Tal vez entonces me tocó en el corazón un santo bendito y me puse a rezar... Es verdad que el Señor me había deparado muchas visiones, todas francamente valiosas” (140). What is more, we see an extreme perversion and parodying of Noah’s ark and the saving of certain creatures from the flood through one of these visions: “Subían grandes cosas desde el monte del establecimiento rural Manantiales y desde la curva del tren. Se dirigían en procesión al cenit... El primero que distinguí... *era tamaño berenjena rellena*... La gran sorpresa bogaba a la derecha, a un nivel

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<sup>405</sup> Curiously, don Wenceslao serves time at the Penitencia Nacional in cell number 272, which just so happens to be the cell adjacent to that of don Isidrio Parodi in Borges’s and Bioy Casares’s *Seis problemas para don Isidro*.

<sup>406</sup> This theme arguably can be seen through not only the books *about* pedagogy and curriculum, but also the more scandalous titles since, to a certain extent, both types of materials educate.

<sup>407</sup> All biblical passages are from the New Revised Standard Version.

más alto, y era un solo puchero a la española, con su morcilla y su tocino” (140-1, emphasis mine). Thus, instead of having visions of animals and humans preparing to be saved and eventually ascend into heaven with God, don Wenceslao has visions of *food* preparing for this same journey. After he is released from jail, our protagonist Mascarenhas still smells “un solo olor a fritangas” outside of don Wenceslao’s home and, after his death a few days later, our narrator is convinced that “su espíritu recto pudo ascender al firmamento, donde sin duda lo acompañan ahora todas esas minutas y postres” (142).<sup>408</sup>

The fantastic elements found at the end of “El signo” serve as a link to the other short story in “Biorges’s” collaboration *Dos fantásticas memorables*. Generally speaking, the structure of “El testigo” is very similar to “El signo” in light of the fact that the reader is presented with a kind of monologue by the protagonist Mascarenhas to his friend Lumbeira.<sup>409</sup> That being said, in contrast to the chance-encounter with don Wenceslao and the publishing industry in “El signo,” in this second short story our protagonist recounts some of his travels throughout the Argentine countryside (and some unpleasant encounters along the way), and quickly moves to his employment (as the sole employee) with “la razón social Meinong y Cía,” a tobacco factory run by don Alejandro Meinong. When don Alejandro must travel to La Plata for business, he entrusts our protagonist with his nine-year-old granddaughter and sole heir of his fortune. We soon learn that this young girl, Flora, is quite peculiar and begins to complain of frightening sightings in the basement after coming down with a severe fever:

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<sup>408</sup> This grotesque use of food imagery also brings to mind the epic battle between doña Cuaresma and don Carnal in *El libro de buen amor*.

<sup>409</sup> Since both stories open with an acknowledgement of this figure of Lumbeira, they perhaps can be seen as two parts of one same conversation between this figure and the protagonist Mascarenhas.

A la oración, hora que acostó a su muñeca, la divisé con fiebre en los pulsos, con alucinaciones y el miedo... La niña amaneció tempranera, todavía malilla, no tanto por las fiebres, que habían bajado, cuanto por la pavor. Más a lo tarde, cuando la hubo confortado el cafeto, le puse pregunta de qué la congojaba. Me dijo que la víspera había columbrado en el sótano una cosa tan rara que no podía describir cómo era, salvo que era con barbas. Yo di en pensar que esa fantasía con barbas no era causante de la fiebre, sino lo que el practicón llama síntoma, y la distraje con el cuento del jíbaro que lo eligieron diputado los monos. (131).

After Flora recovers, Mascarenhas asks her to return downstairs for some papers he needs and, although he stands at the top of the stairs to comfort her, it isn't long before he hears her scream and runs down to find her dead. In utter shock, our protagonist tries to understand what transpired and, after surveying the space, discovers the mysterious cause of her death: "Vea, de a un tiempo, en un santiamén, los tres combinados que en una suerte de entrevero tranquilo animaban el sillón... Campeaba el Padre, que por las barbas raudales lo conocí, y a la vez era el Hijo, con los estigmas, y el Espíritu, en forma de paloma, del grandor de un cristiano" (132).<sup>410</sup> For fear of don Alejandro's wrath, Mascarenhas moves Flora's body to her bed and flees town before he returns. He later learns that the home was demolished some years later with the expansion of the calle Belgrano.<sup>411</sup> Much like the previously analyzed tale, many of these religiously fantastic elements in "El testigo" resonate with its opening biblical epigraph: "Then

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<sup>410</sup> This same passage also resonates with Borges's short story "El Aleph" for the way in which he describes the number of eyes that watched him and how all of the universe seems to converge in that one spot: "No sé con cuántos ojos me vigilaban, porque hasta el par que le correspondía a cada persona era, si bien se considera, un solo ojo y estaba, a un mismo tiempo, en seis lados. No me hable de las bocas y pico, porque es matarse. Dé, también, en sumar que uno salía de otro, en una rotación atareada, y no se admirará que ya me lindara un principio de vértigo, como de asomante [sic] a un agua que gira" (131).

<sup>411</sup> The demolition of this mysterious home is also a strong echo of "El Aleph."

said I, Woe is me! For I am undone; because I am a man of unclean lips, and I dwell in the middle of a people of unclean lips: for my eyes have seen the King, the LORD of hosts” (Isaiah 6:5).<sup>412</sup> This verse in Isaiah highlights the common idea throughout the Old Testament that the sight of God will bring about a man’s death (“Woe is me! For I am undone”). Moreover, Isaiah exhibits a great sense of fear after seeing his Lord and, as a result, sees himself in an unclean state (“I dwell in the middle of a people of unclean lips”).

Perhaps most important for my larger analysis is the name of the firm (and printing house) in question: Editorial Oportet & Haereses. While there has been no in-depth study of this (apocryphal) publishing house to date, Bioy Casares provides the following details about its significance in a brief footnote (that can easily be missed by readers) in his massive biography of Borges: “el pie de ‘Oportet & Haereses’... alude a I Corintios 9:19. La referencia podría ser indirecta, ya que: (a) en *Liturgies intimes* (1892), Verlaine incluye el poema ‘*Oportet haereses esse*’; (b) en su conferencia sobre ‘El romanticismo francés’ (1920), Groussac recuerda que ‘según el Apóstol, hasta las herejías son útiles – *oportet et haereses esse*’ (1328).<sup>413</sup> While Bioy identifies the key phrase of “nam oportet et hereses esse” as alluding to I Corinthians 9:19, it actually refers to a passage that is two chapters later in Corinthians (11:19).<sup>414</sup> Virtually all of the passing references to this phrase, whether it is drawn from the biblical passage in question or

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<sup>412</sup> It should be noted that “El testigo” appears as the first short story in *Dos fantasías memorables*.

<sup>413</sup> Alberto Casares, a well-known antiquarian bookseller in Argentina, and a friend of both Borges and Bioy Casares, speaks of the Editorial Oportet & Haereses in a similar fashion: “Este nombre elegido por Borges y Bioy Casares para identificar su propia editorial, proviene seguramente de un poema de Paul Verlaine que forma parte de la obra *Liturgies Intimes* (1892), titulado precisamente Oportet Haereses Esse. Que podría traducirse ‘Conviene que haya herejías’. Asimismo esta frase proviene de San Pablo, I, Corintios, XI, 18.”

<sup>414</sup> I Corinthians 9:19 states: “For though I am free from all, I have made myself a servant to all, that I might win more of them.” I Corinthians 11:19 states: “For there must be factions among you in order that those who are genuine among you may be recognized.”

even from Verlaine's poem, translate it *literally* as there must be heresies (que haya herejías), which is not an adequate reflection of its meaning. That is to say, the word *heresy* is a loaded term that mostly carries negative connotations in our modern-day world, and a more accurate translation of this concept, which is often used in certain editions of the Bible, would be *factions* since the term heresy does not always refer to a type of error, but rather a schism. Even more puzzling is the fact that Borges understands the name of the firm as meaning something much different than Bioy Casares: "El sello editorial, Editorial Oportet & Haereses, aludía al Oporto y al Jerez."<sup>415</sup> In a sense, to state that this publishing house was named after Port and Sherry might be a simple misdirection or inside joke, but it might also allude to the unique types of works they produced, which, much like a nice after-dinner wine, are for a more refined palate.

Even though Borges and Bioy Casares present readers with differing thoughts surrounding the name of their Editorial Oportet & Haereses, both interpretations can be linked by their shared understanding of collaborative writings as a playful space for inside jokes that, at times, become so distorted that they lose all original sense of meaning: "Al comienzo hicimos bromas, y después bromas sobre bromas, como en álgebra; bromas al cuadrado, bromas al cubo... y al final abandonamos el juego que volvía incomprensible."<sup>416</sup> When we use this idea of playful joking and parody to think about "Borges's" fictions, particularly those produced by the Editorial Oportet & Haereses, many of their curiously strange elements make more sense. For instance, the visions that characters experience in both the short stories in *Dos fantasías memorables* have strong religious overtones, but also a fantastical character that corresponds to a sort of religious distortion. In tandem with these fantastical elements are the unique footnotes

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<sup>415</sup> Text included on the back cover of the 1998 Emecé edition of *Dos fantasías memorables/Un modelo para la muerte*.

<sup>416</sup> Ibid.

that crop up throughout both of the short stories in *Dos fantasías memorables*. For instance, in “El testigo” there is a grammatically oriented footnote provided by a Mario Bonfanti, S.J., who happens to be one of the central characters in *Un modelo para la muerte*, the other work published by the Editorial Oportet & Haereses, and is described as “gramático y purista argentino” (149). If this intertextuality were not already enough, this specific footnote by Bonfanti is footnoted further!: “Por un motivo que escapa a la perspicacia de esta Mesa de Correctores, el padre Mario Bonfanti, nerviosamente secundada por el señor Bernardo Sampaio, pretendió a última hora retirar la nota anterior, abrumándonos con telegramas colacionados, cartas certificadas, mensajeros ciclistas, súplicas y amenazas” (129). A similar level of inside jokes continues in the second short story in *Dos fantasías memorables*, “El signo” where we find a footnote about don Wenceslao’s glasses by Gervasio Montenegro, the protagonist in Borges’s and Bioy Casares’s *Seis problemas para don Isidro Parodi*.<sup>417</sup> Thus, “Biorges” has coyly interwoven several of their collaborative fictions into one in these instances, which furthers the notion that their joint literary endeavors were an extremely personal affair and, much resembling a type of palimpsest, build upon all previously co-authored writings.

The second book produced by the Editorial Oportet & Haereses, *Un modelo para la muerte*, is a perplexing parody of the genre of detective fiction. Unlike *Dos fantasías memorables*, Bioy Casares and Borges have chosen a new pseudonym to adorn the cover of this work: B. Suárez Lynch. Much like the name of Honario Bustos Domecq, the etymological origins of the name Benito Suárez Lynch can also be traced to ancestors in Bioy Casares’s and Borges’s families. To complicate matters even more, as we learn in the prologue to this book,

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<sup>417</sup> This connection further emphasizes the earlier mentioned link of the adjacent prison cells for don Wenceslao and don Isidro Parodi.

Lynch is the disciple of Domecq (who also happens to be writing the prologue itself): “¡Tan luego a mí pedirme un ‘A manera de prólogo’! En balde hago valer mi condición de hombre de letras jubilado, de trasto viejo. Con el primer mazazo amputo las ilusiones de mi joven amigo; el novato” (145). What is more, we soon find out that Domecq himself actually stumbled upon the central idea for *Un modelo para la muerte* and, as he had too much on his plate already, decided to pass the opportunity along to his student, B. Suárez Lynch: “La redacción de la novelita pertinente era un deber de mi exclusiva incumbencia; pero estando metido hasta el resuello en unos bocetos biográficos del presidente de un *povo irmão*, le cedí el tema del misterio al catecúmeno” (147).<sup>418</sup> Curiously, Domecq mentions coming to his brilliant idea after reading “la columna de policiales,” which brings to mind several of Borges editorial positions during the previous decade, especially his role as co-director of the *Revista Multicolor de los Sábados* and his occasional columns for *El Hogar* (147).<sup>419</sup>

In general terms, *Un modelo de la muerte* is a story of revenge. That being said, the central plot points of the narrative are muddled by the use of ornately antiquated language, non-linear chronology, and the introduction of extraneous characters and story lines. Alfred MacAdam provides the best synopsis of this complex and perplexing short story:

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<sup>418</sup> While the meaning of the reference to the “presidente del *povo irmão*” is not entirely clear, the specific use of portuguese might allude to the somewhat parallel political situation in Brazil under Gertúlio Vargas as a sort of foreshadowing for Juan Perón’s rule.

<sup>419</sup> The fact that H. Bustos Domecq is too busy writing “bocetos biográficos” also will remind readers of his columns in *El Hogar*, which typically had a specific section dedicated to synthetic, or brief, biographies of writers. Interestingly, these two venues can easily be linked by the appearance of similar review sections in each. While the entirety of Borges’s column in *El Hogar* is dedicated to literary reviews, we can see this form somewhat arising from certain “Bibliografía” sections in the *Revista Multicolor de los Sábados* in which he and Ulyses Petit de Murat review current works. In particular, the January 6, 1933 issue of the *RMS* contains a “Bibliografía” section that is virtually identical to what we will later find in Borges’s columns in *El Hogar*.

En el pasado pretextual, el criminal, Ladislao Barreiro, sufrió a causa de las acciones de Tonio Le Fanu (cuyo parentesco con el novelista gótico irlandés no existe). Le Fanu hace que Barreiro pierda su puesto como director de una biblioteca. Barreiro promete vengarse. Mucho más tarde, Barreiro conoce a Kuno Fingermann, que resulta ser el cuñado de Le Fanu. Este hecho hace de Le Fanu un bígamo *in potentia*, pues está a punto de casarse con Hortensia Montenegro, de la ‘alta sociedad’ porteña. Barreiro convence a Fingermann para que extorsione a Le Fanu. Al mismo tiempo, Le Fanu descubre que Fingermann ha robado dinero de la Asociación Aborigenista Argentina. Le Fanu le informa a Barreiro (abogado oficial del grupo) que extorsiona a Fingermann. Le Fanu se entera de todo y – improbablemente – extorsiona a Barreiro. El dinero pasa de Le Fanu a Fingermann, a Barreiro y vuelve a Le Fanu. Barreiro decide romper el círculo matando a Le Fanu, y lo hace así: convence a Le Fanu que sería mejor matar a Fingermann, y cuando Le Fanu [lo] ha preparado todo para sorprender a Fingermann, Barreiro lo mata (548-9).

Any reader that is familiar with the work of G. K. Chesterton will immediately identify this plot as that of “The Oracle of the Dog,” which is one of the eight tales that make up *The Incredulity of Father Brown* (1926). Indeed, MacAdam makes this crucial connection, yet fails to tie it to Borges’s previous work with *Crítica*’s literary supplement (the *Revista Multicolor de los Sábados*). More specifically, a Spanish translation of this short story (“La Profecía del perro”) appears in the May 12, 1934 issue (No. 40, p. 2) of the *RMS*:





**Figure 79:** *Revista Multicolor de los Sábados*

[Source: Nicolás, Helft. *Crítica: Revista Multicolor de los Sábados, 1933-1934. Edición completa en CD-ROM*. Buenos Aires: Fondo Nacional de las Artes, 1999.]

Knowing that this specific short story appeared within the pages of the *RMS* while Borges held the position of co-director helps readers unpack the previously mentioned passage from the

prologue to *Un modelo para la muerte* in which H. Bustos Domecq mentions that his inspiration for the story arose from reading “la columna de policiales” (147). Even though the *Revista Multicolor de los Sábados* was not dedicated entirely to works of detective fiction, other works that fall into the category of this specific genre appeared frequently.<sup>420</sup>

One of the few studies dedicated to this complex short story focuses on how Bioy Casares and Borges parody the genre of detective fiction within their dizzying narrative in that very genre and, as a result, exemplify of what Alfred MacAdam calls “la parodia por medio de la repetición” (547). The first level of parody appears in the opening pages of *Un modelo para la muerte* with the humorous list of characters (“Dramatis Personae”) that includes “Padre” Brown, which is a clear allusion to G. K. Chesterton’s fictional priest, and Gervasio Montenegro, who was previously included among the characters in *Seis problemas para don Isidro Parodi* and also appeared in footnotes in *Dos fantatsías memorables*. What is more, within the first few lines of the text itself, the reader finds herself in an eerily familiar location: “Elegió el ángulo noroeste de la celda 273, se sentó en cuclillas y extrajo de los fondos del bombachón un trozo de caña de azúcar y lo chupó babosamente” (153, emphasis mine). This cell is none other than that of Isidro Parodi, “Biorges’s” crime sleuth extraordinaire from their *Seis problemas para don Isidro Parodi*, which signals to readers that the narrative form will imitate what we saw in this prior work. In other words, Parodi will serve as the sounding board for various characters as they try to work through the mysterious revenge plot that is unfolding before their eyes.

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<sup>420</sup> Some examples include, but are not limited to, the following: G. K. Chesterton, “El muerto de la casa del pavo real” (Dec. 30, 1933; p. 1); Víctor Juan Guillot, “El detective magnífico” (Oct. 28, 1933; p. 8); Pedro Devaux, “Sabio detectives” (Feb. 24, 1934; p. 8); reseña de “Policía intelectual” de Ramón Doll (Dec. 9, 1933; p. 5).

Interestingly MacAdam does not connect this type of narrative structure with *Seis problemas para don Isidro Parodi*, but rather links it with the foundational work of one particular writer of detective fiction, which serves to create yet another layer of parody and distortion: “La técnica de *Un modelo para la muerte*... imita la de *The Moonstone* de Wilkie Collins: cada personaje presenta su versión de los hechos, y se enredan tanto que los hechos se pierden en la narrativa” (549). That being said, his reference to Collins’s work is quite telling and echoes Borges’s earlier work for *El Hogar* in light of the fact that he refers to *The Moonstone* on several occasions. For instance, in the June 24, 1938 issue of *El Hogar*, Borges establishes *The Moonstone* as “la primera novela policial que registra la historia” (30); almost a year later (May 5, 1939), while reviewing William Faulkner’s *The Wild Palms*, Borges returns to Collins’s work and highlights his key technique of allowing the characters to dictate the narrative: “Que yo sepa, nadie ha ensayado todavía una historia de las formas de la novela, una morfología de la novela. Esa historia hipotética y justiciera destacaría el nombre de Wilkie Collins, que inauguró el curioso procedimiento de encomendar la narración de la obra a los personajes...” (62). In a sense, even though Bioy Casares and Borges are parodying the genre of detective fiction, they also seem to be paying homage to its foundational figures. This idea resonates with the various references and allusions to Chesterton and Borges’s and Bioy Casares’s previous collaborative fictions.

The third and final work produced by the Editorial Oportet & Haereses, Jorge Luis Borges’s *Nueva refutación del tiempo* (1947), is quite different, both in terms of its content and its physical form, from the other two books published by this firm a year earlier. For starters, this work is a critical essay published under the *real* name of one of the two writers in question. Thus, we immediately begin to see a stark difference between this work and the former two.

What is more, the first part of this essay was published previously in the literary journal *Sur* in 1944, which makes this work not nearly as novel as the three fictions that precede it. Aside from its different formal features, the content of *Nueva refutación del tiempo* is also quite distinct when compared with the other two works published by the Editorial Oportet & Haereses. As previously stated, this essay is a work of nonfiction, which stands out from the two creative short stories that comprise *Dos fantasías memorables* and the parody of detective fiction in *Un modelo para la muerte*. What is more, as with most of Borges's essays, the topic of *Nueva refutación del tiempo* is extremely complex in nature and engages with the work of a number of metaphysical philosophers in an effort to demonstrate the unsoundness of the concept of time. More specifically, Borges uses the writings of George Berkeley on idealism and those of David Hume on perceptions and sensations to rationalize his argument that the concept of time as we know it does not exist: "niego con argumentos del idealismo, la vasta serie temporal que el idealismo admite. Hume ha negado la existencia de un espacio absoluto, en el que tiene su lugar cada cosa; yo, la de un solo tiempo, en el que se eslabonan todos los hechos" (16). Thus, not only are the concepts difficult to parse out for an average reader, but much of the essay is also repetitive and somewhat circular in nature, which only serves to complicate the central point further.<sup>421</sup>

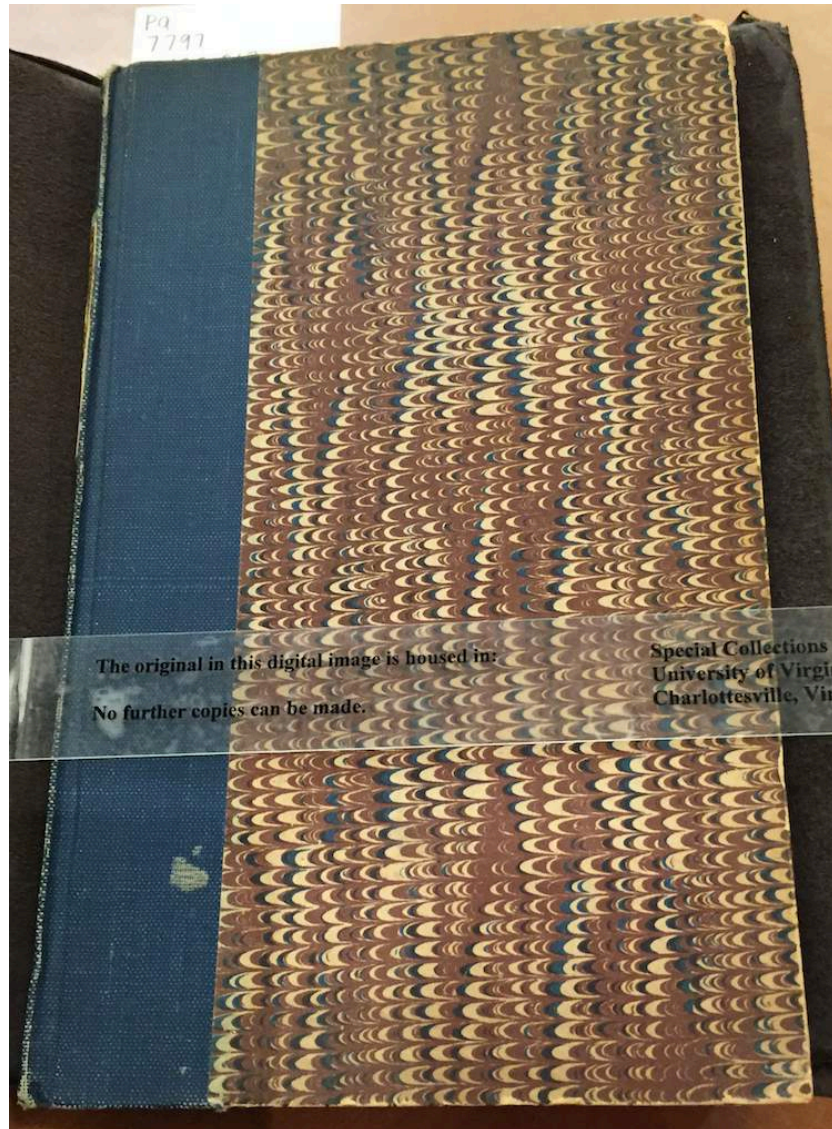
Having outlined the types of works that appear with the Editorial Oportet & Haereses imprint, we can now turn to the question of the *physical form* of these books. Two of the three books produced by this firm, *Dos fantasías memorables* and *Un modelo para la muerte*, have identical bindings and typography and use similar paper throughout. What is more, these two works are *physically* unlike virtually all of the works that Borges published (or produced) during

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<sup>421</sup> Take for instance, the fact that several of the cited passages from both Berkeley and Hume's texts are repeated, word for word, in parts A and B.



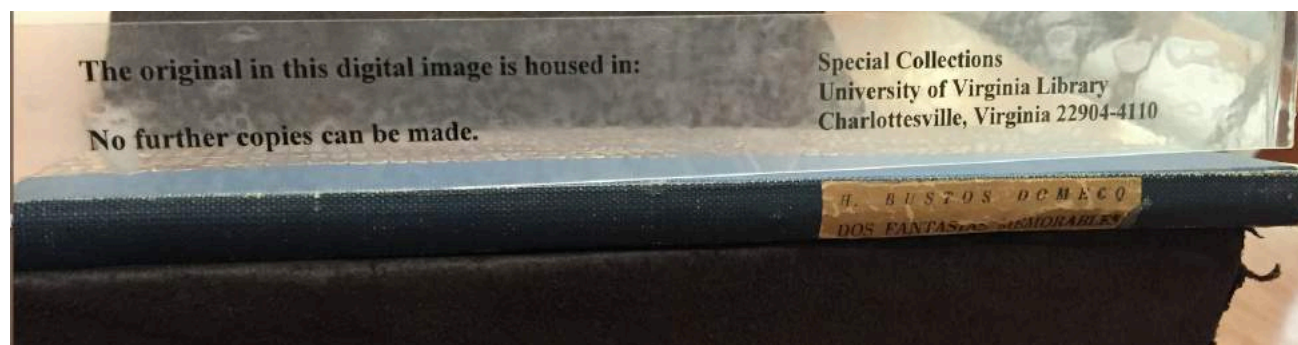
this time. First, and perhaps most curious, is the fact that these two hardcover books are quarter bound in a blue cloth with marbled paper on the front and backboards:



**Figure 80:** H. Bustos Domecq, *Dos fantasías memorables* (Editorial Oportet & Haereses, 1946)

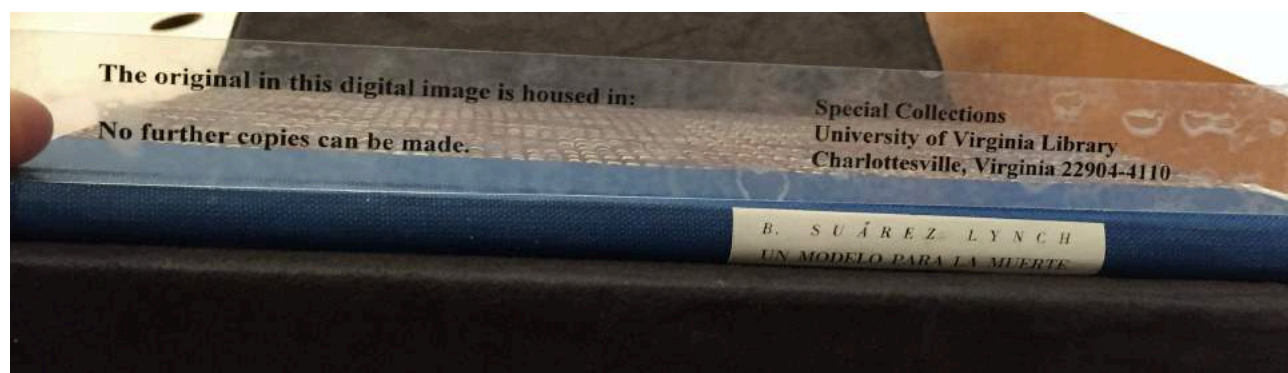
[Source: Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia]

While this style of binding is quite commonly found throughout Europe and the United States, it is much less common in Argentina.<sup>422</sup> Coupled with this particular binding is the presentation of the title and author name on a small piece of paper adhered to the spine, which is quite atypical:



**Figure 81:** H. Bustos Domecq, *Dos fantasías memorables* (Editorial Oportet & Haereses, 1946)

[Source: Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia]



**Figure 82:** B. Suárez Lynch, *Un modelo para la muerte* (Editorial Oportet & Haereses, 1946)

[Source: Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia]

<sup>422</sup> A handful of early twentieth-century Argentine books show similar marbled paper boards (with quarter-bound leather spines and no paper spine labels), but the majority of these works have been *rebound* in this style and were not originally produced in such a way. Consider the previously mentioned works produced as part of Ingenieros's "La Cultural Argentina" which were all produced in softbound paper copies, yet a quick perusal of any antique book sale website yields a number of copies of these editions with a sundry mix of quarter-bound leather spines with diverse marbled paperboards:

[http://articulo.mercadolibre.com.ar/MLA-610243418-pedro-goyena-critica-literaria-ed-1917-\\_JM](http://articulo.mercadolibre.com.ar/MLA-610243418-pedro-goyena-critica-literaria-ed-1917-_JM) ;

<http://carnoli.mercadoshops.com.ar/critica-literaria-pedro-goyena-42973278xJM> ;

[http://articulo.mercadolibre.com.ar/MLA-610243077-pedro-goyena-critica-literaria-\\_JM](http://articulo.mercadolibre.com.ar/MLA-610243077-pedro-goyena-critica-literaria-_JM) .

In general terms, printed (paper) spine labels did not become commonplace in the book world until the eighteenth century when publishers and wholesalers began to use them as a kind of expedient packaging for the works they produced. In other words, these add-ons were intended to be a temporary fix until the potential buyer was able to remove the somewhat shabby publishers's bindings for new, more elegant, materials. That being said, William Morris's Kelmscott Press, which used a great deal of vellum for their book bindings, also favored quarter-linen binding with paper boards and printed spine labels at the end of the nineteenth century and, in the process, "set a fashion among other publishers, so that for a generation or more after Morris's death English readers were afflicted with a plague of books issued in board covers with blue or grey paper" (Peterson 121).<sup>423</sup> With their peculiar use of similar printed spine labels on books that have more elegant marbled papers, Borges and Bioy Casares appear to be problematizing the conceptions of how books are made and how books should be *used*, especially when we consider the fact that these two works employ an antiquated high-brow language that is virtually incomprehensible (even for native Argentines) without the help of a dictionary.<sup>424</sup>

Along with the binding style and high quality of the paper and typography, any discussion of *Un modelo para la muerte* requires a description of the peculiar series of six drawings that can be found throughout the work.<sup>425</sup> Curiously, these drawings only appear in the first edition (1946) and none of them are reproduced in any subsequent editions, nor do critics or

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<sup>423</sup> See *The Golden Legend* (1892) and *The Hollow Land* (1903) for examples of William Morris's quarter-linen binding with paperboards and spine labels.

<sup>424</sup> Inherent in such discussions are artists' books, the *livre d'artiste*, bibliophilic tendencies, and book collecting.

<sup>425</sup> It should also be noted that each of the first edition printings of *Dos fantasías memorables* and *Un modelo para la muerte* were limited to a run of 300 copies, which were each numbered.

scholars allude to their existence. The first image, which is reminiscent of Dante's half-man, half-bull minotaur in the *Inferno* and also the most recognizable in form of the six, adorns the title page of the work:



**Figure 83:** B. Suárez Lynch, *Un modelo para la muerte* (Editorial Oportet & Haereses, 1946)

[Source: Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia]

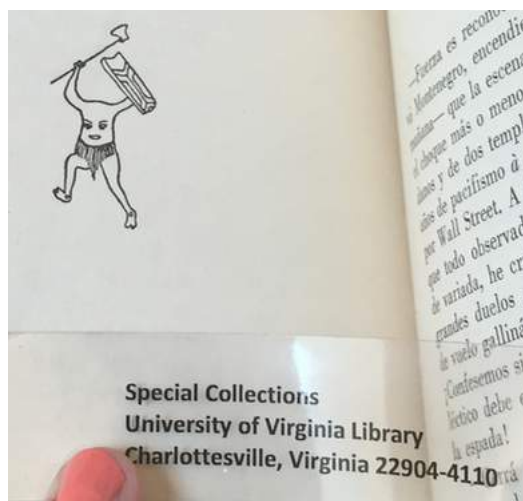
For the remainder of the book, readers will find a unique, non-repeating image at the close of each of the work's sections:



**Figure 84:** B. Suárez Lynch, *Un modelo para la muerte* (Editorial Oportet & Haereses, 1946)

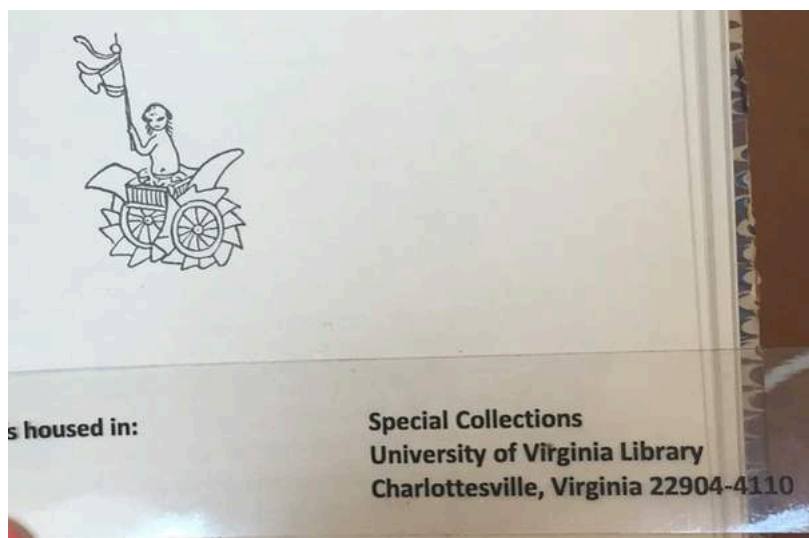
[Source: Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia]





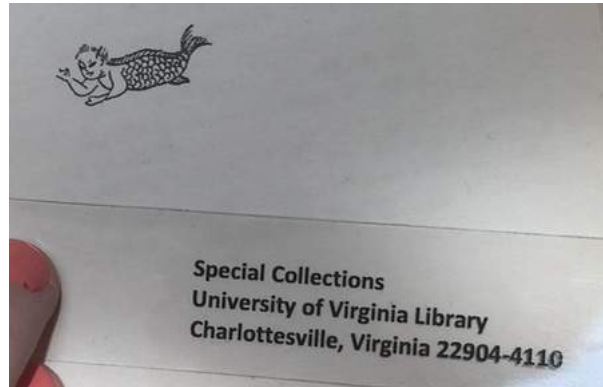
**Figure 85:** B. Suárez Lynch, *Un modelo para la muerte* (Editorial Oportet & Haereses, 1946)

[Source: Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia]



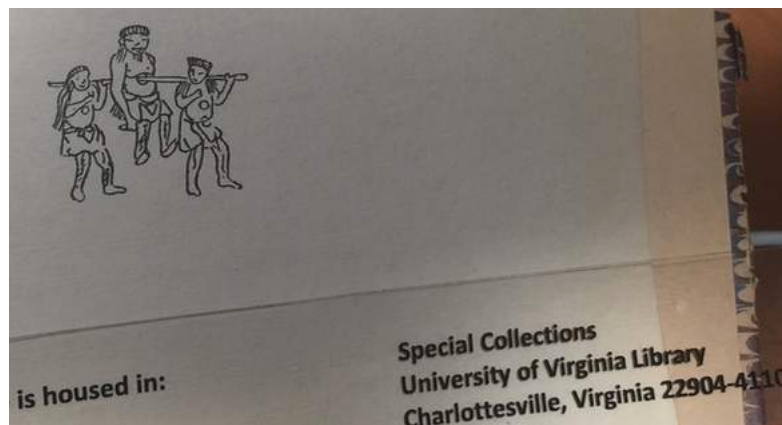
**Figure 86:** B. Suárez Lynch, *Un modelo para la muerte* (Editorial Oportet & Haereses, 1946)

[Source: Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia]



**Figure 87:** B. Suárez Lynch, *Un modelo para la muerte* (Editorial Oportet & Haereses, 1946)

[Source: Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia]



**Figure 88:** B. Suárez Lynch, *Un modelo para la muerte* (Editorial Oportet & Haereses, 1946)

[Source: Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia]

There is no artist credited anywhere in the work for these images, nor do they seem to refer to any specific plot points or moments in the text. Rather, these obscure drawings might be better suited in the pages of Borges's *Manual de zoología fantástica*, especially the first (minotaur), second (headless winged pig), and fifth (mermaid/triton) images.<sup>426</sup> Thus, akin to the perplexing

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<sup>426</sup> Consider these unique images in light of Borges's introductory words to *The Book of Imaginary Beings*: "Let us move now from the zoo of reality to the zoo of mythology, that zoological garden whose fauna is comprised not of lions but of sphinxes and gryphons and centaurs. The population of this second

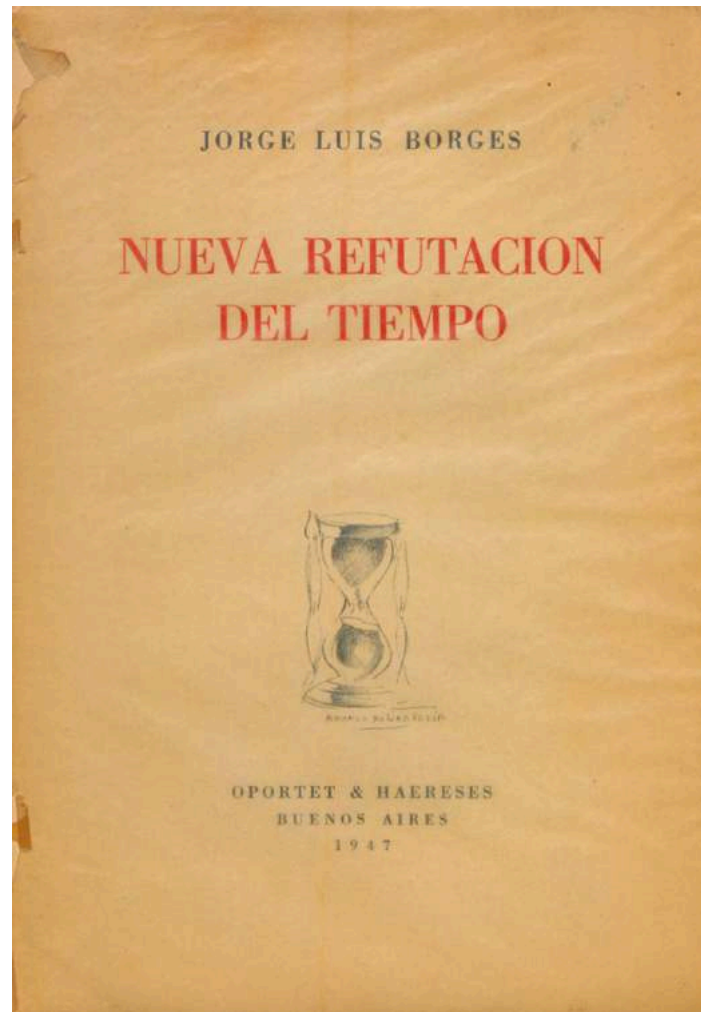
narrative style of *Un modelo para la muerte* itself, these drawings appear to represent yet another layer of the Bioy Casares's and Borges's dizzying distortion of not only the genre of detective fiction, but also their conceptions of the relationship between text and image in books.

In terms of the physical features of Borges's *Nueva refutación del tiempo*, it is not a hardcover book like *Dos fantasías memorables* and *Un modelo para la muerte*, but rather a softcover work composed of high quality paper, much like a pamphlet. Thus, we are not presented with the beautifully marbled papers or quarter-bound blue spine, but rather a crisp crème-colored paper that harkens back to the physical features of Borges's earlier collections of essays such as *Las Kenningar* and *Historia de la eternidad*, particularly for their similar use of classical typography, color, and design<sup>427</sup>:

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zoo should by all rights exceed that of the first, since a monster is nothing but a combination of elements taken from real creatures, and the combinatory possibilities border on the infinite" (xii).

<sup>427</sup> The last work published by the Editorial Destiempo, Bioy Casares's *Homenaje a Francisco Almeyra* (1954), echoes this classic style of printing.



**Figure 89:** Jorge Luis Borges, *Nueva refutación del tiempo* (Editorial Oportet & Haereses, 1947)

[Source: Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia]

After examining the colophon printed at the close of this essay, we discover that Francisco A. Colombo printed it, just as he printed *Las Kenningar* and *Historia de la eternidad*, which accounts for the echoes in design. That being said, unlike these earlier collections that were printed by Colombo, Borges's "Nueva refutación del tiempo" presents readers with an original hand-drawn image in the center of the cover, which immediately stands out from the rest of the works produced by this luxury printer:



**Figure 90:** Jorge Luis Borges, *Nueva refutación del tiempo* (Editorial Oportet & Haereses, 1947)

[Source: Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia]

Although this image of an hourglass clearly echoes the theme of the long essay on time and is, thus, appropriate for the work in question, it is quite unfitting when compared with the rest of Borges's work.<sup>428</sup> More specifically, the fact that Borges did not favor cover art, and instead preferred clean covers with no more adornment than their typography, raises the question of the presence of this specific illustration. Perhaps the best way to answer such an inquiry is by considering *who* created the image as opposed to *why* they might have done so. As it were, one does not have to go far to uncover the identity of the artist since, directly below the drawing, we find the clearly printed name of this exact individual: Amanda Molina Vedia. Aside from being

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<sup>428</sup> We might compare this with Atillio Rossi's earlier cherubim images on the cover of the Editorial Losada's edition of *Poemas, 1922-1943* (1943) that are more of a thematic stretch. That being said there is a certain level of dialogue in terms of the style of imagery between Rossi's illustration and the above hourglass.

an Argentine artist, Vedia was also known to have caught the eye of (a younger) Borges, which might account for why he dedicated one of his most canonical short stories, “La muerte y la brújula,” to her (“A Mandie Molina Vedia”). In his biography of Borges, Emir Rodríguez Monegal affirms this intimate connection between the two, with specific reference to details in “La muerte y la brújula,” by citing the Argentine writer himself: “Triste-le-Roy, a beautiful name invented by Amanda Molina Vedia, stands for the now demolished Hotel Las Delicias in Adrogué. (Amanda had painted a map of an imaginary island on the wall of her bedroom; on her map I discovered the name Triste-le-Roy)” (64).<sup>429</sup> Thus, much like Attilio Rossi’s cover art for virtually all of Borges’s contemporaneous publications with Editorial Losada, or even his sister Norah’s original designs for his early *Fervor de Buenos Aires*, Amanda Molina Vedia’s illustration for his *Nueva refutación del tiempo* exemplifies Borges’s interest in publishing not only his own thoughts, but also the works of his close friends.

Examining the works produced by Editorial Destiempo and Editorial Oportet & Haereses during the 1930s and 1940s serves as the ideal culmination to a project centering on the pivotal role of the book in Borges’s early career. In his essay “Nota sobre (hacia) Bernard Shaw” (1951), this Argentine author describes how a book is not an isolated object, but rather “*una relación, es un eje de innumerables relaciones*” (328, emphasis mine).<sup>430</sup> If we read this phrase with the physical in mind, it is the perfect encapsulation of the publishing industry and, as a result, further complicates Borges’s claim that he was not interested in the book’s *physical* form since any

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<sup>429</sup> Another link between these two can be found in the inscribed editions of *El Aleph* (“Dear Mandie / Happy Xmas with best greetings from / Jorge Luis Borges / 1951, Buenos Aires / What if this friend happened to be God?”) and *La muerte y la brújula* (“To Mandie from your lazy friend / Jorge Luis Borges - 1951”) that Borges gifted to Vedia: [http://www.securennet.net/tbcl/TBCL\\_AHOME\\_Borges1.htm](http://www.securennet.net/tbcl/TBCL_AHOME_Borges1.htm).

<sup>430</sup> Jorge Luis Borges, “Nota sobre (hacia) Bernard Shaw,” *Otras inquisiciones* (Madrid: Alianza, 2002): 237-42. Print.

given publisher inherently will be invested in the whole book, from idea to finished product.<sup>431</sup>

Moreover, in light of the fact that the publisher connects all aspects of the book trade, from manufacture and production to distribution and sales, he will virtually always see the book as a physical thing, whether that is the grouping of linotype slugs, the galley proofs to review, or the finished product arriving from the bindery. Thus, by donning the role of publisher for the Editorial Destiempo and the Editorial Oportet & Haereses, Borges undoubtedly experiences the book as a physical entity. If we read the same idea about a book's innumerable relationships in an abstract sense, we can understand how books embrace their debt and intimate relationship to a vast array of historical, political, and literary works (or movements) by continually signaling to readers the various ways in which they recycle ideas and previously published material. Thus, what Borges (and Bioy Casares) create in their collaboratively produced works, whether authored by themselves or authored by other contemporary writers, is a type of palimpsest. Even though a palimpsest is understood traditionally as paper, or parchment, which contains erased, yet still visible, writing that is reused, it can also be defined simply as "a multilayered record."<sup>432</sup> In a physical sense, Borges's and Bioy Casares's works produced with Editorial Destiempo and Editorial Oportet & Haereses involve the efforts of printers, typesetters, binders, illustrators, and authors themselves. Each of these parties undoubtedly leaves a (physical) trace of their work as the book is taken from one stage of creation to the next and these residual elements remind readers that the object before their eyes is composed of many parts and was originally nothing more than rags, metal, and ink. In addition, "Borges's" works, beyond a simple layering of erasure and rewriting, present readers with snippets of other works (whether these are historical,

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<sup>431</sup> See Chapter One for my discussion of Borges's 1978 essay on "El libro."

<sup>432</sup> "Palimpsest," *Oxford English Dictionary*.

political, or literary) and influences and, in the process, become a type of metaphorical palimpsest through which we can occasionally catch glimpses of their reading preferences and their consciousness of being inscribed within a complex cultural circumstance.



## Epilogue

“Imaginé también una obra platónica, hereditaria, transmitida de padre e hijo, en la que cada nuevo individuo agregara un capítulo o corrigiera con piadoso cuidado la página de los mayores.”

—Jorge Luis Borges, “El jardín de senderos que se bifurcan” (1941)

The book is a sacred object for Borges. Not only does it serve as a source of inspiration for his carefully crafted narratives, but it can also be seen as the motivating force behind his various forms of employment throughout his life. During the most productive period of his early years, we see this Argentine writer constantly engaged with this medium, from its initial stages of creation and editing to its various printed forms. What is more, his deep-seated engagement with the publishing industry throughout the 1930s and 1940s points to his desire to promote new voices for the Buenos Aires reading populace and also make the works of these lesser known writers more readily available. As a way of concluding, I would like to consider some possible (future) avenues of investigation for research that focuses on the physical nature of books (or other literary objects) in not only Borges’s works, but also those produced in Latin America more generally. More specifically, I see these bibliographical and material types of investigations as contributing to editorial strategies for critical editions, technological methods that inform digital visualizations, and critical studies concerning reading practices throughout modern and contemporary Latin America.

At the close of my last chapter I introduced the idea of a palimpsest as a way of understanding not only Borges’s writings with their many levels of revisions and erasures, but also his editorial practices. Although I defined this type of document simply as a multilayered record, it traditionally refers to a written document, “typically of papyrus or parchment, that has

been written on more than once, with the earlier writing incompletely scraped off or erased and often legible.”<sup>433</sup> This same metaphor serves as the perfect jumping-off point for my final thoughts on Borges, bibliography, history of the book, and material studies. Comparable to the case of books in Borges’s works, there has been a great deal of criticism written about Borges and the concept of the palimpsest, but most of it deals with critical theory and concepts of deconstruction and rhizomes and does not engage with physical residues on his manuscripts or print editions.<sup>434</sup> In a similar vein, there is an ever-growing corpus of critical works dedicated to the concept of the hypertext, which can be seen as a type of palimpsest in the writings of Borges, most notably used in linking his ideas to the emergence of our modern-day internet.<sup>435</sup> In a more material sense, Borges’s tendency to use and reuse any old scrap of paper for his compositional practices signals how we can also think of the presence of (physical) palimpsests in this writer’s life more literally as a reflection on scarcity of resources and fear of censorship.<sup>436</sup>

In the pages of “Pierre Menard, autor del ‘Quijote’” Borges writes the following: “He reflexionado que es lícito ver en el Quijote ‘final’ una especie de palimpsesto, *en el que deben traslucirse los rastros -tenues pero no indescifrables- de la ‘previa’ escritura de nuestro amigo. Desgraciadamente, sólo un segundo Pierre Menard, invirtiendo el trabajo del anterior, podría exhumar y resucitar esas Troyas*” (58-9, emphasis mine). Here, we see Borges’s explicit reference to the form of the palimpsest. What is more, his words seem to evoke a sort of call to

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<sup>433</sup> “Palimpsest,” *American Heritage Dictionary*.

<sup>434</sup> See Alazraki (1984), Genette (“Palimpsests” 1997), Alfonso de Toro, and Sassón-Henry (2005).

<sup>435</sup> See Davison, Lapidot, *The New Media Reader*, and Sassón-Henry (2007).

<sup>436</sup> Aside from traditional blank paper, many of Borges’s original manuscripts appear neatly printed on postcards, school notebooks (ruled paper and graph paper), notebook *covers*, and even ledger paper for double-entry bookkeeping. What is more, we can often find traces of not only early *versions* of his works scratched out of these documents, but also *different* essays and narratives lumped together in one single document.

arms for future scholars to investigate the residual traces of previous versions of writings.<sup>437</sup> I anticipate that this type of research will employ both material and digital methodologies. More specifically, current imaging technology can allow individuals to “exhumar y resucitar” previous writings, while data visualization provides scholars with new and exciting ways to display their findings. In terms of the more physical methodologies, I imagine that an analysis of the physical features of books, not just those by Borges, but by other Latin American writers, will result in the production of expertly prepared editions, both critical and diplomatic. These material and the digital methodologies will ultimately lead to critical studies dedicated to printing history, distribution, and circulation in Latin America, all of which will enhance our understanding of methods and reasons for cultural production and general reading practices.

In terms of the specifics, one possible path of investigation, which serves as the perfect fusion of the physical and the digital, is multispectral imaging. With the ever-growing popularity of an entire e-world of downloading, sharing, and easy access to texts, interest in a material, print culture appears, at first glance, to be on the decline. In the age of the e-reader, the digital word often wins out over the printed word. That being said, certain new technological advances of the twenty-first century, such as multispectral imaging, are at the service of print documents and more often than not open a number of possible avenues for future research. In the most general of terms, multispectral imaging has the ability to capture many of the invisible, illegible aspects of original documents through the use of a system of single wavelength scans. At the University of Virginia, this technology has already been used, with great success, for the Jefferson papers and, as a result, points to one of the positive interactions between digital and print cultures that emerges in the twenty-first century.

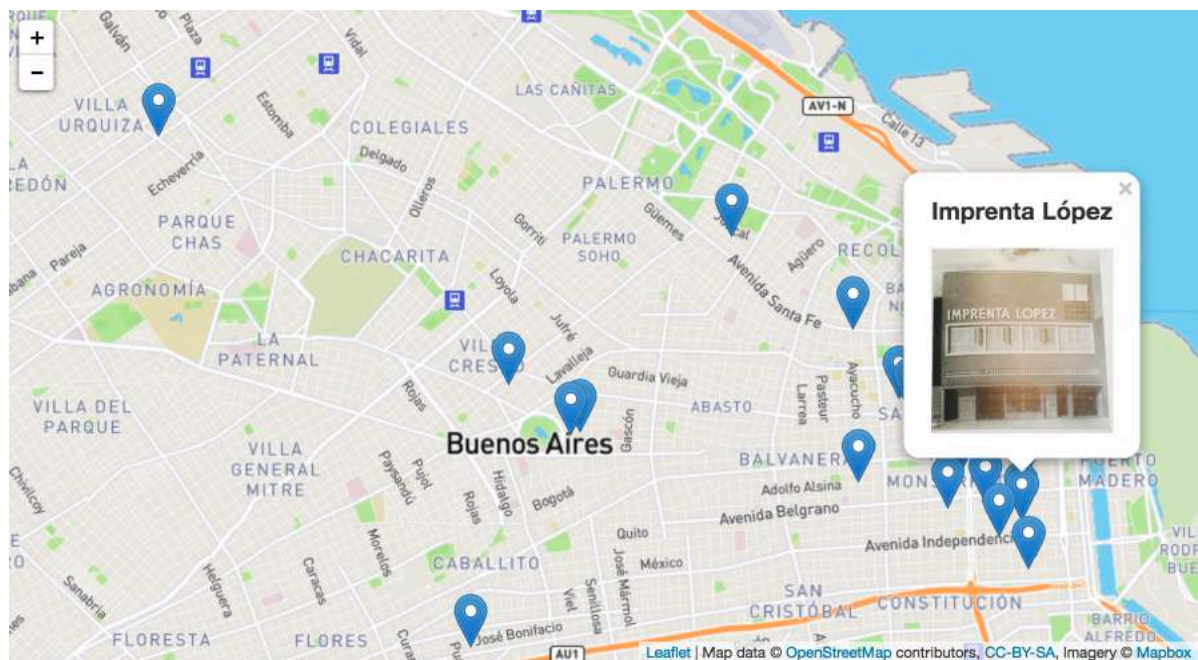
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<sup>437</sup> Such a statement clearly engages with T. S. Eliot’s “historical sense” that I touched on in Chapter One.

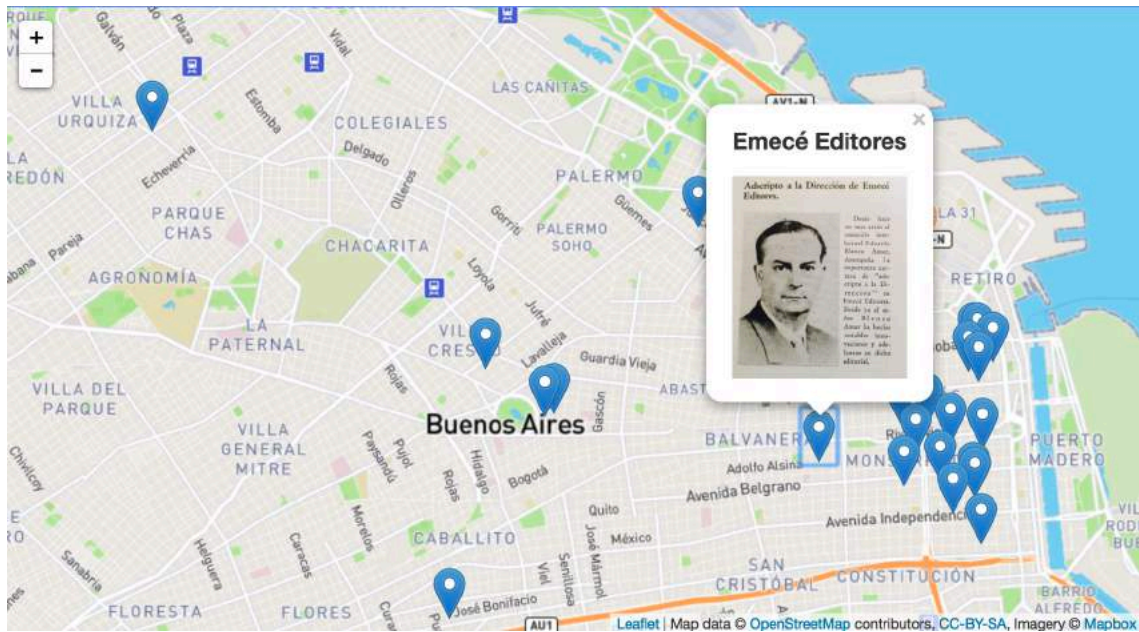
While transcribing the extensive collection of Borges manuscripts housed in the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, I became familiar not only with this Argentine's unique "insect-like handwriting," but also his predilection for cross-outs and constant textual obfuscations. Take for instance the manuscript pages of "El muerto" and "La casa de Asterión". These documents, whose contents would later be published in *El Aleph* (1949), contain a great number of deletions, smudges, and stray marks that make the central text in certain places impossible to decipher to the naked eye. After scanning the various pages of these manuscripts with the multispectral imaging technology, a series of previously hidden words are thrown into sharp relief for the reader and provide a great deal of insight into Borges's writing process. More specifically, the large portion of changes that appear beneath these cross-outs deal with word order and the *choice* of words, which emphasize the particular importance of precision in conveying meaning for Borges. For instance, in pages of the "El muerto" manuscript, many of these slight changes imbue the text with darker, almost sinister, shades of meaning, causing it to align more with the hard-boiled detective tradition as opposed to the *novela enigma* that one normally associates with Borges. As Daniel Balderston indicates, the desire to obscure any edits through the cross-out is a common practice in virtually any manuscript of Borges. For that reason, these technological advances provide scholars with new understandings about the meticulous process of writing for this canonical Argentine author and help them to recuperate—and construe—what he was at such pains to conceal.

One key aspect of bibliographical research is the collection of physical data, which can serve both material and digital ends. For instance, data related to the variants of a specific work can help editors form a detailed critical apparatus that will inform readers of any changes that a given text underwent during an established period of time. In addition, compiling data about

various printers and publishers, and the myriad of works that they produce, can help scholars assess the aesthetic features of a given work and how “house styles” begin to emerge throughout Argentina, or Latin America at large, throughout the early twentieth century. These same data sets can also help to create impressive digital visualizations, which is precisely the goal of my current digital humanities project, which relies on geospatial mapping programs (including Leaflet and Neatline). “Mapping Borges in the Argentine Publishing Industry (1930-1951)” has three distinct layers: mapping the industry, grids of contact, and textual materiality. The first layer uses data from books’ colophons and publishers’ catalogues to pinpoint the locations of Borges’s printers, publishing houses, booksellers, and even places of employment throughout the early part of the twentieth century:



**Figure 91:** “Mapping Borges in the Argentine Publishing Industry (1930-1951)”



**Figure 92:** “Mapping Borges in the Argentine Publishing Industry (1930-1951)”

The second layer draws on biographical information from the individuals involved in the Argentine book industry to highlight their connections and working relationships as a series of webs and grids that users can click through and manipulate by constantly changing the center person (or publishing industry) of contact. The third and final layer consists of a (visual) catalogue of certain physical aspects of the books in question including their covers, any illustrations, samples of typefaces that certain printers utilized, and any colophons or printers’ marks. This data also will include a more general descriptive bibliography of all of Borges’s works published between 1930 and 1951, as well as works that he edited, prefaced, or translated during this time. In light of the fact that there are virtually no extant publishers’ archives from this historical moment in Argentina and, furthermore, that much of the ephemeral print material related to Borges is in private hands, my aim is to provide researchers and any interested parties with an easily accessible reservoir of data for future projects. Moreover, the specific data collection and interfacing used for this project allow for a deeper understanding of Borges’s idea

of a book as “an axis of innumerable relationships” and, thus, provide insight into the scarcity of resources, aesthetic features, circulation of materials, and canon formation in Argentina.<sup>438</sup> In a way, I see this project as something that will not only further material studies (related to the book and publishing history) and digital projects in Southern Cone Literature, but also something that will serve a much wider audience.

Along with these possible (material and digital) avenues for future investigation, I also see much of the potentially collectable physical data from book production in Latin America as the gateway to understanding more about reading practices and preferences in these countries. More specifically, as Laura Rosato and Germán Álvarez show in their extensive study of Borges’s books housed at the National Library in Buenos Aires, many of the individually produced titles in Latin America during the twentieth century provide (future) readers with clues regarding their provenance, such as bookstore stickers, names of previous owners, or even sprawling marginalia. Looking to these physical clues can help us to understand the intricate relationship between cultural production and reading practices in Latin American literature. Regardless of the specific path that future bibliographical and material investigations take in Latin American literature, their value cannot be emphasized enough. Even though my work here relies on the production of just one writer, Jorge Luis Borges, it is my hope that this type of case study can provide future researchers with a model for investigations into *other* writers, or even entire schools of writers or publishing houses.

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<sup>438</sup> “A book is not an isolated being: it is a relationship, an axis of innumerable relationships.” (Jorge Luis Borges, “A Note on (Toward) Bernard Shaw,” *Other Inquisitions*).





***APPENDIX: A Descriptive Bibliography of Borges's Books (1930-1951)***

## Table of Contents

<i>Evaristo Carriego</i> (1930).....	372
<i>El cementerio marino</i> (1931).....	375
<i>Discusión</i> (1932).....	375
<i>Las Kenningar</i> (1933).....	376
<i>El paso de los libres</i> (1934).....	377
<i>Historia universal de la infamia</i> (1935).....	377
<i>La prison de l'enfant</i> (1935).....	378
<i>Historia universal de la eternidad</i> (1936).....	379
<i>Perséphone</i> (1936).....	380
<i>Un cuarto propio</i> (1936).....	380
<i>Luis Greve, muerto</i> (1937).....	381
<i>Orlando</i> (1937).....	381
<i>Marea de lágrimas</i> (1937).....	382
<i>La metamorphosis</i> (1938).....	383
<i>Mallarmé entre nosotros</i> (1938).....	383
<i>Diez poemas sin poesía</i> (1938).....	384
<i>Antología clásica de la literatura argentina</i> (1940).....	385
<i>Antología de la literatura fantástica</i> (1940).....	385
<i>Antología poética argentina</i> (1941).....	386
<i>Un bárbaro en Asia</i> (1941).....	387
<i>El jardín de senderos que se bifurcan</i> (1942).....	388
<i>Seis problemas para don Isidro Parodi</i> (1942).....	389
<i>Bartleby</i> (1943).....	390

<i>Poemas, 1922-1943</i> (1943).....	390
<i>Recuerdos de provincia</i> (1944).....	391
<i>Ficciones</i> (1944).....	392
<i>Los mejores cuentos policiales</i> (1944).....	393
<i>El compadrito</i> (1945).....	394
<i>Cabeza yacente</i> (1945).....	394
<i>La humillación de los Northmore</i> (1945).....	395
<i>Dos fantasías memorables</i> (1946).....	396
<i>Un modelo para la muerte</i> (1946).....	397
<i>Nueva refutación del tiempo</i> (1947).....	398
<i>Los mejores cuentos policiales</i> (1947).....	398
<i>El Aleph</i> (1949).....	399
<i>Antigua lumbre</i> (1949).....	400
<i>La muerte y la brújula</i> (1951).....	400
<i>Buenos Aires en tinta china</i> (1951).....	402
<i>Antiguas literaturas germánicas</i> (1951).....	403
<i>El Aleph</i> (1952).....	404
<i>Homenaje a Francisco Almeyra</i> (1954).....	405
<i>Los mejores cuentos policiales</i> (1956).....	405
<i>Los mejores cuentos policiales</i> (1965).....	406

**EC.1 Evaristo Carriego (M. Gleizer, 1930). First Edition, First Printing.**

TITLE PAGE. [*printed in black*]

JORGE LUIS BORGES | EVARISTO CARRIEGO | [*logo of M. Gleizer*] | M. GLEIZER – EDITOR | TRIUNVIRATO 537 | BUENOS AIRES – 1930

GATHERINGS. 8°: 1-8<sup>8</sup>, 68 leaves, [1-8] 9-10 [11-12] 13-28 [29-30] 31-47 [48-50] 51-68 [69-70] 71-93 [94-96] 97-99 [100-102] 103-118 [119-128]\*

*\*Throughout the book there are four inserted images (on glossy paper). These additional four leaves account for the differences in the pagination, since the pages are not assigned any numbers and they would result in an error of pagination if they were to be included. Thus, only 128 pages are accounted for here, but with the additional 8 of the four leaves of images, it would be a total of 136 pages.*

PAPER. Wove. A great deal of foxing. No chain or wire lines are visible on the pages. Very thick paper, akin to a construction paper. The pages are cut to a uniform size, but some of the edges are slightly jagged.

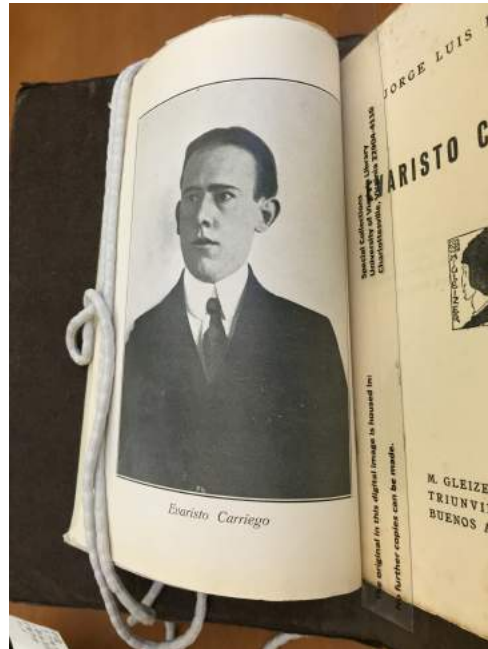
The second copy examined has written extensive lists and numerical notations, in pencil, on the last few blank pages from the previous owner.

COLOPHON. “Este libro terminó de imprimir el 30 de | Setiembre de mil novecientos treinta | en los talleres gráficos “Colón”, | de Francisco A. Colombo, San Antonio de Areco, Sucursal: | Hortiguera 552 Bs. As. | para la Editorial | M. Gleizer” ([125])

BINDING. Light pink, soft-cover book. Since the cover of this copy is detached, it is easier to tell that this thicker piece of cardboard-like paper (with a very smooth (almost glossy) finish) was simply glued on to the book block. The cover has black lettering: “JORGE LUIS BORGES | EVARISTO | CARRIEGO | M. GLEIZER – EDITOR | TRIUNVIRATO 537 | BUENOS AIRES – 1930”. The printing on the spine reads: “JORGE | LUIS | BORGES | EVARISTO | CARRIEGO | M. GLEIZER | EDITOR – 1930”. The back cover has the insignia of M. Gleizer, the profile of a face that much resembles Erasmus along with the phrase “M. Gleizer” spelled out vertically alongside the face. In the bottom, right-hand corner of the back cover is the price of the volume, which has been obscured by a previous sticker (adhered and then peeled off at one point). No protective tissue-paper layer protects the covers. The pages in this copy lie flat and it is much easier to see the stitching at the center of each gathering (one single stitch loop).

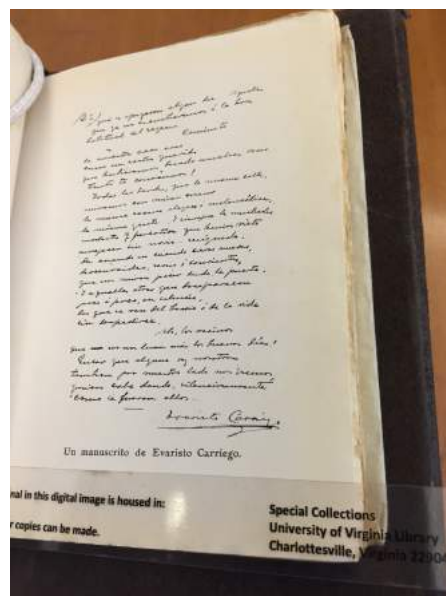
The second copy examined (copy 3 from the collection) has a light blue cover. In addition, this second copy appears to have been some damage over the years to the spine since the only visible word on the bottom is “Gleizer”.

ILLUSTRATIONS. A portrait of Evaristo Carriego (*in the first gathering; figure 1*); an image of a manuscript of Evaristo Carriego's work (*in the first gathering; figure 2*); two images of street scenes in Buenos Aires (*in the third gathering; taken by Horacio Coppola; figures 3 & 4*): "Casas de barrio en Buenos Aires. Jaurés (antes Bermejo) al 1000." & "Esquina en las antiguas orillas. Calle Paraguay al 2600."



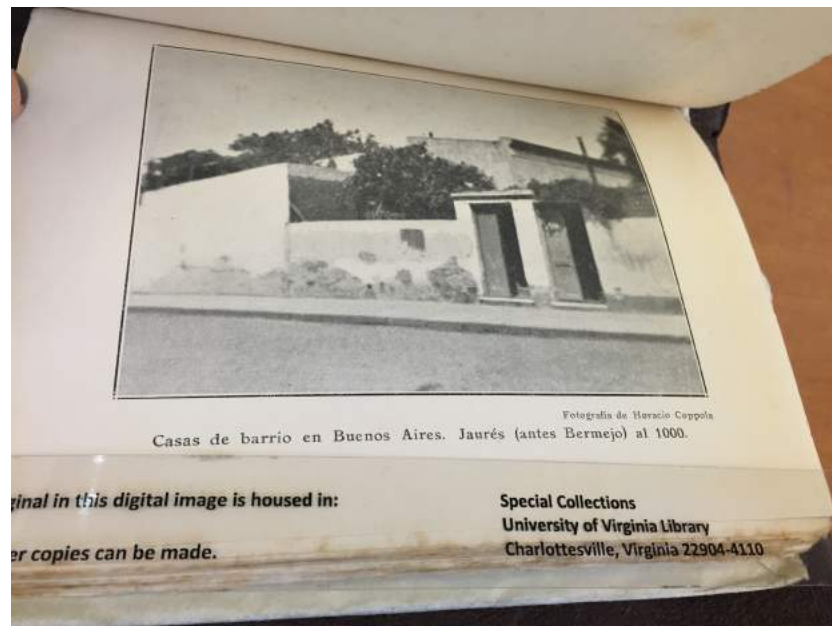
**Figure 93:** Jorge Luis Borges, *Evaristo Carriego* (M. Gleizer, 1930)

[Source: Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia]



**Figure 94:** Jorge Luis Borges, *Evaristo Carriego* (M. Gleizer, 1930)

[Source: Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia]



**Figure 95:** Jorge Luis Borges, *Evaristo Carriego* (M. Gleizer, 1930)

[Source: Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia]



**Figure 96:** Jorge Luis Borges, *Evaristo Carriego* (M. Gleizer, 1930)

[Source: Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia]

COPIES EXAMINED. *United States. Borges Collection, Small Special Collections, University of Virginia. Call number: PQ7797 .B635 E92 1930. Copy 1 & Copy 3.*

**CM.1 *El cementerio marino* (Ediciones Schillinger, 1931). First Edition, First Printing.**

TITLE PAGE. [*printed in black*]

EL CEMENTERIO | MARINO | DE PAUL VALERY | TRADUCCION DE | NESTOR  
IBARRA | PREFACIO DE | JORGE LUIS BORGES | EDICIONES SCHILLINGER |  
VIAMONTE 927 – BUENOS AIRES

GATHERINGS. 4°: 1-4<sup>45</sup><sup>2</sup>, 18 leaves, pp. [1-4] 5-31 [32-36]

PAPER. Wove. No visible chain or wires lines on the pages. Very clean, white pages of a heavy weight. All pages are cut to a uniform length.

COLOPHON. “TERMINÓSE DE IMPRIMIR EL 16 DE DICIEMBRE DE | 1931, EN LOS  
TALLERES GRÁFICOS | DE FRANCISCO A. COLOMBO | SAN ANTONIO DE ARECO Y |  
BUENOS AIRES” ([34])

BINDING. Does not maintain the original binding.

COPY EXAMINED. *United States. Borges Collection, Small Special Collections, University of Virginia. Call number: PQ7797 .B635 Z42 .V34 C55 1931. This specific copy is numer 74/500 numbered copies. There are also hand-written corrections in black ink throughout the preface by Borges. This copy is a rebound book since there are the initials “J. L. B.” printed on the spine in gold.*

**D.1 *Discusión* (M. Gleizer, 1932). First Edition, First Printing.**

TITLE PAGE. [*printed in black*]

JORGE LUIS BORGES | DISCUSION | M. GLEIZER, EDITOR | BUENOS AIRES. 1932

GATHERINGS. 8°: 1<sup>10</sup> (+1<sub>3</sub>, +1<sub>8</sub>) 2<sup>8</sup> 3<sup>10</sup> (+3<sub>1</sub>, +3<sub>10</sub>) 4-8<sup>8</sup>, 68 leaves, pp. 168 total

PAPER. Wove. Yellowing due to age, but no foxing. No chain or wire lines are visible on the pages. Very thick paper, akin to a construction paper. The pages are cut to a uniform size, yet there are slight differences in trimming between the two examined copies.

COLOPHON. “ESTE PRIMER LIBRO DE LA COLECCIÓN | DE NUEVOS ESCRITORES ARGENTINOS, | SE TERMINÓ DE IMPRIMIR EL 30 DE | JULIO DE 1932, POR EL IMPRESOR | FRANCISCO A. COLOMBO, PARA | LA EDITORIAL M. GLEIZER” ([165])

BINDING. Khaki-colored, soft-cover book. The central text on the front page is boxed in. The cover has black and red lettering: “*COLECCION DE NUEVOS ESCRITORES ARGENTINOS* | Jorge Luis Borges | DISCUSION | GLEIZER – EDITOR | BUENOS AIRES – 1932”. The printing on the spine reads: “JORGE LUIS | BORGES | DISCUSION | C. N. E. A. | 1932”. The back cover has the insigna of M. Gleizer, the profile of a face that much resembles Erasmus along with the phrase “M. Gleizer” spelled out vertically alongside the face. In the bottom, left-hand corner of the back cover is the price of the volume: “Precio \$2.—”.

COPIES EXAMINED. *United States. Borges Collection, Small Special Collections, University of Virginia. Call number: PQ7797 .B635 D5 1932. Copy 1 (signed by Borges; rebound book with a paisley-patterned cloth and spine in red leather) & Copy 2 (has an inscription from Borges to “Paco Luis”: “a Paco Luis, con un abrazo verdadero de Georgie”)*

### **K.1 *Las Kenningar* (Francisco A. Colombo, 1933). First Edition, First Printing.**

TITLE PAGE. [*printed in black*]

JORGE LUIS BORGES | LAS KENNINGAR | FRANCISCO A. COLOMBO | BUENOS AIRES – 1933

GATHERINGS. 4°: 1-3<sup>4</sup> 4<sup>4</sup> (-14), 15 leaves, pp. [1-6] 7-26 [27-30]

PAPER. Wove. Yellowing due to age. Chain and wire lines are visible on the pages. Very thick, high-quality paper, akin to a card stock. The pages are cut to a uniform size. The last page of the last gathering is tucked into the back cover folds. There is an extra page in the front that is part of the cover (not conjugal with the first gathering).

COLOPHON. “En Buenos Aires | por Francisco A. Colombo | 1933” ([29])

BINDING. Crème-colored soft-cover book. The cover has black and orange lettering: “JORGE LUIS BORGES | LAS KENNINGAR | FRANCISCO A. COLOMBO | BUENOS AIRES – 1933”. There is no printing or additional information on the spine of the book nor on the back cover. The inside flaps on the cover remain intact and are folded from the front and back covers, respectively. The crème-colored exterior is very dirty from wear over the years.



COPY EXAMINED. *United States. Borges Collection, Small Special Collections, University of Virginia. Call number: PQ7797 .B635 K46 1933*

**PL.1 *El paso de los libres* (Editorial “La Boina Blanca,” 1934). First Edition, First Printing.**

TITLE PAGE. [*printed in black*]

ARTURO M. JAURETCHE | **EL PASO DE | LOS LIBRES** | Relato gaucha de la última revolución radical | (Diciembre de 1933) dicho en verso por | el paisano JULIAN BARRIENTOS, | que anduvo en ella. | PROLOGO DE JORGE LUIS BORGES | EDITORIAL “LA BOINA BLANCA” | URUGUAY 435 – BUENOS AIRES

GATHERINGS. 8°: 1-6<sup>8</sup>, 48 leaves, pp. [1-6] 7-9 [10] 11-93 [94-96]

PAPER. Wove. Vertical chain lines on each of the pages. Relatively clean pages with slight foxing.

COLOPHON. No colophon present in this volume.

BINDING. Does not maintain the original binding.

COPY EXAMINED. *United States. Borges Collection, Small Special Collections, University of Virginia. Call number: PQ7797 .B635 P38 1934. This copy is rebound and forms part of a personal library of someone with the initials “J. F. T.” as they are inscribed on the spine in gold.*

**H.1 *Historia universal de la infamia* (Editorial TOR, 1935). First Edition, First Printing.**

TITLE PAGE. [*printed in black*]

JORGE LUIS BORGES | HISTORIA | UNIVERSAL | DE LA INFAMIA | COLECCION | *MEGAFONO* | Buenos Aires | 1935

GATHERINGS. 8°: 1-9<sup>8</sup>, 72 leaves, pp. [1-4] 5-6 [7-10] 11-94 [95-96] 97-113 [114-116] 117-139 [140-144]

PAPER. Wove. Yellowing due to age, with lots of foxing throughout. No chain or wire lines are visible on the pages. Very thick paper, akin to a construction paper that is quite worn with age. The pages are cut, but many of the edges are untrimmed.

COLOPHON. “ESTE ES EL TERCER VOLU- / MEN DE LA COLECCION / “MEGAFONO”, QUE EDITO- / RIAL TOR IMPRIMIO DU- / RANTE EL MES DE JULIO / DE 1935” ([144])

BINDING. Originally a white-colored soft-cover book, but quite dirty and it appears almost crème-colored from age. The central text on the front page is boxed in with a blue border. The cover has black and blue lettering: “JORGE LUIS BORGES | HISTORIA UNIVERSAL | DE LA | INFAMIA | COLECCIÓN | MEGÁFONO”. The printing on the spine reads: “JORGE LUIS | BORGES | HISTORIA | UNIVERSAL | DE LA | INFAMIA | BUENOS | AIRES”. In the middle of this front cover is a drawing of a playing card with three knives and the number three written in the top left-hand corner and the bottom right-hand cover. The back cover has the insigna of the Editorial TOR, the nautical scene of a boat in the midst of violent waves with the phrase “CONTRA VIENTO Y MAREA” spelled out along the top, horizontal edge and “EDITORIAL TOR” along the bottom edge of the image.

COPY EXAMINED. *United States. Borges Collection, Small Special Collections, University of Virginia. Call number: PQ7797 .B635 H5 1935. Copy 1 (has an inscription from Borges to “Paco Luis”, which is the same person to whom the second copy of Discusion is inscribed: “A Paco Luis, dedico estos breves juegos visuales con el anacronismo y la muerte. Muy cordialmente Georgie).*

**PL.1 *La prison de l'enfant* (Francisco A. Colombo, 1935). First Edition, First Printing.**

TITLE PAGE. [*printed in black and blue*]

GLORIA ALCORTA | LA PRISON | DE L'ENFANT | PRÉFACE DE | G. L. BORGES | LITHOGRAPHIES DE | HECTOR BASALDUA | BUENOS AIRES | 1935

GATHERINGS. In-4°; loose gatherings with lithographs inserted. Not sewn.

PAPER. Whatman paper with visible watermarks. Wove. No visible chain or wire lines.

COLOPHON. “Ce livre préfacé par G. L. Borges, contenant sept lithogra- | phies de Héctor Basaldúa, a été tire à cinquante exem- | plaires sur papier Wathman numérotés de 1 à 50, à 200 | exemplaires sur papier Pergament numérotés de 51 à 250. | Le present ouvrage a été achevé d'imprimer le 9 septembre | 1935, sur les presses de Francisco A. Colombo, | à Buenos Aires | Cet exemplaire qui porte le numéro 12 | a été imprimé pour | Oliverio Girondo” ([53])

BINDING. An unbound book in sheets, which is housed in a crème-colored slip case. The spine of the case reads (in red): “GLORIA | ALCORTA | LA PRISON | DE | L'ENFANT”. The

unbound cover of the book has printing in black and red: “GLORIA ALCORTA | LA PRISON | DE L’ENFANT | PRÉFACE DE | G. L. BORGES | LITHOGRAPHIES DE | HECTOR BASALDUA | BUENOS AIRES | 1935”.

COPY EXAMINED. *United States. Borges Collection, Small Special Collections, University of Virginia. Call number: PQ7797 .B635 P83 1935.*

**HE.1 *Historia de la eternidad* (Viau y Zona, 1936). First Edition, First Printing.**

TITLE PAGE. [*printed in black*]

JORGE LUIS BORGES | HISTORIA DE | LA ETERNIDAD | BUENOS AIRES | 1936

GATHERINGS. 8°: 1-8<sup>8</sup>, 64 leaves, pp. [1-8] 9-33 [34] 35-69 [70-72] 73-89 [90] 91-104 [105-106] 107-121 [122-128]

PAPER. Wove. Vertical chain lines on each of the pages. Yellowing due to age, with lots of foxing throughout. No chain or wire lines are visible on the pages. Thick paper (akin to a construction paper that is quite worn with age), but of a much lesser quality than what we find in other works printed by Colombo of this same decade. The pages are cut uniformly.

COLOPHON. “SE ACABÓ DE IMPRIMIR / EL 29 DE ABRIL DE 1936 / POR FRANCISCO A. COLOMBO / BUENOS AIRES” ([127])

BINDING. Grey-blue, soft-cover book with a great deal of foxing and discoloration around the edges due to age. The central text on the front page has black and blue lettering: “JORGE LUIS BORGES | HISTORIA | DE LA | ETERNIDAD | VIAU Y ZONA | BUENOS AIRES | 1936”. The back cover has the insignia of Viau y Zona, which is an uppercase “Z” and an uppercase “V” overlapping on an intricately designed background with the following text below them: “EL BIBLIÓFILO”.

COPY EXAMINED. *United States. Borges Collection, Small Special Collections, University of Virginia. Call number: PQ7797 .B635 H475 1936. This copy has a penciled in footnote for the first part of “Los traductores de los 1001 noches”: “¿Podrá identificarse con Richard Burton, descubridor – con John Hanning Speke – del lago Tanganyika?” (73). Another part in this same story has a footnote to the word “Enciclopedia”: “¿Espasa?” (99).*

**P.1 *Perséphone* (Editorial Sur, 1936). First Edition, First Printing.**

TITLE PAGE. No title page in this work.

GATHERINGS. 24 leaves, pp. [1-3] 4-47 [48] (The 24 leaves are simply gathered and stapled down the center)

PAPER. Wove. Vertical chain lines. Extreme yellow due to age and the pages are very brittle to the touch. The pages are not cut uniformly.

COLOPHON. “ESTA EDICIÓN GRATUITA DE “PERSÉPHONE” | EN HOMENAJE A IGOR STRAWINSKY, SE | TERMINÓ DE IMPRIMIR EN LA | IMPRENTA LÓPEZ, PERÚ 666 | EN LA PRIMERA QUINCENA | DEL MES DE MAYO | DE 1936.” ([48])

BINDING. Black soft-cover book that is more akin to a thick pamphlet. The back cover describes the purpose of the work: “Publicación gratuita de la revista SUR en homenaje a Igor Strawinsky”.

COPY EXAMINED. *Personal copy.*

**CP.1 *Un cuarto propio* (Editorial Sur, 1936). First Edition, First Printing.**

TITLE PAGE. [*printed in black*]

VIRGINIA WOOLF | UN CUARTO | PROPIO | SUR | BUENOS AIRES

GATHERINGS. [1-9] 10-31 [32-35] 36-50 [51-53] 54-68 [69-71] 72-92 [93-95] 96-110 [111-113] 114-132 [133-134]

PAPER. Wove. Vertical chain lines. Very clean, white pages. The pages are not cut uniformly.

COLOPHON. “SE ACABÓ DE IMPRIMIR ESTE LIBRO / PARA LAS EDICIONES ‘SUR’ EN SU / PRIMERA Y ÚNICA TRADUCCIÓN ES- / PAÑOLA AUTORIZADA POR LA AUTO- / RA, EN LA IMPRENTA LÓPEZ / PERU 666, BUENOS AIRES, A ME / DIADOS DEL MES DE JULIO DE 1936.” ([134])

BINDING. Does not maintain the original green covers.

COPY EXAMINED. *United States. Penn State University. Call Number: PN471 .W618. This specific copy is a rebound book with perfect binding (i.e. the gatherings have been cut during the rebinding process). There is a stick in the front of the book that states that the pages have gone through a deacidification process.*

**LG.1 Luis Greve, muerto (Editorial Destiempo, 1937). First Edition, First Printing.**

TITLE PAGE. *[printed in black]*

ADOLFO BIOY CASARES | LUIS GREVE, MUERTO | EDITORIAL DESTIEMPO |  
BUENOS AIRES | 1937

GATHERINGS. [1-8] 9-15 [16] 17-21 [22] 23-33 [34] 35-41 [42] 43-45 [46] 47-93 [94] 95-99  
[100] 101-115 [116] 117-139 [140] 141-145 [146] 147-151 [152] 153 [154-160]

PAPER. Wove (“papel Holanda”). Horizontal chain lines. Although the pages have a slight yellowing to them due to age, they are very clean and crisp, which seems to speak to the high quality of the paper used. The pages are cut uniformly.

COLOPHON. “Se acabó de imprimir en Buenos Aires | el 15 de Junio de 1937, por | Francisco A. Colombo.” ([159])

BINDING. The original covers have not been conserved.

COPY EXAMINED. *United States. Alderman Library, University of Virginia. Call number: PQ7797 .B535 L8. This specific copy is a rebound book with a standard library (green) library binding.*

**O.1 Orlando (Editorial Sur, 1937). First Edition, First Printing.**

TITLE PAGE. *[printed in black]*

VIRGINIA WOOLF | ORLANDO | UNA BIOGRAFIA | SUR | BUENOS AIRES

GATHERINGS. 8°: 1-19<sup>8</sup> 20<sup>10</sup>, 162 leaves, pp. [1-8] 9-11 [12] 13-323 [324]

PAPER. Wove. No visible chain or wire lines. Extreme yellow due to age and the pages are very brittle to the touch. The pages are not cut uniformly.

COLOPHON. “SE ACABÓ DE IMPRI- | MIR ESTE LIBRO, | PARA LA EDITORIAL | SUR, EN SU PRIME- | RA Y ÚNICA TRA- | DUCCIÓN ESPAÑOLA | AUTORIZADA POR LA AUTORA, DI- | RECTAMENTE DEL INGLÉS, EL | DÍA TREINTA DE JUNIO DE | MIL NOVECIENTOS TREIN- | TA Y SIETE, EN LA | IMPRENTA LÓPEZ, | CALLE PERÚ 666 | BUENOS | AIRES.” ([324])

BINDING. Blue soft-cover book. The spine reads as follows (in white): “VIRGINIA WOOLF | ORLANDO | UNA BIOGRAFÍA”. The cover has white lettering: “VIRGINIA WOOLF | ORLANDO | UNA BIOGRAFÍA | SUR [*with a blue arrow going through the center of the word*] | BUENOS AIRES ”. On the facing page is the information regarding the translation of this work: “Título del original inglés | “ORLANDO” | Traducción directa de | Jorge Luis Borges”. The price of this volume is printed on the back cover of the work as “\$ 2.50 m/n.” Both of the interior cover flaps list the latest works produced by the Editorial Sur with their respective prices.

COPY EXAMINED. *Personal copy.*

**ML.1 Marea de lágrimas (Editorial Destiempo, 1937). First Edition, First Printing.**

TITLE PAGE. [*printed in black*]

ULYSES PETIT de MURAT | MAREA DE LAGRIMAS | Un libro de Elegías | EDITORIAL DESTIEMPO | BUENOS AIRES | 1937

GATHERINGS. 8°: 1-6<sup>8</sup>, 48 leaves, pp. 96, [1-10] 11-16 [17-18] 19-23 [24-26] 27-34 [35-36] 37-43 [44-46] 47-58 [59-60] 61-68 [69-70] 71-80 [81-82] 83-88 [89-96]

PAPER. Wove. Horizontal chain lines. Very clean and crisp pages, which seems to speak to the high quality of the paper used. The pages are cut uniformly.

COLOPHON. “Se terminó de imprimir | el 9 de Diciembre de 1937, | por Francisco A. Colombo, | en Buenos Aires” ([95])

BINDING. A burnt orange soft-cover book with the “fish out of water” Destiempo logo of the publishing house printed on the front cover. The spine reads, in black ink: “ULYSES | PETIT | de | MURAT | Marea | de | Lágrimas | 1937”.

COPY EXAMINED. *United States. Widener Library, Harvard University. Call number: HN2D2A.*

**M.1 *La metamorfosis* (Editorial Losada, 1938). First Edition, First Printing.**

TITLE PAGE. [*printed in black and red*]

FRANZ KAFKA | LA METAMORFOSIS | [*“la pajarita de papel” logo*] | EDITORIAL  
LOSADA, S. A. | BUENOS AIRES

GATHERINGS. 8º: 1-12<sup>8</sup>, 96 leaves, pp. [1-6] 7-11 [12] 13-107 [108-110] 111-131 [132-134]  
135-153 [154-156] 157-162 [163-164] 165-168 [169-170] 171-172 [173-174] 175-177 [178-180]  
181-182 [183-184] 185-186 [187-188] 189 [190-192]

PAPER. Wove. Faint horizontal chain lines. The pages are cut to a uniform size, and there is a significant amount of foxing throughout the pages due to aging. Attilio Rossi has created original illustrated headers to divide each of the sections in this works (and for all of the works in the “pajarita de papel” series). There are also flashy endpapers with origami paper birds in green that echo the name of the series as a whole.

COLOPHON. “LA PAJARITA DE PAPEL | VOLUMEN I | AL CUIDADO GRAFICO DE  
ATTILIO | ROSSI Y EN LA IMPRENTA LOPEZ, | PERU 666, BUENOS AIRES, ACABOSE |  
DE IMPRIMIR ESTE LIBRO EL 15 DE | AGOSTO DE 1938” ([191])

BINDING. A bright orange hard-cover book with the unique origami paper bird logo of the series (“pajarita de papel”) printed on the front cover. The original price of the volume is printed on the back cover in black ink: “\$2.50 m/arg.”. The spine reads, in black ink: “FRANZ | KAFKA | LA | META | MOR | FORSIS | EDITORIAL | LOSADA, S. A. | BUENOS AIRES”.

COPIES EXAMINED. *Personal copy & Borges Collection, Small Special Collections, University of Virginia. Call number: PQ7797 .B635 Z9999.K3 M4 1938*

**ME.1 *Mallarmé entre nosotros* (Editorial Destiempo, 1938). First Edition, First Printing.**

TITLE PAGE. [*printed in black*]

ALFONSO REYES | MALLARMÉ | entre nosotros | EDITORIAL DESTIEMPO | BUENOS  
AIRES | 1938

GATHERINGS. 8º: 1-6<sup>8</sup> 7<sup>2</sup>, 50 leaves, pp. [1-8] 9-20 [21-22] 23-32 [33-36] 37-48 [49-52] 53-59 [60-62] 63-91 [92] 93-94 [95-100]

PAPER. Wove. Faint horizontal chain lines. The pages are cut to a uniform size, and there is a significant amount of foxing throughout the pages due to aging. The front inside flap lists information about other works published by the Editorial Destiempo, as well as their prices.

COLOPHON. “ESTE LIBRO SE TERMINÓ | DE IMPRIMIR EL 11 DE MAYO DE 1938, | POR | FRANCISCO A. COLOMBO” ([97])

BINDING. A burnt orange soft-cover book with the “fish out of water” Destiempo logo of the publishing house printed on the front cover. The spine reads, in black ink: “ALFONSO | REYES | Mallarmé | Entre | Nosotros”.

COPY EXAMINED. *Personal copy.*

**DP.1 *Diez poemas sin poesía* (Editorial Destiempo, 1938). First Edition, First Printing.**

TITLE PAGE. [*printed in black*]

NICOLAS OLIVARI | DIEZ | POEMAS SIN POESIA | EDITORIAL DESTIEMPO | BUENOS AIRES | 1938

GATHERINGS. [1-8] 9-10 [11] 12-17 [18] 19-20 [21-22] 23-33 [34] 35-45 [46] 47-53 [54] 55-56 [57-58] 59-65 [66] 67-68 [69-72]

PAPER. Wove. Faint horizontal chain lines. The pages are cut to a uniform size, and there is a bit of foxing throughout the pages.

COLOPHON. “SE TERMINÓ DE IMPRIMIR | POR LA EDITORIAL DESTIEMPO | EL 23 DE MAYO DE 1938 | EN BUENOS AIRES ” ([97])

BINDING. Does not maintain the original burnt-orange covers.

ILLUSTRATIONS. Throughout the work there are three original drawings by Carybé (Héctor Julio Páride Bernabó).



COPY EXAMINED. *United States. University of Pittsburgh. Call number: PQ7797 .O47 D5 1938. This specific copy is rebound library book.*

**AC.1 Antología clásica de la literatura argentina (Kapelusz y Cía, 1940). Second Edition, First Printing.**

TITLE PAGE. [*printed in black*]

ANTOLOGIA CLASICA | DE LA | LITERATURA ARGENTINA | SELECCION DE |  
**PEDRO HENRIQUEZ UREÑA** | Y | **JORGE LUIS BORGES** | SEGUNDA EDICION |  
[*graphic of a star*] | Editorial A. Kapelusz y Cía. | PIEDRAS 126 BUENOS AIRES

GATHERINGS. pp. [1-6] 7-8 [9-10] 11-437 [438] 439-440 [441-442] 443-445 [446]

PAPER. Wove. Faint horizontal chain lines. The pages are cut to a uniform size, and they are very yellowed and brittle to the touch.

COLOPHON. There is no colophon at the end of this work. The only sign of a printer is the address given on the last page: “2454 – Talleres Gráficos Linari y Cía” (445).

BINDING. A dark cranberry hardcover book that has a significant amount of wear. The title on the cover reads as following (originally in gold stamp, which has faded quite a bit): “PEDRO HENRIQUEZ URENA | JORGE LUIS BORGES | ANTOLOGÍA CLÁSICA | DE LA | LITERATURA ARGENTINA.” The text on the spine is very difficult to make out given the wear.

COPY EXAMINED. *United States. Borges Collection, Small Special Collections, University of Virginia. Call number: PQ7797 .B635 Z999 .A54 1940. This copy appears to have had a significant amount of water damage to the cover since there is a portion to the bottom of the book that is much darker than the top portion.*

**AF.1 Antología de la literatura fantástica (Editorial Sudamericana, 1940). First Edition, First Printing.**

TITLE PAGE. [*printed in black*]

JORGE LUIS BORGES – SILVINA OCAMPO | ADOLFO BIOY CASARES | ANTOLOGIA  
DE LA | LITERATURA FANTASTICA | EDITORIAL SUDAMERICANA | BUENOS AIRES

GATHERINGS. 8°: 1-20<sup>8</sup> 21<sup>6</sup>, 166 leaves, pp. [1-7] 8-15 [16-17] 18-328 [329-332]

PAPER. Wove. Faint horizontal chain lines. Most of the pages are cut to a uniform size, but some pages have been opened poorly and, as a result, have jagged edges or are missing chunks of the top portion of the page.

COLOPHON. “SE TERMINÓ DE IMPRIMIR EL VEIN- | TICUATRO DE DICIEMBRE DE MIL | NOVECIENTOS CUARENTA, EN LA | IMPRENTA J. HAYS, BRANSEN | ESQUINA GABOTO, BUENOS AIRES” ([329])

BINDING. A grey-green and crème-colored soft-cover book with a brick-like design on the front cover. The front has grey and red lettering: “J. L. BORGES – S. OCAMPO – A. BIOY CASARES | ANTOLOGIA DE LA | LITERATURA FANTÁSTICA | *[illustration of an angel]* | COLECCION LABERTINO | EDITORIAL SUDAMERICANA”. In addition to this printing on the front cover, there are also two crème-colored boxes with the names of several included authors in the collection in grey ink: “Jean Cocteau | Jorge Luis Borges | G. K. Chesterton | Macedonio Fernández | Franz Kafka | R. Gómez de la Serna | Leopoldo Lugones | James Joyce | Carlos Grünberg”; “E. Martínez Estrada | U. Petit de Murat | Alfonsina Storni | Ricardo Molinari | Guy de Maupassant | François Rabelais | Thomas Carlyle | Giovanni Papini | Edgar Allan Poe | Herbert G. Wells | Rudyard Kipling | Léon Bloy | Eugene [sic] O’Neill | Max Beerbohm”. The original price of the volume is printed on the back cover in grey ink: “\$3.50 m/arg.”. The spine reads, in grey and red ink: “J. L. BORGES | S. OCAMPO | A. BIOY | CASARES | ANTOLOGIA | DE LA | LITERATURA | FANTÁSTICA | *[illustration of an angel]* | COLECCION LABERTINO | BUENOS AIRES”. The two interior flaps are intact; the one inside the front cover contains a description of the current anthology while the one inside the back cover has a list of other titles published by Editorial Sudamericana.

COPIES EXAMINED. *Personal copy & Borges Collection, Small Special Collections, University of Virginia. Call number: PQ7797 .B635 A735 1940, Copies 1 & 2.*

**AP.1 Antología poética argentina (Editorial Sudamericana, 1941). First Edition, First Printing.**

TITLE PAGE. *[printed in black]*

JORGE LUIS BORGES – SILVINA OCAMPO | ADOLFO BIOY CASARES | ANTOLOGÍA | POÉTICA ARGENTINA | EDITORIAL SUDAMERICANA | BUENOS AIRES

GATHERINGS. 8°: 1-19<sup>8</sup>, 152 leaves, pp. [1-7] 8-11 [12] 13-300 [301] 302-303 [304]

PAPER. Wove. Faint horizontal chain lines. Most of the pages are cut to a uniform size, but some pages have been opened poorly and, as a result, have jagged edges. Some pages remain uncut.

COLOPHON. “SE TERMINÓ DE IMPRIMIR EN | BUENOS AIRES EL CUATRO DE | DICIEMBRE DE MIL NOVECIENTOS | CUARENTA Y UNO EN LOS TALLE- | RES GRÁFICOS DE J. HAYS BELL BRANDSEN 100 (ESQ. GABATO).”

BINDING. A light brown and crème-colored soft-cover book with a brick-like design on the front cover. The front has brown and black lettering: “J. L. BORGES – S. OCAMPO – A. BIOY CASARES | ANTOLOGIA | POETICA ARGENTINA | [*illustration of an angel*] | COLECCION LABERTINO | EDITORIAL SUDAMERICANA”. In addition to this printing on the front cover, there are also two crème-colored boxes with the names of several included poets in the collection in brown ink: “Enrique Banchs | González Lanuza | Leopoldo Lugones | Carlos Mastronardi | Arturo Capdevila | F. K. Bernárdez | Ricardo Güiraldes | Norah Lange | Carlos Grünberg”; “E. Martínez Estrada | U. Petit de Murat | Alfonsina Storni | Ricardo Molinari | Fernández Moreno | Leopoldo Marechal | Almafuerte | Rafael A. Arrieta | H. Rega Molina”. The printing in the bottom center of the back cover, in blue, reads: “LIBRERIA ROSS | (Galería de Arte) | Córdoba 1338 | ROSARIO”. The spine reads, in brown and black ink: “J. L. BORGES | S. OCAMPO | A. BIOY | CASARES | ANTOLOGIA | POETICA | ARGENTINA | [*illustration of an angel*] | COLECCION LABERTINO | BUENOS AIRES”. There is a sticker from the previous bookseller in the right-hand bottom corner of the back cover: “LIBRERIA ROSS | CORDOBA 1338 | T. E. 65378 – ROSARIO”. The two interior flaps are intact; the one inside the front cover contains a description of the current anthology while the one inside the back cover has a list of other titles published by Editorial Sudamericana.

COPIES EXAMINED. *Personal copy & Borges Collection, Small Special Collections, University of Virginia. Call number: PQ7797 .B635 A745 1941, Copies 1, 2., 3 & 4.*

**BA.1 *Un bárbaro en Asia* (Editorial Sur, 1941). First Edition, First Printing.**

TITLE PAGE. [*printed in black and green*]

HENRI MICHAUX | UN BARBARO | EN ASIA | [*Sur logo with downward arrow through the name*] | BUENOS AIRES

GATHERINGS. 8°: 1-12<sup>8</sup> 13<sup>6</sup>, 102 leaves, pp. [1-6] 7-200 [201-204]

PAPER. Wove. Horizontal chain lines on each of the pages. Extreme yellow due to age and the pages are very brittle to the touch. The pages are not cut uniformly and are quite jagged.

COLOPHON. “ESTE LIBRO SE TERMINO | DE IMPRIMIR EL 14 DE | JULIO DEL AÑO MIL | NOVECIENTOS CUARENTA Y UNO, EN LA | IMPRENTA LÓPEZ | PERÚ 666, BUENOS AIRES” ([202])

BINDING. Green soft-cover book. The cover has white lettering: “HENRI MICHAUX | UN BÁRBARO | EN ASIA | SUR [*with a red arrow going through the center of the word*] | BUENOS AIRES”. The price on the back cover has been blacked out, but the following printed text remains at the bottom: “*Concesionario exclusivo para la venta:* | EDITORIAL LOSADA, S. A. – BUENOS AIRES”.

COPIES EXAMINED. *Personal Copy & Borges Collection, Small Special Collections, University of Virginia. Call number: PQ7797 .B635 B3718 1941.*

**J.1 *El jardín de senderos que se bifurcan* (Editorial Sur, 1941). First Edition, First Printing.**

TITLE PAGE. [*printed in black and blue*]

JORGE LUIS BORGES | EL JARDIN | DE SENDEROS | QUE SE BIFURCAN | SUR [*with a blue arrow down the center of the word*] | BUENOS AIRES

GATHERINGS. pp. [1-6] 7-35 [36] 37-61 [62] 63-71 [72] 73-83 [84] 85-105 [106] 107-124 [125-128]

PAPER. Wove. Vertical chain lines on each of the pages. The pages are quite light with very little yellowing or age damage. In comparison with other works published by the Editorial Sur during this time, the paper seems of a much higher quality. There are organic flecks throughout the pages, which also suggests a higher quality of material. The pages are also cut to a more uniform length with slight deckle edges, but it is impossible to say whether the pages were trimmed while the text block was being rebound, or if this quality is from the original state of binding of the book itself.

COLOPHON. “ESTE LIBRO SE TERMINO | DE IMPRIMIR EL 30 DE | DICIEMBRE DEL AÑO MIL | NOVECIENTOS CUARENTA Y UNO, EN LA | IMPRENTA LÓPEZ | PERU 666, BUENOS AIRES” ([126])

BINDING. Blue soft-cover book. The cover has white lettering: “JORGE LUIS BORGES | EL JARDIN | DE SENDEROS | QUE SE BIFURCAN | SUR [*with a blue arrow going through the center of the word*] | BUENOS AIRES”. Even though the book has been rebound, the original covers are conserved. The back cover lists the original price of the volume in white: “\$ 2.80

m/arg.” Unlike his later *Ficciones* (Editorial Sur, 1944), this edition lists previously published works by the author and includes two of his *collaborative* anthologies published to date: *Antología clásica de la literatura argentina* (1937) and *Antología de la literatura fantástica* (1940). It is curious that the *Antología poética argentina* (1941) is not included in this list as well since it was produced almost simultaneously with *El jardín de senderos que se bifurcan*.

COPY EXAMINED. *United States. Borges Collection, Small Special Collections, University of Virginia. Call number: PQ7797 .B635 J3 1942. This copy is rebound. There is a hand-written addendum to the end of “La lotería en Babilonia” (not by Borges) that reads as follows: “Por el último sorteo, acaba de decretar la [compañía?] que yo escribe en este blanco resto de papel una letra E seguida de una S y luego una T. Para abreviar, he aquí el resultado del azar ordenándome escribir una letra tras otra, sin orden ni sentido. ESTE ARTICULO ES MUY BUENO, AZPJOM GUILLERMO IBANEBA etc. G – 14/8/42” (83).*

**S.1 Seis problemas para don Isidro Parodi (Editorial Sur, 1942). First Edition, First Printing.**

TITLE PAGE. [*printed in black and blue*]

H. BUSTOS DOMECQ | SEIS PROBELMAS | PARA | DON ISIDRO PARODI | PALABRA LIMINAR DE | GERVASIO MONTENEGRO | SUR [*with a blue arrow down the center of the word*] | BUENOS AIRES

GATHERINGS. 8°: 1-10<sup>8</sup>11<sup>6</sup>, 86 leaves, pp. [1-6] 7-15 [16] 17-55 [56] 57-75 [76] 77-139 [140] 141-164 [165-172]

PAPER. Wove. Horizontal chain lines on each of the pages. Extreme yellow due to age and the pages are very brittle to the touch. The pages are not cut uniformly.

COLOPHON. “ESTE LIBRO SE TERMINO | DE IMPRIMIR EL 10 DE DICIEMBRE DE MIL NO- | VECIENTOS CUARENTA Y | DOS, EN LA IMPRENTA | IGLESIAS Y MATERA, | CORRIENTES 1258, Bs. As.” ([170])

BINDING. Blue soft-cover book. The cover has white lettering: “H. BUSTOS DOMECQ | SEIS PROBLEMAS | PARA | DON ISIDRO PARODI | SUR [*with a blue arrow down the center of the word*] | BUENOS AIRES”.

COPY EXAMINED. *United States. Borges Collection, Small Special Collections, University of Virginia. Call number: PQ7797 .B635 S4 1942. This copy is rebound.*

**B.1 *Bartleby* (Emecé Editores, 1943). First Edition, First Printing.**

TITLE PAGE. [*printed in black in a triple-ruled border*]

HERMAN MELVILLE | BARTELBY | *Prólogo y versión directa del inglés* | *por* | JORGE LUIS BORGES | CUADERNOS DE LA QUIMERA | EMECÉ EDITORES, S. A. | BUENOS AIRES

GATHERINGS. 8°: 1-4<sup>8</sup> 5<sup>4</sup> 6<sup>6</sup>, 42 leaves, pp. [1-8] 9-81 [82-84]

PAPER. Wove. Yellowing due to age, but there is no foxing. No chain or wire lines are visible on the pages. Thicker paper, but of a much lesser quality than what we find in other works printed by Colombo of this same decade. The pages are not cut uniformly and some even hang over the edge of the covers.

COLOPHON. “EL 30 DE OCTUBRE DE 1943 SE ACABÓ DE IMPRIMIR | ESTE CUADERNO, EN LOS TALLERES GRÁFICOS DE | SEBASTIÁN DE AMORRORTU E HIJOS, AVENIDA | CÓRDOBA 2028, BUENOS AIRES” ([83])

BINDING. Red soft-cover book with some discoloration around the edges due to age. The title, author’s name, and name of the series are printed in crème in a navy blue block on the front cover. Prior to the title page is a page with information regarding the number of copies printed: “BARTLEBY, POR HERMAN MELVILLE, ES EL PRIMERO | DE LOS CUADERNOS DE LA QUIMERA AL CUIDADO | DE EDUARDO MALLEA. SE HAN IMPRESO MIL EJEMPLARES NUMERADOS. | EJEMPLAR N.º 165”. The central text on the cover has crème-colored lettering: “HERMAN MELVILLE | BARTLEBY | [*cuadernos de la quimera logo*] | CUADERNOS DE LA QUIMERA”. The back cover has the price of the volume printed in the lower right-hand cover: “\$1,80”. The spine is quite damaged, yet the remaining parts read: “HERMAN MELVILLE: BARTLEBY”.

COPY EXAMINED. *United States. Borges Collection, Small Special Collections, University of Virginia. Call number: PQ7797 .B635 B38 1943*

**P.1 *Poemas, 1922-1943* (Editorial Losada, 1943). First Edition, First Printing.**

TITLE PAGE. [*printed in black and red*]

JORGE LUIS BORGES | POEMAS | [1922-1943] | [*Editorial Losada logo*] | EDITORIAL LOSADA, S. A. | BUENOS AIRES

GATHERINGS. 8°: 1-11<sup>8</sup> 124, 92 leaves, pp. [1-10] 11-74 [75-76] 77-117 [118-120] 121-135 [136-138] 139-154 [155-156] 157-181 [182-184]

PAPER. Wove. Vertical chain lines. All pages are uniformly cut. There is a great deal of foxing throughout.

COLOPHON. “ESTE LIBRO SE TERMINO | DE IMPRIMIR EL DIA 17 | DE DICIEMBRE DEL AÑO | MIL NOVECIENTOS CUA- | RENTA Y TRES, EN LA | IMPRENTA LOPEZ, | PERU 666, BUENOS AIRES, | REPUBLICA ARGENTINA.” ([182])

BINDING. A crème-colored soft-cover book with a significant amount of foxing from wear and age. The writing on the front cover is black and red: “JORGE LUIS BORGES | POEMAS | [1922-1943] | *[illustration by Attilio Rossi]* | EDITORIAL LOSADA, S. A. | BUENOS AIRES”. The spine, in black, reads: “JORGE LUIS | BORGES | POEMAS | EDITORIAL | LOSADA, S. A. | BUENOS AIRES”. The back cover has the original price printed in the lower right-hand corner: “\$5.—m/arg.”.

ILLUSTRATIONS. The front cover has an original illustration by Borges’s friend, Attilio Rossi:



COPY EXAMINED: *Personal copy.*

**RP.1 Recuerdos de provincia (Emecé Editores, 1944). First Edition, First Printing.**

TITLE PAGE. [*printed in black and red*]

DOMINGO F. SARMIENTO | RECUERDOS | DE PROVINCIA | *Prólogo y notas de* | JORGE LUIS BORGES | [*Emecé Editores logo*] | EMECÉ EDITORES, S.A. | BUENOS AIRES

GATHERINGS. 8°: 1-20<sup>8</sup> 21<sup>4</sup>, 164 leaves, pp. [1-8] 9-15 [16] 17-47 [48] 49 [50] 51-320 [321-328]

PAPER. Wove. No visible chain or wire lines on any of the pages. The pages are mostly clean and contain next to no foxing. The pages are not cut uniformly and several hang over the edge of the binding.

COLOPHON. “ESTE LIBRO SE TERMINÓ | DE IMPRIMIR EL DÍA 15 | DE MAYO DEL AÑO 1944, | EN PLATT S. A. (PROTO- | TIPOGRAFÍA PUBLICITARIA | ARGENTINA LUIS L. | GOTELLI), DEFENSA 633, | DE BUENOS AIRES” ([325])

BINDING. Olive green and white soft-cover book. The cover has black and white lettering: “DOMINGO F. SARMIENTO | *Recuerdos de Provincia* | *[El Navío logo]* | EL NAVÍO | EMECÉ EDITORES, S. A. / BUENOS AIRES”. The back cover lists the price as “\$15. – m/arg.” The spine reads (in black): “DOMINGO F. | SARMIENTO | RECUERDOS | DE | PROVINCIA | *[Emecé logo]* | EMECÉ”. In addition to the production information in the colophon listed above, there is also a note printed above it that describes a luxury edition that was produced along with the common edition: “Además de la edición corriente, se han impreso cuarenta y siete ejemplares en papel Conqueror numerados de 1 a 47, que fueron encuadernados por Julien Leprêtre” ([325]).

COPY EXAMINED. *United States. Borges Collection, Small Special Collections, University of Virginia. Call number: PQ7797 .B635 R425 1944*

### **F.1 Ficciones (Editorial Sur, 1944). First Edition, First Printing.**

TITLE PAGE. [*printed in black and blue*]

JORGE LUIS BORGES | FICCIONES | (1935-1944) | SUR [*with a downward arrow going through the center of the word*] | BUENOS AIRES

GATHERINGS. 8°: 1-12<sup>8</sup> 13<sup>6</sup>, 102 leaves, pp. [1-8] 937 [38] 39-63 [64] 65-73 [74] 75-85 [86] 87-107 [108] 109-126 [127-128] 129 [130] 131-143 [144] 145-153 [154] 155-179 [180] 181-191 [192] 193-201 [202] 203 [204]

PAPER. Wove. Horizontal chain lines on each of the pages. Extreme yellow due to age and the pages are very brittle to the touch. The pages are not cut uniformly.

COLOPHON. “ESTE LIBRO SE TERMINO | DE IMPRIMIR EL DIA 4 | DE DICIEMBRE DEL AÑO | MIL NOVECIENTOS CUA- | RENTA Y CUATRO, EN LA | IMPRENTA LOPEZ | PERU 666, BUENOS AIRES, | REPUBLICA ARGENTINA” ([204])



**BINDING.** Blue soft-cover book that is glossy to the touch. The cover has white lettering: “JORGE LUIS BORGES | FICCIONES | SUR [*with a downward blue arrow going through the center of the word*] | BUENOS AIRES”. The back cover lists the price as “\$4. – m/arg.” The spine reads (in white): “JORGE | LUIS | BORGES | FICCIONES | SUR | BUENOS | AIRES”. The text block is loose from the binding on this specific copy. There are a few rips on the front cover, which shows that the glossier blue paper is covering a flimsier, crème-colored paper cover.

**ILLUSTRATIONS.** There is a tipped in drawing in black and white of Borges by Marie Elisabeth Wrede on glossy paper [4].

**COPY EXAMINED.** *United States. Borges Collection, Small Special Collections, University of Virginia. Call number: PQ7797 .B635 F5 1944*

**MC.1 *Los mejores cuentos policiales* (Emecé Editores, 1944). Second Edition, First Printing.**

**TITLE PAGE.** [*printed in black*]

LOS MEJORES | CUENTOS | POLICIALES | EMECÉ EDITORES, S. A. | BUENOS AIRES

**GATHERINGS.** 8°: 1-18<sup>8</sup> 19<sup>4</sup>, 148 leaves, pp. [1-8] 9-21 [22-24] 25-40 [41-42] 43-46 [47-48] 49-69 [70-72] 73-85 [86-88] 89-93 [94-96] 97-115 [116-118] 119-136 [137-138] 139-150 [151-152] 153-169 [170-172] 173-189 [190-192] 193-215 [216-218] 219-226 [227-228] 229-261 [262-264] 265-275 [276-278] 279-291 [292] 293 [294]

**PAPER.** Wove. Horizontal chain lines. Very thin paper, but virtually no yellowing or damage due to age. The pages are cut to a uniform size.

**COLOPHON.** “SE TERMINÓ DE IMPRIMIR ESTE | LIBRO EN BUENOS AIRES, EL DÍA | DOCE DE NOVIEMBRE DE MIL NO- | VECIENTOS CUARENTA Y CUATRO, | EN LOS TALLERES GRÁFICOS DE J. | HAYS BELL, BRANDSEN Y GABOTO.” ([294])

**BINDING.** A soft-cover crème-colored book; missing the original dust jacket designed by J. A. Ballester Peña. The text on the spine reads: “LOS | MEJORES | CUENTOS | POLICIALES | EMECÉ | EDITORES | S. A.”

**COPY EXAMINED.** *Personal copy.*

**C.1 *El compadrito* (Emecé Editores, 1945). First Edition, First Printing.**

TITLE PAGE. [*printed in black and red*]

*EL COMPADRITO* | SU DESTINO, SUS BARRIOS, SU MÚSICA | [*Emecé Editores logo*] |  
EMECÉ EDITORES, S. A. – BUENOS AIRES

GATHERINGS. [1-6] 7-8 [9-10] 11-55 [56-58] 59-72 [73-74] 75-108 [109-116]

PAPER. Wove. Extremely white, clean pages. No chain or wire lines are visible on the pages.  
The pages are cut to a uniform size.

COLOPHON. “ESTE LIBRO SE TERMINÓ DE | IMPRIMIR EN BS. AIRES EL 10 DE  
FEBRERO DE 1945 | EN LOS TALLERES GRÁ- | FICOS DE J. HAYS BELL, | BRANDSEN  
Y GABOTO. | LAS LÁMINAS FUERON IM- | PRESAS EN LOS TALLERES | PLATT, S.  
A., DEFENSA 633.” ([61])

BINDING. Salmon-colored hard-cover book. There is an illustration on the front cover of a  
compadre by Héctor Basaldúa. Prior to the title page is a page with information regarding the  
selections of texts in this volume: “Selección de Sylvia Bullrich Palenque y Jorge Luis Borges”.  
The cover has black lettering along with an illustration of a compadrito : “EL COMPADRITO |  
SU DESTINO, SUS BARRIOS | SU MÚSICA | [*illustration of a compadrito*] | COLECCIÓN  
BUEN AIRE”. The back cover has the price of the volume printed in the lower right-hand cover:  
“\$ 3. – m/arg.”. The spine is slightly discolored: “EL COMPADRITO | 64”.

ILLUSTRATIONS. Throughout the book there are three tipped-in glossy pages with one image  
on each page of the leaf, making for a total of six images (one facing page 31, one facing page  
32, one facing page 46, one facing page 47, one facing page 78, and one facing page 79).

COPY EXAMINED. *Personal copy.*

**CY.1 *Cabeza yacente* (Editorial Destiempo, 1945). First Edition, First Printing.**

TITLE PAGE. [*printed in black*]

VICENTE BARBIERI | CABEZA YACENTE | DESTIEMPO | BUENOS AIRES | 1945

GATHERINGS. [1-12] 13-20 [21-26] 27-29 [30] 31-33 [34] 35-37 [38-48]

PAPER. Wove Polar paper. Some yellowing due to age and the pages are quite brittle. No chain or wire lines are visible on the pages. The pages are cut to a uniform size.

COLOPHON. “Este libro se terminó de | imprimir el día 20 de febrero | de 1945, en casa de don Francisco | A. Colombo, Hortiguera 552, Buenos | Aires. Los aspectos artísticos y grá- | ficos de la edición estuvieron a cargo de Gori Muñoz.” ([49])

BINDING. The examined copy does not maintain its original binding.

ILLUSTRATIONS. There are two original illustrations by Gori Muñoz throughout the book.

COPIES EXAMINED. *United States. University of Texas Libraries. Call number: 868.8 B234C. This copy has been rebound.*

**HN.1 *La humillación de los Northmore* (Emecé Editores, 1945). First Edition, First Printing.**

TITLE PAGE. [*printed in black and surrounded by a triple-ruled border*]

HENRY JAMES | LA | HUMILLACIÓN | DE LOS | NORTHMORE | *Prólogo de* | JORGE LUIS BORGES | *Versión directa del inglés por* | HAYDÉE LANGE | CUADERNOS DE LA QUIMERA | EMECÉ EDITORES, S. A. | BUENOS AIRES

GATHERINGS. 8°: 1-4<sup>8</sup>, 32 leaves, pp. [1-8] 9-13 [14] 15-57 [58-64]

PAPER. Wove. Yellowing due to age, but there are no rust spots. No chain or wire lines are visible on the pages. Thicker paper, but of a much lesser quality than what we find in other works printed by Colombo of this same decade. The pages are not cut uniformly and some even hang over the edge of the covers.

COLOPHON. “EL 26 DE ABRIL DE 1945 SE ACABÓ DE IMPRIMIR EL | PRIMER MILLAR DE ESTE CUADERNO, EN LOS TA- | LLERES GRÁFICOS DE | SEBASTIÁN DE AMORRORTU E | HIJOS, AVENIDA CÓRDOBA 2028, BUENOS AIRES” ([61])

BINDING. Green soft-cover book with some discoloration around the edges due to age. The title, author’s name, and name of the series are printed in crème in a brown block on the front cover. Prior to the title page is a page with information regarding the number of copies printed: “LA HUMILLACIÓN DE LOS NORTHMORE, POR | HENRY JAMES, ES EL DUODÉCIMO

DE LOS CUA- | DERNOS DE LA QUIMERA AL CUIDADO DE EDUARDO | MALLEA. PRIMER MILLAR | EJEMPLAR N.º 765". The central text on the cover has creme lettering: "HENRY JAMES | LA | HUMILLACIÓN | DE LOS | NORTHMORE | [*cuadernos de la quimera logo*] | CUADERNOS DE LA QUIMERA". The back cover has the price of the volume printed in the lower right-hand cover: "\$1,60". The spine is quite damaged, yet the remaining parts read: "HENRY JAMES: LA HUMILLACIÓN DE LOS NORTHMORE".

COPY EXAMINED. *United States. Barrett Collection, Small Special Collections, University of Virginia. Call number: PS 2116 .A3185 1945*

**DF.1 *Dos fantasías memorables* (Editorial Oportet & Haereses, 1946). First Edition, First Printing.**

TITLE PAGE. [*printed in black*]

H. BUSTOS DOMECQ | *DOS FANTASIAS MEMORABLES* | OPORTET & HAERESES | BUENOS AIRES | 1946

GATHERINGS. 8º: 1<sup>8</sup> 2<sup>10</sup>, 18 leaves, pp. [1-9] 10-20 [21-23] 24-34 [35-36]

PAPER. Wove. Slightly yellowed paper due to age; virtually no foxing. Vertical chain lines. Very thick paper, akin to a construction paper (appears to be of a higher quality). The pages are cut to a uniform size.

COLOPHON. "ESTE LIBRO SE TERMINÓ / DE IMPRIMIR EL DÍA 29 / DE NOVIEMBRE DEL AÑO / MIL NOVECIENTOS CUA- / RENTA Y SEIS, EN / LA IMPRENTA LÓPEZ, / PERÚ 666, BUENOS AIRES, / REPÚBLICA ARGENTINA." ([35])

BINDING. A hard-cover book half-bound in marbled paper with a blue cloth spine. The printing on the spine appears on a small strip of paper (originally white) that reads (in black): "*H. BUSTOS DOMECQ* | *DOS FANTASIAS MEMORABLES*".

The printed label on the spine is missing from the second copy. Since the text block in this copy is detached from the spine, it was clear that this part had simply been glued to the covers. There is a small amount of gauze-like material in the interior portion of the spine. There are also two small pieces of fabric sewed to either end of the spine to (possibly) give the appearance that this text block was sewn to the cover boards. Also, by being able to analyze the text block separately from the cover boards, it is clear that there are only two gatherings.

ADDITIONAL NOTES. This book was part of a limited run of 300 copies, each numbered 1 to 300. Copy 1 is 071/300 and Copy 2 is 213/300.

COPY EXAMINED. *United States. Borges Collection, Small Special Collections, University of Virginia. Call number: PQ7797 .B635 D67 1946. Copy 1 (this copy has an inscription from Borges and Bioy (in their pen names): "A Leónidas Barletta, con un abrazo de H Bustos Domecq") & Copy 2*

**M.1 *Un modelo para la muerte* (Editorial Oportet & Haereses, 1946). First Edition, First Printing.**

TITLE PAGE. [*printed in black*]

B. SUÁREZ LYNCH | *UN MODELO PARA LA MUERTE* | OPORTET & HAERESES |  
BUENOS AIRES | 1946

GATHERINGS. 8°: 1-4<sup>8</sup> 5<sup>10</sup>, 41 leaves, pp. [1-7] 8-10 [11-15] 16-27 [28-29] 30-42 [43] 44-47 [48-49] 50-58 [59] 60-77 [78-79] 80-83 [84]

PAPER. Wove. No visible chain or wire lines. Very thick paper, akin to a construction paper (appears to be of a higher quality) that has almost a glossy texture. The pages are cut to a uniform size.

ILLUSTRATIONS. There are a series of drawn images throughout this work (they usually appear at the end of a section or an act). They are all grotesque distortions of animals or humans.

COLOPHON. "ESTE LIBRO SE TERMINÓ / DE IMPRIMIR EL DÍA 29 / DE NOVIEMBRE DEL AÑO / MIL NOVECIENTOS CUAR- / RENTA Y SEIS, EN / LA IMPRENTA LÓPEZ, / PERÚ 666, BUENOS AIRES, / REPÚBLICA ARGENTINA." ([35])

BINDING. A hard-cover book half-bound in marbled paper with a blue cloth spine (same as *Dos fantasías memorables*). The printed label on the spine reads: "B. SUÁREZ LYNCH | UN MODELO PARA LA MUERTE".

ADDITIONAL NOTES. This book was part of a limited run of 300 copies, each numbered 1 to 300. This specific copy is 161/300.

COPY EXAMINED. *United States. Borges Collection, Small Special Collections, University of Virginia. Call number: PQ7797 .B635 M56 1946.*

**N.1 Nueva refutación del tiempo (Editorial Oportet & Haereses, 1947). First Edition, First Printing.**

TITLE PAGE. [*printed in black*]

JORGE LUIS BORGES | NUEVA REFUTACIÓN | DEL TIEMPO | OPORTET & HAERESES  
| BUENOS AIRES | 1947

GATHERINGS. [1-8] 9-19 [20] 21-33 [34-37]

PAPER. Wove. No visible chain or wire lines. Very thick paper, akin to a construction paper (appears to be of a higher quality) that has almost a glossy texture. The pages are cut to a uniform size.

COLOPHON. “SE TERMINO DE IMPRIMIR | EL 7 DE MAYO DE 1947 | EN CASA DE |  
DON FRANCISCO A. COLOMBO | HORTIGUERA 552 | BUENOS AIRES.” ([37])

BINDING. A crème-colored soft-cover book that resembles a pamphlet more than a book.

COPY EXAMINED. *United States. Duke University Library. Call number: PQ7797 .B635 N8 1947.*

**MC.2 Los mejores cuentos policiales (Emecé Editores, 1947). Third Edition, First Printing.**

TITLE PAGE. [*printed in black*]

LOS MEJORES | CUENTOS | POLICIALES | *Selección y traducción de* | ADOLFO BIOY  
CASARES | y | JORGE LUIS BORGES | TERCERA EDICIÓN | EMECÉ EDITORES, S. A. /  
BUENOS AIRES

GATHERINGS. 8°: 1-19<sup>8</sup>, 152 leaves, pp. [1-8] 9-21 [22-24] 25-40 [41-42] 43-46 [47-48] 49-69  
[70-72] 73-85 [86-88] 89-93 [94-96] 97-115 [116-118] 119-136 [137-138] 139-150 [151-152]  
153-169 [170-172] 173-189 [190-192] 193-215 [216-218] 219-226 [227-228] 229-261 [262-264]  
265-275 [276-278] 279-291 [292] 293 [294-304]

PAPER. Wove. No visible chain or wire lines. Very thin paper with some slight yellowing due to age. The pages are cut to a uniform size.

COLOPHON. “ESTA TERCERA EDICIÓN DE “LOS | MEJORES CUENTOS POLICIALES” | SE TERMINÓ DE IMPRIMIR EN LA | IMPRENTA BALMES, RAUCH 1847, | BUENOS AIRES, EL DÍA 15 | DEL MES DE ENERO DE 1947.” ([299])

BINDING. A soft-cover book with a unique cover illustration designed by José Bonomi. The text on the spine reads: “LOS | MEJORES | CUENTOS | POLICIALES | EMECÉ | EDITORES | S. A.”. This book is the second work in Emecé Editores’s “Colección Piragua”. The front cover has a unique illustration (that is virtually identical to the first and second editions of this same first series) designed by J. A. Ballester Peña. The back cover lists the price of this volume as “\$ 4.50 m/arg”. The front inside flap describes the work at hand, and stresses its commercial successes: “Al dar a la estampa la tercera edición de esta obra lo hacemos con la repetida satisfacción de ofrecer al público una nueva reimpresión urgentemente reclamada.” The back inside flap of the cover contains a list of recent publications in Emecé Editores’s “Séptimo Círculo” series (#20-36) with their respective prices.

COPY EXAMINED. *United States. Borges Collection, Small Special Collections, University of Virginia. Call number: PQ7797 .M44 1947*

### **A.1 *El Aleph* (Editorial Losada, 1949). First Edition, First Printing.**

TITLE PAGE. [*printed in black and red*]

JORGE LUIS BORGES | EL ALEPH | [*Editorial Losada logo*] | EDITORIAL LOSADA, S. A. | BUENOS AIRES

GATHERINGS. 8°: 1-9<sup>8</sup>10<sup>4</sup>, 76 leaves, pp. [1-6] 7-27 [28] 29-91 [92] 93-123 [124] 125-146 [147-152]

PAPER. Wove. Vertical chain lines throughout. The pages have been cut to a uniform length and there is a slight amount of yellowing around the edge of each page.

COLOPHON. “Este libro se terminó de imprimir el día 26 de junio de 1949, en Macagno Landa y Cía., Aráoz 162-64, Buenos Aires, República Argentina.” ([151])

BINDING. The front cover of this book is an olive-green cover with an original drawing. The back cover (and  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the spine are a crème color). The back cover also has the Editorial Losada logo in the center, and a price listed in the bottom left-hand corner: “\$ 7. –m/arg.”

The text on the front cover is black and red: “JORGE LUIS BORGES | EL ALEPH | [*Original drawing of the aleph*] | EDITORIAL LOSADA, S. A. | BUENOS AIRES”. The spine, in black, reads: “JORGE | LUIS | BORGES | EL | ALEPH | [*Editorial Losada logo*] | EDITORIAL | LOSADA, | S. A. | BUENOS | AIRES”. The interior flaps remain intact, but they do not have any additional printed material on them.

COPIES EXAMINED. *United States. Borges Collection, Small Special Collections, University of Virginia. Call Number: PQ7797 .B635 A7 1949 Copy 1 & Copy 2. The first copy has a tipped in newspaper article write-up about the first publication of El Aleph from La Prensa (2 Oct. 1949).*

**AL.1 Antigua lumbre (Francisco A. Colombo, 1949). First Edition, First Printing.**

TITLE PAGE. [*printed in black and red*]

WALLY ZENNER | ANTIGUA LUMBRE | *Con un prefacio de Jorge Luis Borges | y un dibujo de León Benarós* | BUENOS AIRES | 1949

GATHERINGS. 4°: 1-8<sup>4</sup>, 32 leaves, pp. [1-6] 7-9 [10-16] 17-27 [28-30] 31-38 [39-40] 41-46 [47-48] 49-50 [51-54] 55-60 [61-64]

PAPER. Wove. Slightly visible (horizontal) chain lines. Very thick paper, akin to a construction paper (appears to be of a higher quality) that has almost a glossy texture. The pages are cut to a uniform size. There is a bit of foxing on some of the pages throughout.

COLOPHON. “SE TERMINO DE IMPRIMIR | EL 10 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 1949 | EN CASA DE | DON FRANCISCO A. COLOMBO | HORTIGUERA 552 | BUENOS AIRES.” ([63])

BINDING. A crème-colored soft-cover book. The cover has black and red printing: “WALLY ZENNER | ANTIGUA LUMBRE | [*drawing by León Benarós of a female head*] | BUENOS AIRES | 1949” ([5]). The spine reads (in black and red): “WALLY ZENNER – ANTIGUA LUMBRE”.

COPY EXAMINED. *United States. Borges Collection, Small Special Collections, University of Virginia. Call number: PQ7797 .B635 A729 1949*

**MB.1 La muerte y la brújula (Emecé Editores, 1951). First Edition, First Printing.**

TITLE PAGE. [*printed in black*]



*Jorge Luis Borges* | LA MUERTE Y LA | BRÚJULA | [*Emecé Editores logo*] | EMECÉ  
EDITORES, S. A. | Buenos Aires

GATHERINGS. 8°: 1-8<sup>8</sup> 9<sup>4</sup> 10<sup>8</sup>, 76 leaves, pp. [1-10] 11-12 [13-16] 17-30 [31-32] 33-42 [43-44] 45-51 [52-54] 55-68 [69-70] 71-79 [80-82] 83-89 [90-93] 94-111 [112-114] 115-126 [127-128] 129-149 [150-152]

PAPER. Wove. Some foxing due to age. No chain or wire lines are visible on the pages. Very thick paper, akin to a construction paper. Some of the pages are cut to a uniform size, but the majority of the pages are uncut.

COLOPHON. “ESTE LIBRO | SE ACABÓ DE IMPRIMIR | EN BUENOS AIRES | EL 21 DE SEPTIEMBRE DE 1951 | EN LOS TALLERES DE LA | COMPAÑÍA IMPRESORA | ARGENTINA, S.A., | ALSINA 2049” ([152])

BINDING. Soft-cover book. The cover has crème-colored lettering: “Jorge Luis Borges | LA MUERTE Y LA BRÚJULA”. The printing on the spine reads: “J. L. | Borges | LA | MUERTE | Y LA | BRÚJULA | EMECÉ”. There is an original cover illustration by F. Schonbach:



The front cover design carries over to a small portion of the back cover (about 1/5 of the right side). The original price of the book is also included in the lower right-hand corner of the back: “\$ 14. – m/arg.”

COPY EXAMINED: *Personal copy*.

**BA.1 Buenos Aires en tinta china (Editorial Losada, 1951). First Edition, First Printing.**

TITLE PAGE. [*printed in black and blue*]

ATTILIO ROSSI | BUENOS AIRES | EN TINTA CHINA | *Prólogo de* | JORGE LUIS BORGES | *Poema de* | RAFAEL ALBERTI | EDITORIAL LOSADA, S. A. | BUENOS AIRES

GATHERINGS. 8°: 1-12<sup>8</sup>, 96 leaves, pp. [1-6] 7-9 [10-12] 13 [14-16] 17-63 [64-66] 67-91 [92-94] 95-103 [104-105] 106-114 [115-116] 117-142 [143] 144-149 [150-152] 153-166 [167] 168-173 [174-176] 177 [178-180] 181-186 [187-192]

PAPER. Wove. Horizontal chain lines throughout. Slight yellowing of the pages around the edges. All the pages are cut to a uniform length.

COLOPHON. “Acabado de imprimir el 29 de marzo de 1951 | Artes Gráficas Amorrortu – Luca 2227 – Buenos Aires” ([6])

BINDING. A white hard-cover book with a light-blue dust jacket. The text on the dust jacket is in white and black: “BUENOS AIRES | EN TINTA CHINA | DIBUJOS DE ATTILIO ROSSI | Prólogo de JORGE LUIS BORGES – Poema de RAFAEL ALBERTI | EDITORIAL LOSADA, S. A. | BUENOS AIRES”. The text on the spine, in black, reads: “ATTILIO | ROSSI | BUENOS | AIRES | EN | TINTA | CHINA | [*Illustration by Rossi*] | EDITORIAL | LOSADA, S. A. | BUENOS | AIRES”. The following illustration by Rossi appears in the center of the front cover:



There is a second illustration by Rossi in the center of the back cover:



ILLUSTRATIONS. The entire book contains 137 illustrations, which would be too much to include here without simply making a copy of the entire volume.

COPY EXAMINED. *Personal copy. (This specific copy has an inscription on the title page: "For Jim and Mary with love Lily." The following name is also signed at the bottom of the title page with a date: "William O'Connell Alunalde Nov. 1957")*

**AL.1 Antiguas literaturas germánicas (Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1951). First Edition, First Printing.**

TITLE PAGE. [*printed in black*]

J. L. Borges: ANTIGUAS | LITERATURAS GERMANICAS | [*"Breviarios" logo*] |  
BREVIARIOS | DEL FONDO DE CULTURA ECONÓMICA

GATHERINGS. 16°: 1-5<sup>16</sup> 6<sup>14</sup>, 94 leaves, pp. [1-6] 7-175 [176] 177 [178] 179 [180-188]

PAPER. Wove. No visible chain or wire lines. Very thin paper with some slight yellowing due to age. The pages are cut to a uniform size.

COLOPHON. "Este libro se acabó de imprimir el | día 14 de septiembre de 1951, en los | talleres de Gráfica Panamericana, S. | de R. L., Pánuco 63, México, D. F. | De él se tiraron 8,000 ejemplares. En | su composición se utilizaron tipos | Janson 11:12, 10:11 y 9:10. Se | encuadernó en la Encuadernación Ca- | brera, Comonfort 29-A. La edición | estuvo al cuidado de *Alí Chumacero*." ([181])

**BINDING.** A hard-cover book with a cover illustration of a 13<sup>th</sup> century manuscript. The text on the spine reads: “*J. L. Borges*: ANTIGUAS LITERATURAS GERMÁNICAS | 53”. The back cover of the dust jacket describes the “Breviarios” series. There is also a listing of other subjects included in the “Breviarios” series on the back cover. The front interior flap provides readers with a summary of the contents of this work. The back interior flap lists other titles produced in the “Breviarios” series.

**COPY EXAMINED.** *Personal copy.*

## **A.2 *El Aleph* (Editorial Losada, 1952). Second Edition, First Printing.**

**TITLE PAGE.** [*printed in black and red*]

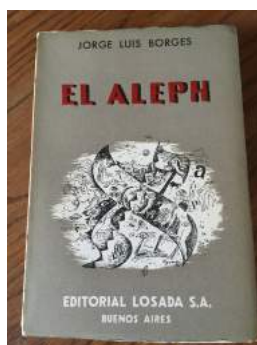
JORGE LUIS BORGES | EL ALEPH | (SEGUNDA EDICIÓN) | [*Editorial Losada logo*] | EDITORIAL LOSADA, S. A. | BUENOS AIRES

**GATHERINGS.** 8°: 1-10<sup>8</sup>, 80 leaves, pp. [1-6] 7-157 [158-160]

**PAPER.** Wove. Horizontal chain lines throughout. Many of the pages remain uncut. Those pages that are cut are uniform in length. Virtually all of the pages are in great condition with little to no yellowing or aging.

**COLOPHON.** “Este libro se terminó de imprimir el día 16 de junio de 1952, en | Macagno, Landa y Cía., Aráoz 162 – Buenos Aires.” ([6])

**BINDING.** An olive-green soft-cover book with an original drawing on the front cover:



The text on the front cover is black, **red**, and white: “JORGE LUIS BORGES | **EL ALEPH** | [*Original drawing*] | EDITORIAL LOSADA, S. A. | BUENOS AIRES”. The spine, in black with a red illustration, reads: “JORGE | LUIS | BORGES | EL | ALEPH | [*illustration*] | [*Losada logo*]

| EDITORIAL | LOSADA, S. A. | BUENOS | AIRES". The interior flaps remain intact. The front flap describes the collection, with several reviews since the original publication of this book (1949); the back flap lists other books published by Losada.

COPY EXAMINED. *Personal copy.*

**HF.1 Homenaje a Francisco Almeyra (Editorial Destiempo, 1954). First Edition, First Printing.**

TITLE PAGE. [*printed in black and orange*]

ADOLFO BIOY CASARES | HOMENAJE A | FRANCISCO ALMEYRA | DESTIEMPO |  
Buenos Aires

PAPER. Wove. No visible chain or wire lines. Very thick paper with some slight yellowing due to age. The pages are cut to a uniform size. There are also hand-written notes and corrections by the author in this copy.

COLOPHON. "Se imprimió en | la casa de Francisco A. Colombo | Hortiguera 552 Bs. As."  
([46])

BINDING. A soft-cover crème-colored book that much resembles a pamphlet (much like *Nueva refutación del tiempo*). There is no price or additional information on the binding.

COPY EXAMINED. *United States. University of Cincinnati. Call number: PQ7797 .B52 H6 1954*

**MC.6 Los mejores cuentos policiales (Emecé Editores, 1956). Third Edition, First Printing.**

TITLE PAGE. [*printed in black*]

LOS MEJORES | CUENTOS | POLICIALES | segunda serie

GATHERINGS. 8°: 1-21<sup>8</sup> 22<sup>8</sup> (-22<sub>8</sub>), 176 leaves, unopened pages.

PAPER. Wove. No visible chain or wire lines. Very thin paper with some yellowing due to age. Many of the pages maintain a deckle edge, while others have been cut more uniformly. Several

gatherings show that pages have been bound improperly with large portions of the text caught in the gutter (while conjugate leaves have strangely large margins).

COLOPHON. None present in the volume.

BINDING. A soft-cover book with a unique cover illustration designed by José Bonomi. The text on the spine reads: “LOS MEJORES | CUENTOS | POLICIALES | *segunda serie* | EMECÉ”. Each of the short stories included in this collection are printed on the back cover. The price of the volume is also printed on the back cover: “\$ 46. – m/arg”. The cover has been split and re-adhered to the front and back of the text block, making it impossible to open the first few pages of the book.

COPY EXAMINED. *Personal copy.*

**MC.7 *Los mejores cuentos policiales* (Emecé Editores, 1965). First Edition, First Printing.**

TITLE PAGE. [*printed in white*]

SELECCION DE ADOLFO BIOY | CASARES Y JORGE L. BORGES | LOS MEJORES |  
CUENTOS | POLICIALES | EMECÉ EDITORES

GATHERINGS. Perfect binding.

PAPER. Wove. No visible chain or wire lines. Very thin paper with some slight yellowing due to age. The pages are cut to a uniform size.

COLOPHON. “Se terminó de imprimir en Bue- | nos Aires el 22 de marzo | de 1965 en los talleres de | la COMPAÑÍA IMPRESORA | ARGENTINA, S. A., | calle Alsina 2059.” ([307])

BINDING. A soft-cover book with a unique cover illustration designed by José Bonomi. The text on the spine reads: “SELECCIÓN DE | A. B. CASARES | Y J. L. BORGES | LOS | MEJORES | CUENTOS | POLICIALES | 48 | COLECCIÓN | PIRAGUA”. This book is the second work in Emecé Editores’s “Colección Piragua”.

COPY EXAMINED. *United States. Borges Collection, Small Special Collections, University of Virginia. Call number: PQ7797 .M442 1965*



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