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Anthologies as Tools of Literary Hospitality

The Case of Edgar Allan Poe in Spain (1850–1936)

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Abstract

This article examines the presence of Poe's fiction in Spain, focusing on the reception of his anthologized short stories in the second half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, and taking this as a case of literary hospitality that helped to develop the fantasy genre in the country. In the early decades of publication, collections of Poe's short stories were generally introduced into Spain as translations of anthologies of Baudelaire's French versions. These anthologies appealed to a broad readership and sold well, being published by both large, professional houses and smaller, family-run presses. Poe came to form part of the literary canon that was being shaped in the final decades of the nineteenth century in Spain, and was thus published alongside major literary figures, which attests to the kind of literary hospitality he enjoyed in Spain's cultural world in the decades following his introduction into the country.

Keywords

world literature – literary capital – nineteenth-century Spanish literature – twentieth-century Spanish literature – short fiction

1 Introduction

Anthologies play a central role in the creation of literary canons. They are vehicles for the transmission of foreign literatures, as well as a means of controlling the reception of such literatures. Moreover, they serve to renew and enlarge the available body of work, acting as instruments of hospitality that are accepted within a nation's literary world at a time when certain genres or modes to be found in them still lack recognition *per se* in that world.

Edgar Allan Poe is a good case study of the role that anthologies of his works have played in other literatures. In their introduction to *Anthologizing Poe: Editions, Translations, and (Trans)National Canons*, Emron Esplin and Margarida Vale de Gato argue that Poe exerts "more influence in the spheres of literature and popular culture on a world scale than any other U.S. author" ("Types of Anthology" 1). Poe's authority is indeed attested by the astonishing number of anthologies that have been published since he was first translated into French in the mid-nineteenth century, and which continue to the present day. While anthologies illustrate the popularity of any given author, they are also an especially useful means of studying the reception of an author in another literary environment, and thus as a part of the emergence of a canon of world literature.

A number of studies have explored the reception of Poe in Spanish literature in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Ferguson; Englekirk; Rodríguez Guerrero-Strachan, *Presencia de Poe*; Rigal-Aragón, *Legados de Poe*; Roas). Most of these focus on comparative and textual analyses, but none have examined the circulation of Poe's stories in detail. Indeed, it is notable that there has never been a comprehensive study looking at when the stories were translated, which were the most popular, and which remained untranslated until the early twentieth century; moreover, there is currently no work on the publishing houses and the specific series within which anthologies of Poe were printed.

This article will consider the anthologizing and circulation of Poe's stories in Spain as an example of both literary hospitality and the creation of a canon of world literature. To this end we will look closely at the dates of translation, the publishing houses involved in the various editions and series, and at other authors whose works were also printed by the same houses and as part of the same series. By studying the dissemination of Poe's short narratives, we will seek to reveal the reasons for the great popularity and literary significance that the American author garnered in the Spanish literary world. We will also argue that anthologizing Poe in Spain was not an isolated undertaking, but rather formed part of a common practice among publishers, one that had an impact on Spanish literature itself.

Our thesis is that Poe becomes a case of the creation of a world literature, and is also an example of literary hospitality. The very notion of world literature has been the subject of great debate since Goethe defined it in the late eighteenth century, which Karen Smith noted in “What Good Is World Literature?: World Literature Pedagogy and the Rhetoric of Moral Crisis” (586–600). For Goethe, as René Wellek has also discussed, “the term *world literature* [...] suggests a historical scheme of evolution of national literatures in which they will fuse and ultimately melt into a great synthesis” (211). However, this idea of world literature was heavily dependent on a nationalistic view of culture, since the chosen works were understood to represent a nation’s *Volkgeist* despite their capacity to express universal human experience (Wail S. Hassan, “World Literature in the Age of Globalization: Reflection on an Anthology” 39).

In the twenty-first century, the idea of a world literature has been redefined by scholars such as David Damrosch in *What Is World Literature?* (2003), Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak in *Death of a Discipline* (2003), and Christopher Prendergast in *Debating World Literature* (2004), among many others, with Mary Louise Pratt’s “Arts of the Contact Zone” (1991) as a forerunner. World literature has been reorganized as a “system of reading that reflects the fluctuations of national and cultural identities,” Karen Smith argues (598), in light of its international circulation and the “new meanings generated, beyond their linguistic and cultural origins” (598).

In “What Is World Literature?,” Damrosch makes the claim that the contemporary concept of world literature is not so distant from that of Goethe’s as a reader might think. He argues that for the German writer, as well as for himself, world literature is an established body of classic works, an evolving canon of masterpieces, and thus offers multiple windows on the world (9). For Damrosch, translation has the power to recast the nature and meaning of literary works (13). To understand the new lives of such translated works, we have to look at “the ways the work is newly framed, both in its translation and in its new cultural context” (13).

Pascale Casanova’s *The World Republic of Letters* (2004) explores the forms that literary prestige takes for authors who become part of world literature. She insists on the notion of literary capital (14–17) as a prime indicator and cause to introduce foreign authors into national literatures, and analyses the role of criticism and translation (21–23). In the case of Poe, Baudelaire acted as the introducer of his work in Europe. Baudelaire’s criticism and translations added literary capital to Poe’s stories, which until that moment had remained unnoticed in Europe. Casanova’s argument about the importance of literary capital for authors to be representative is essential to our study of the anthologizing of Poe in Spain as we examine the circulation of Poe’s stories between 1850 and 1936.

Finally, an important facet of the cultural context of this process is the circulation of the texts themselves. As Hassan has argued, the promotion of cross-cultural understanding cannot be separated from the commercial advantages that publishers expect to gain at times of intense commercial activity (Hassan 39), an idea discussed by A. Owen Aldridge in *The Reemergence of World Literature* (1986) that helps to partially explain the interest Spanish readers had in Poe, as well as other foreign authors, mainly French and English ones.

As previously noted, the reception of Poe's works in nineteenth-century Spain can be considered a case of literary hospitality. *The New Oxford Dictionary of English* defines hospitality as "the friendly and generous reception and entertainment of guests, visitors, or strangers" (886). Hospitality is about welcoming the Other – the foreigner, the pilgrim, the visitor, the exile or the refugee – and involves not only providing him or her with shelter, but also with food and protection. In most cultures, and across the ages, hospitality became a "basic virtue." Drawing on the studies of Émile Benveniste, Jacques Derrida explored the Latin origins of the word 'hospitality,' which derives from two proto-Indo-European words which have the meaning of "stranger," "guest" and "power" (O'Gorman 51). He concluded that the word hospitality "carries its own contradiction incorporated into it, a Latin word which allows itself to be parasitized by its opposite 'hostility,' the undesirable guest (*hôte*) which it harbors as the self-contradiction in its body" (Derrida 3). Hence, in his articulation of the concept, Derrida paid particular attention to the duality hospitality/hostility, coining the term *hostipitality*, a portmanteau word which subverts the traditional meaning of hospitality, that of an unconditional welcoming which can never be fully accomplished, while at the same time producing *a priori* a sentiment that such hospitality aims to mitigate (Still 18). *Hostipitality*, then, conveys the dual sense of the possibility of welcome and of rejection. On the other hand, Derrida claims that hospitality is linked to translation, which is itself considered *the* experience of hospitality (Vidal Claramonte 251–252). A translated text, in the words of M. Carmen África Vidal Claramonte, "is different to and also the same as the original, because both the original and the translation are heteroglossic and dialogic, which rules out a simpler linear interpretation" (253). The assumption that arises from this idea is that "translators cannot achieve a faithful, objective and univocal *representation*" of reality and, recalling Borges' dictum, translation should be understood as "a mode of literary interference and manipulation rather than a transparent and faithful image of a text originally written in another language" (Stephanides 209).

To return to the Spanish literary world, Poe's short fiction soon began to be translated and anthologized in Spanish. As David Damrosch has proposed, literary works change in nature when they move "from a national sphere into

a new worldly context” (“World Literature” 13), and this is the kind of change that Poe’s stories underwent when they were anthologized in Spain. When they were incorporated into the Spanish literary system, some texts were granted fairly unconditional hospitality, in that they were fully accepted as literary texts, perhaps due to the fact that they were conspicuously unprecedented. Others were subject to a somewhat different kind of *hostipitality*, in that they were both accepted and rejected simultaneously, required to undergo a process of adaptation. Thus, for instance, a horror tale such as “The Black Cat,” which was published for the first time in Spanish in 1866 (and anthologized in 1871), was initially adapted by Vicente Barrantes in 1859 to suit Spanish tastes, as Pedro de Prado y Torres stated in 1860 in an introductory note to his own translation of “The Facts in the Case of M. Valdemar” (194).

This essay looks at Poe anthologies and publishing houses that edited all types of Poe collections in Spain. While previous research on anthologies has been done by Fernando González-Moreno and Margarita Rigal-Aragón (2011) and Alejandro Jaquero-Esparcia and José Manuel Correoso-Ródenas,¹ our paper offers a wider scope than the studies mentioned here as we have explored all Poe anthologies, both illustrated and not illustrated, and their circulation.

2 Anthologies

Anthologies, whether of individual authors, specific genres, or literatures, have had a positive reputation, although they have not always been taken seriously by scholars of literary studies, in that they serve to establish literary canons and the literary reputation of writers, while at the same time they “help institutionalize the national culture, which they reflect” (Mujica 203–204). In this regard, André Lefevere has pointed out the role that anthologizers have enjoyed in the dissemination of literary works – anthologizers, just like translators, “are image makers, exerting the power of subversion under the guise of objectivity” (Lefevere 7). In nineteenth-century Spain, Edgar A. Poe attracted attention not only through the publication of translations of his tales in literary reviews and magazines, but also thanks to the anthologization of a good number of his

1 González-Moreno and Rigal Aragón’s “Under the Spanish Eye: Illustrated Poe Editions in Spain” (2011) focuses exclusively on illustrated collections. Jaquero-Esparcia and Correoso-Ródenas’s chapter, “Beyond Baudelaire’s Views of Poe: Carlos Fernández Cuenca and Josep Farrán i Mayoral, Literary Criticism, and Aesthetic Reception in 1930s and 1940s Spain” (2023), deals with illustrated Poe editions published at the end or after the years covered in our paper.

short stories. In *Anthologizing Poe*, Emron Esplin and Margarida Vale de Gato have already pointed out the role that anthologies played in popularising Poe in Spain.

2.1 *Nineteenth-Century Anthologies*

In the first decades of the nineteenth century, many literary journals devoted sections to short fiction produced not only by Spanish writers, but also by foreign authors translated into Spanish (Ezama Gil 31). Despite the harsh criticism from some quarters, Spanish periodicals at the time also published a vast number of articles on extraordinary phenomena, traditions and legends, occult sciences and esoterism, all of which were avidly read by Spanish readers (Trancón Lagunas 20). The popularity in the Spanish press of such narratives and articles paved the way for the reception of Poe's fantastic stories.

Thus, when his stories arrived in Spain in the late 1850s, Spanish readers were already fully acquainted with the fantastic. Poe's works began to be translated, imitated and published in literary journals, newspapers, and anthologies in 1858, and by the second part of the nineteenth century he had become the most-translated fantastic author in Spain (Roas 37).

The first Poe anthology, *Historias estraordinarias [sic]* (1858), included Spanish translations of "The Unparalleled Adventure of One Hans Pfaall," "The Murders in the Rue Morgue," "The Gold-Bug," "The Purloined Letter," and "The Facts in the Case of M. Valdemar." It also contained a tale by the Spanish novelist Fernán Caballero (1796–1877) which, according to John Ferguson, was "a combination apparently intended to temper the exotic strangeness of Poe and make him more acceptable to Spanish readers" (62). Nicasio Landa, who wrote the introduction, argued that the anthologized stories inaugurated a genre which had not hitherto been seen in Spanish letters ("Prólogo" viii). The publication of Poe's tales thus opened up a new path in Spanish literature. Critics, readers and writers in the country were enthusiastic about how Poe treated the supernatural, the macabre, the scientific, and the rational (Roas 59).

Following the appearance of the first Poe anthology in 1858, eight subsequent volumes of Poe's anthologies were published soon after. All of these anthologies (1859, 1860, 1871, 1875, 1883, 1884, 1887 and 1890) except the one from 1884, were renditions of the tales from Baudelaire's anthologized translations, and as such they all bore the same title in Spanish. At the time, French was the language that Spanish authors, upper-middle class readers, and affluent families used as a means of keeping up to date with literary novelties in the world. It was also customary in many of these anthologies to include a translation of Baudelaire's study of the life and work of Poe, which in fact contained significant errors, ones which would be repeated in future editions.

Of special interest is the anthology *Novelas y cuentos* (1884), translated from English by Argentine Carlos Olivera. The volume included a careful selection of Poe's tales, but excluded some important stories, a decision that, in the words of Emron Esplin, "helped produce a particular image of Poe"; this selection "demonstrated a marked proclivity for Poe the creator of terror, supernatural, and detective stories over Poe the satirist or comedian" ("A Century of Terror" 328). Although Olivera's anthology clearly affected the way Poe was read in Argentina, his decision also influenced the way Spanish readers would come to read a brand-new translation from the original language – previously they had always been exposed to Spanish translations of Baudelaire's French versions – as well as secured Poe's literary fame in Argentina and the rest of South America.

Returning to Poe's first anthology, it is noticeable that the selection of stories catered to the tastes of Spanish readers, while it also established which stories and genres would be anthologized over the following decades. Spanish literature was hospitable to those stories in which the scope went beyond the traditional nineteenth century mold, and which thus enjoyed a good public reception. Indeed, the five narratives anthologized were a mixture of adventure, ratiocination (detective fiction), and terror. All these literary manifestations to which a Spanish readership had never previously been exposed. If we incorporate into this group of stories the comic tales, we can see how all the anthologies published thereafter began to establish a canonical image of Poe as an unusual story writer. Bearing this taxonomy in mind, let us now turn to an analysis of each genre and the particular stories anthologized.

Adventure stories became very popular and were widely anthologized during the nineteenth century. David Roas has claimed that there were eleven different versions of "The Unparalleled Adventure of One Hans Pfaall," which became the most translated Poe narrative in the nineteenth century (38). "Hans Pfaall" and "The Gold-Bug" appeared in the first Poe collections and would be reprinted a further five and four times, respectively. Regarding the former story, Spanish readers would probably have enjoyed the tale of a Dutchman on a journey to the moon as an adventure story, in which the author sagaciously mixes fantasy and scientific knowledge. "The Gold-Bug," on the other hand, blends adventure and cryptography, thus bringing the narrative closer to stories of ratiocination, a genre which might have been particularly appreciated in Spain due to its novelty. For Roas, the mixture of rationality (science) and fantasy generates a type of verisimilitude never achieved in fantastic literature, intensifying the psychological impact on the reader (73).

Horror stories were without doubt the most anthologized of Poe's works, in both the nineteenth century and twentieth centuries. Indeed, this genre was

granted unconditional reception in Spanish letters. Many of these narratives were repeatedly reprinted in anthologies published between 1858 and 1861. It seems that those stories occupied a space that had previously been a literary vacuum in Spanish literature, in that horror had not been explored to such an extent before the advent of Poe. Other works were anthologized in the 1870s and republished at least three times. For instance, "The Cask of Amontillado" became extremely popular perhaps due to its especially Spanish motif and was reprinted five times. "The Facts in the Case of M. Valdemar," which had been rendered into Spanish as early as 1858, was reprinted a further three times over the course of the remainder of the century. The first Spanish translator of this story, Pedro de Prado y Torres, argued in a note on his translation from the original version, that he could not determine whether or not the supernatural events described in the narrative were real or imaginary (194). There is no doubt that the success of the story lies in the popularity that pseudo-sciences like phrenology, mesmerism, telepathy, and spiritism had achieved in the second half of the nineteenth century in Spain (Litvak 83–88).

Tales including a nervous narrator also found a hospitable reception. Again, the appeal of such stories lay in their novelty, with enthralled readers drawn to the meticulous plans devised by Poe's maniac narrators in their attempts to kill their various victims. Some of these narratives can be characterized as monologues, the most frequent form of narration in the first person, which also very effectively achieved the fantastic effects desired, by placing readers at the center of the alienated consciousness of the character, without intermediaries (Ezama Gil 81). Surprisingly, despite overt accusations of transgressing the limits of morality and good manners, horror stories, characterized by an unusual, indeed odd treatment of the fantastic, enjoyed public acclaim and recognition, and soon became established as part of the literary canon, thus firmly securing Poe's reputation in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Tales of ratiocination, or detective fiction as we know the genre today, were also greatly appreciated in the second half of the nineteenth century. Pedro Antonio de Alarcon (1833–1891), Poe's most important Spanish mediator in that century, noted the talent of American writer for uniting imagination and science ("Diario de un madrileño" 1–4); while in 1880 Ismael Rivas y Calderón pointed out the "rigorously inductive faculty of his [Poe's] spirit" in such tales (3). More recently, Margarita Rigal-Aragón has concluded that the success and development of detective fiction might have been closely linked to the boom of journals and the yellow press which appealed to a great number of readers ("Ciencia del raciocinio" 37). Two stories, "The Murders in the Rue Morgue" and "The Purloined Letter," appeared in the 1858 anthology, and both were reprinted in three additional anthologies, the former twice, and the latter once.

The third tale in the Dupin series, “The Mystery of Marie Rogêt,” appeared once in the 1884 Paris edition translated from English by Carlos Olivera. Rigal-Aragón claims that this sequel did not attract readers’ attention because it was an extremely long tale in which detective Dupin appeared to have solved the mystery without moving from his armchair. Furthermore, it lacked the dramatic interest and atmosphere of previous stories (“Ciencia del raciocinio” 42).

Finally, in terms of the genre of comic stories, the most successful was “Four Beasts in One – The Homo-Cameleopard,” which appeared in the 1859 anthology and was reprinted three more times in that century. It is of note that “Three Sundays in a Week,” a lesser-known narrative which was never reprinted in the nineteenth century, was in fact the first Poe story ever to be translated into Spanish, published anonymously as “La semana de tres domingos” in the third issue of the journal *El Museo Universal*, 15 February 1857. Poe’s humorous stories were also not translated into Spanish, either from English or French, nor were they anthologized, during the nineteenth century. This leads us to think that Poe’s grotesque and humorous stories perhaps remained unwelcomed by Spanish readers, who may have not understood his satirical and comic vein, or else editors and anthologizers were more inclined to favor the element of horror in Poe’s work. As regards “Four Beasts in One,” considered as one of Poe’s most successful comic achievements (Sova 90), it was granted a hospitable reception by Spanish readers because they were already acquainted with the bizarre narratives of such Spanish writers as Antonio Ros de Olano (1808–1886) and José Fernández Bremón (1839–1910).

2.2 *Early Twentieth-Century Anthologies*

In the first decade of the twentieth century no Poe anthology was published, and the centenary of his birth went almost unnoticed. One possible explanation for the absence of new volumes of his work in the early years of the new century can be found in the economic crisis of the 1890s, during which a boom in periodical readership threatened the stability of the book industry. According to Ángeles Ezama Gil, newspapers and periodicals became affordable and the number of journalists was very high, whereas the more costly production of books was limited, and with small print runs (17–19). In the following decades things began to look up, with seven Poe anthologies released prior to the Spanish Civil (1912, 1913, around 1917, 1918–1920, 1927–1930, plus two more 1929 and 1930). The 1917 collection bore the title *Cuentos de lo grotesco y lo arabesco*, thus paying a homage to Poe’s first volume of stories, even though it reprinted only eight stories.

As regards the other anthologies, most publishers avoided the use of the Baudelairean title in their new collections: only the five-volume anthology of

1918 echoed Baudelaire's title *Historias Extraordinarias*. Issued by the Fernando Fé press, this was the most comprehensive Poe anthology thus far. Five translators were commissioned to produce one volume each, and in total some forty-two translations out of Poe's sixty-seven stories were produced. One of these translators, Emilio Carrere (1881–1947), who Englekirk defined as “the Bohemian bard of the Spanish capital” (76), was also the author of two short chapters devoted to Poe, which he published in different volumes.² Another translator, Ramón Gómez de la Serna (1888–1963), was a well-known avant-garde Spanish writer who would go on to publish a biography of Poe in Buenos Aires in 1953. All these volumes included nine tales which had never been collected before, among which are Poe's minor works.

In the first quarter of the twentieth century, the tendency seen in the previous century was maintained regarding the number of stories and genres published. The adventure story “Hans Pfaall” was reprinted only twice, perhaps because it had ceased to appeal to readers following the newer attraction of Jules Verne's *Extraordinary Voyages*. However, other adventure narratives, such as “MS Found in a Bottle,” which was anthologized only twice in the nineteenth century, plus “The Gold-Bug,” were now reprinted three times each, thus attesting to the hospitality returned to this genre in the early decades of the new century.

Horror stories continued to appeal to readers and Poe enthusiasts. Some, such as “The Oval Portrait” or “The Pit and the Pendulum,” were included in at least three anthologies in the first three decades of the twentieth century, securing Poe's position as the master of the macabre. Surprisingly, “The Fall of the House of Usher,” one of Poe's best-known and most anthologized works, received only a conditional welcome by nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century readers; a possible reason for such an unjust literary reception might be found in the possible incestuous reading to which the tale can give rise, which might have disturbed the prudish tastes of a somewhat conservative Spanish readership. Translated for the first time in 1890, a rather late date, the story “The Fall of the House of Usher” was reprinted just once more prior to the Civil War, in the aforementioned 1918 five-volume anthology.

Ratiocination stories were reprinted in several Poe anthologies published during this period. “The Murders in the Rue Morgue,” considered to be the first example of modern detective fiction, and “The Purloined Letter,” both

2 One of the chapters, “Edgar Poe, ocultista” [Edgar Poe, Occultist] was published in *Las ventanas del misterio* (1913) while the other two chapters, “La última copa de Edgar Poe” [The Last Drink of Edgar Poe] and “Los poetas borrachos” [The Drunken Poets] appeared in *El dolor de la literatura* (1914) (Englekirk 76).

enjoyed great popularity. The high demand of these narratives perhaps led to the anthologization of two more ratiocination tales: "The Mystery of Marie Rogêt," which had been published in the 1884 volume *Novelas y cuentos*, and "Thou Art the Man," which firstly appeared in book form in 1930.

Finally, during the twentieth century the humorous face of Edgar Allan Poe began to be appreciated in Spain. Whereas only "Four Beasts in One" had indeed found favor with the reading public during the nineteenth century, in the twentieth century more comic stories found unconditional hospitality among Spanish readers in that all of these were included in anthologies for the first time. Special attention should be paid to "The System of Dr. Tarr and Professor Fether," a comic piece that had been collected in the final decades of the nineteenth century and that reappeared in four anthologies before the outbreak of the Civil War. This tale, which recounts the visit of a young man to a French *Maison de Santé* and his eventual discovery that the inmates have taken control of the institution, became extremely popular in Spain following its first translation from the French in 1863. José Fernández Bremón, a well-known nineteenth-century journalist, critic, and Poe imitator, published "Siete historias en una" in 1874, a bizarre story with outrageous and hilarious scenes which were largely inspired by Poe's "Dr. Tarr and Professor Fether" (Ibáñez 64). During the second part of the nineteenth century, mental illness became the object of scientific study. As Ezama Gil has noted, the theme now took on a moral element, with madness considered to be a disease, which led to its scientific study and the development of the institution of the madhouse (78). Any interest on the part of Spanish readers in "Dr. Tarr and Professor Fether," then, might have been linked to the new visibility of mental disease and its treatment in asylums.

Despite frequent criticism on Poe's dissolute life and dipsomania, themes frequently revisited as possible explanations for his odd fiction and poetry, readers always felt a special fondness for psychological horror in tales in which a psychologically unstable first-person narrator meticulously describes how his victim is killed. Stories of ratiocination enjoyed a warm reception by most Poe enthusiasts, in that such narratives brought together, in an age characterized by philosophical positivism, a process of careful, mathematical examination with intuition.

Despite the initial success of "Hans Pfaall," Poe's comic and humorous stories only began to be anthologized in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Parodic tales such as "A Predicament," "How to Write a *Blackwood* Article," and "Diddling" were never given a hospitable reception nor were anthologized during the initial eighty-year period of Poe's presence in Spain, possibly because their farcical undertones were not easily perceived by Spanish readers. Finally,

although Edgar Allan Poe is considered the father of science fiction, we might assume that most of these had plots that were probably not fully understood by Spanish readers, since they were never published in anthologies in the nineteenth century and surfaced only to a rather limited extent in the first quarter of the twentieth century.

3 Publishing Houses

While the analysis of anthologized texts provides an overview of the way Poe was regarded in literary terms, and serves as an example of the way an author gains literary capital in a foreign literature, an exploration of the publishing houses involved, and the series in which his anthologies were published, offers a broader social viewpoint on his growing importance and literary capital as a writer, and thus helps us to understand the ways in which his work has been read in Spain. A study of publishing houses also helps to provide a detailed account of Poe's extraordinary popularity in Spain. Commercial success was of course the main factor, as terms of the publishers needed to find new fictional forms to cater for the demands of the reading public. In what follows, then, we will turn our attention to those presses that published Poe's fictional work, the series involved, and other authors published by those presses.

The number of Spanish editions of Poe's stories indicates much more than that he had won literary capital due to Baudelaire's essays and translations. In the 1871 collection, Cano y Cueto asserted that America was not a nation of poets (6). In that same decade, the critic Rafael M. de Labra argued that the influence of American literature worldwide had been scarce due to the insignificant works that had produced until that moment (458). This fact proves that for Spanish readers and critics Poe was a member of a literature that had not yet achieved enough literary value and could be accepted into Spanish literature by means of literary hospitality. In this context, Baudelaire's campaign in favor of Poe gave the American author a cultural status that could be used by publishers to promote their literary series.

3.1 *Nineteenth-Century Periodicals and Publishing Houses*

In the nineteenth century the publishing industry was undergoing several radical changes that would determine the course of the book industry in Spain. Between the 1830s and the 1930s the industry moved from a form of business that was basically family-run to a more capitalistic, professionalized one (Martínez Marín 39). It was common for a family-run business to be associated

with a specific printing press or a bookshop. Both family businesses and professional publishing houses were also frequently associated with periodicals, mostly short-lived, that would print literary pieces first in a section of the journal or the magazine, thus popularizing the authors, with works subsequently collected in book form (39–40). With the emergence of publishing houses, the editor played a central role in the activities of the publisher, and dictated commercial strategies, such as the creation of series, referred to as libraries [bibliotecas], as a means of retaining customers' loyalty (39).

Both family-run printing houses and professional publishers in Spain showed a clear interest in Poe's fiction, a sign of the writer's commercial popularity in Spain. Poe was first published by family-run printing presses. Initially, rather than sharing a new literary *big name*, these business owners expected to sell a large number of copies because readers would be attracted as French readers previously had been, as Pedro Antonio de Alarcón had written in his essay "Edgar Poe. Carta a un amigo" [Edgar Poe. Letter to a Friend].³

Among the family publishing houses that printed Poe's stories, that of Luis García's was the first, in 1858. García had already founded the series "Biblioteca literaria" [Literary Library] in 1848 in the journal *La Época* and would subsequently continue it in his new press. In the series, he aimed to publish works of world literature in order to create a canon of world literature in Spain. The printing press El Atalaya was second to publish a Poe anthology, in 1859. A year later, the Las Novedades printing house, which belonged to the periodical *Las Novedades*, released a third Poe anthology. This house was founded by Ángel Fernández de los Ríos (1821–1880), a notable journalist and politician who also owned the periodicals *La Ilustración* and *Semanario Pintoresco Español*, and who edited "Biblioteca Universal" [World Library], a good example of his concern for the literary education of Spanish society; he aimed to publish great literary works – by Spanish and foreign authors – in this series. Along with fellow editor Saturnino Calleja (1853–1915), he showed the greatest interest in publishing short stories, as the catalogues of their respective publishing houses attest. The publication of foreign authors' works can be seen as having a two-fold aim. The first was to create a canon of short fiction in which Spanish writers were included on the same terms as foreign authors; the second was to meet the readership's demand for new literature. Fernández de los Ríos had the former aim in mind, but could not insulate himself from the extraordinary allure that reading had in those decades, boosting as it did the demand for foreign literature in translation, since Spanish authors could not satisfy the appetites

3 Alarcón published the original essay in the journal *La Época*, on September 1, 1858.

of readers (Villoria 193–196). Thus, Fernández de los Ríos published Poe alongside other authors, both Spanish and foreigners, to expand the literary canon in nineteenth-century Spain, while at the same time he offered new literary models. Among the foreign short story writers now to be published were Charles Dickens, Charles Nodier, E.T.A. Hoffmann, Georges Sand, the Brothers Grimm and Hans Christian Andersen (Cantos Casenave 49–82).

Other examples of Poe's popularity as a consequence of the publication of his short fiction include the case of J.E. Morete, who published "Hans Pfaall" in 1869. Morete was a printer who published books on geography and society, a couple of periodicals, plus some satirical works. Poe's book, then, stands alone in Morete's catalogue, which was not particularly literary in nature. In a few other cases, Poe's short stories were published along with other popular authors. For example, in 1875 "The Gold-Bug" was released together with Charles Dickens's "The Battle of Life" in the women's journal *La guirnalda*. What is remarkable is that this magazine published some novels by Benito Pérez Galdós (1843–1920), Spain's best-known nineteenth-century writer, an indication that Poe was regarded as a marketable and readable author for a female Spanish audience. Manuel Tello compiled "Morella" along with Irving's "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" and Hawthorne's "Dr. Heidegger's Experiment," and printed them through his own family-run business, along with volumes of tales by many other writers. Tello was particularly interested in the publication of illustrated books, such as a volume of some fifty prints of famous paintings from the Academia de San Fernando. The above examples all suggest that Poe had quickly become a popular author whose stories had an eager and willing audience in Spanish readers, and who attracted a wide array of editors and presses. In spite of the different political views of the presses and the journals that published Poe's anthologies, they all regarded him as an author that might expand Spanish literary aesthetics in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, unlike Italian interest in world literature at the beginning of the twentieth century (Billiani 2023) and Germany's manifold approach to world literature during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Mani 2017). In Spain, direct political interest was completely absent in the hospitality Poe was granted, as can be inferred from the varied political opinions the journals and the publishing houses had.

The printer Daniel Cortezo created the series "Biblioteca de Arte y Letras" [Library of Arts and Letters] for his popular publishing house, which specialized in illustrated books. Among the many volumes he released were fairytale collections such as Hans Christian Andersen's tales. He also published canonical foreign authors such as the German writers Johann Wolfgang Goethe, and E.T.A. Hoffmann, the English William Shakespeare and Charles Dickens, the

Scottish Sir Walter Scott, and French writers such as Victor Hugo and Alexandre Dumas. Finally, he published works by popular Spanish and Spanish-American writers, including José María Pereda, Jorge Isaacs, Ramón de la Cruz and an anthology of Emilia Pardo Bazán's short stories (Rodríguez Gutiérrez).

In 1890 Juan Pons published an immensely popular anthology which would go on to be reprinted several times in that same decade. Pons was instrumental in the reception of fantastic literature in Spain. Although Spanish readers were familiar with this genre, their first encounter with Poe produced a sense of strangeness, as various prologues attest (Rodríguez Guerrero-Strachan, "Un persistente recuerdo" 145–173). By placing Poe alongside Matthew Lewis, Honoré de Balzac and Charles Nodier, among others, Pons sought to show similarities in the poetics of their respective schemes of the fantastic. Pons was not aware of the differences between Lewis and Poe, and the influence Poe had on Balzac. Since the fantastic as practiced by Poe was foreign to Spanish readers, Pons simply published them all with the mere aim of showing different types of fantastic literature.

3.2 *Twentieth-Century Publishing Houses*

In the twentieth century there is not a clear change in the appreciation of Poe. He was by now a popular author whose writings were fairly well known by Spanish readers. This implies that he became a canonical author who would be published alongside Miguel de Cervantes, Goethe, and Shakespeare in a series that would boast a selection of the most famous works of world literature. Besides, some publishing houses attempted the translation of all his works, rather than anthologizing them as was the usual practice in the nineteenth century. This is a significant difference between the two centuries, and indicates the reader's interest as well as Poe's central position in the Spanish literary market at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Ramón Sopena (1867–1932) was one of the first owners of a large, professional publishing house in Spain. He was also an editor who revolutionized the Spanish literary market. He started publishing at the end of the nineteenth century and, as was common at the time, his activity was associated with a magazine, in this case *Vida Galante* [Gallant Life,] and also with an illustrated journal, *Figaro*. However, due to a lack of success in his business, he soon turned to publishing books that were affordable and interesting, and would become a popular editor at the beginning of the twentieth century. In his series "Biblioteca de Grandes Novelas" [Library of Great Novels] he published some of the most notable nineteenth-century writers of sagas – Sue, Dumas, Scott and Cooper – as well as great authors of European literature, such as Cervantes, Sand, Lesage and Jonathan Swift. His main goal was to build a library for aver-

age readers that contained both canonical and contemporary works, including novellas and short stories. Sopena also published books for children, plus some texts that were erotic or even slightly pornographic (Rivalan Guégo).

Fernando Fé was a bookseller and professional editor who took a close interest in Poe, and indeed released four volumes of the American's short stories himself. He also published Spanish nineteenth-century authors such as Pardo Bazán, Clarín, Rosalía de Castro, Pío Baroja, Vicente Blasco Ibáñez and Juan Ramón Jiménez, among many others, as well as publishing Poe's complete works. In 1929 he sold his publishing house to Compañía Iberoamericana de Publicaciones [CIAP,] a conglomerate of several existing houses, including Renacimiento, Mundo Latino and Atlántida; along with Fernando Fé, it would become the leading publisher in the early twentieth century (Mainer 195), and published Poe's selected works between 1927 and 1930.

In 1876 Saturnino Calleja Fernández founded Editorial Calleja, the most popular publishing house in Spain, as well as one of the most important publishers of short fiction in the nineteenth century. He published an extremely popular variety of tales, both traditional and contemporary, which included Poe's work, and which again illustrates Poe's popularity at the beginning of the twentieth century. Calleja's business was a family enterprise devoted to educational literature, the publication of cheap books affordable to any reader, children's literature, and books of fiction and of history. Among the many items in his catalogue are the tales of Charles Perrault and Hans C. Andersen, *One Thousand and One Nights*, Jean de la Fontaine's *Fables*, and anthologies of folktales.

Juan Pueyo was another publisher who was born into a family of printers. The business was established by Gregorio Pueyo, and subsequently run by his wife and Juan Pueyo, who preserved the previous catalogue and expanded it with works by Spanish authors such as Ramón J. Sender, Baroja, Gregorio Martínez Sierra and Rafael Cansinos Assens, plus British writers such as Arthur Conan Doyle, Wilkie Collins, and H.G. Wells. As a publishing house, the business was more concerned with history, philosophy and law than with fictional literature, despite publishing a large number of volumes of fictional literature. Pueyo was the first publisher to publish an anthology of Poe's works with a rendering of the original title, *Cuentos de lo grotesco y de lo arabesco* (circa 1917). This first borrowing of Poe's *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque* suggests that his life and works were familiar to at least a minority, and that Baudelaire's translation and interpretation of his poetics were now deemed less necessary than it had previously been.

Espasa-Calpe was another professional publishing house that commenced operations at the beginning of the twentieth century, and which has continued to this day. Since its inception, it has always devoted special attention to world

literature, and in its catalogue the reader can find a fully-fledged canon of such literature, and indeed even comprehensive collections of national literatures, plus canonical philosophical and essay writing. It comes as no surprise, then, that Espasa-Calpe published a comprehensive anthology of fantastic stories in 1929, in which Poe features prominently, as a result of his naturalization in the Spanish cultural milieu.

3.3 *Publishing Houses Outside Madrid and Barcelona*

All the publishing houses analyzed above were established in Madrid or Barcelona, the two main Spanish political, social and cultural centers. As regards the publication of Poe's stories, four additional publishing houses can be singled out: Querol and Domenech, Pascual Aguilar and Francisco Sempere, all in Valencia, and Eduardo Perié, in Seville. That certain houses were located in Valencia and Seville, and not in Madrid or Barcelona, suggests that Poe's stories were already extremely popular and that printers from other cities felt able to undertake the publication of his works.

In 1871 Eduardo Perié published a Poe anthology in Seville. As a publisher, Perié's main interest was in historical and social matters. He published on ancient civilizations, two books on American history, and others on Portugal and Switzerland. He also had some interest in literature, publishing his Poe anthology and two novels by Jules Verne. He was not immune to the demands of popular tastes, and thus also published a book on spiritism. It is remarkable, however, that he hardly published any fictional literature. The publication of Poe, Verne and the books on spiritism, all indicate that Spanish readers bestowed literary hospitality on a type of literature that could not be rationally explained or that challenged the realist frame of mind, this despite the broadly realistic outlook in Poe's and Verne's science fiction.

In 1875 there was a new edition of five stories published in Valencia by Querol and Domenech. This anthology was republished by Pascual Aguilar in 1882 in the same city, and saw a number of reprints between 1890 and 1900. It should be noted that the editions by these two houses bear the same title and are included in the same series. Surprisingly enough, the coincidence of both translations and series was rather common for these two publishing houses. The number of reprints also attests to the popularity of the texts. Pascual Aguilar edited the journal *Las Provincias* [The Provinces] that published works by Dickens, Goethe, De Maistre, Gauthier, plus anthologies of European poetry. Aguilar sought to change this editorial policy through the publication of contemporary Spanish authors, but continued to publish foreign authors such as Goethe and Dickens (Alonso 2). The publication of Poe, then, must be seen in the context of the Valencian Renaissance at the end of the nineteenth century, a cultural

movement that witnessed the rise of Valencian literature along with a lively printing sector there which focused on works in Spanish.

Francisco Sempere was a Valencian bookseller who created his publishing house, Francisco Sempere y Compañía, in 1900 and published an anthology of Poe's stories in around 1913. His house was devoted primarily to books on politics and philosophy. As a radical Republican, he regarded his publishing work as a means of disseminating radical ideas that had the potential to change Spanish politics, and published books of philosophy by Friedrich Nietzsche and Arthur Schopenhauer. Poe is indeed a curiosity in Sempere's catalogue, in that Sempere only published short stories by Poe, Carmen de Burgos, and Vicente Blasco Ibáñez. The publication of Baudelaire's *Les Fleurs du mal* by the same house may offer an explanation as to Poe's anthology here. Sempere may have known Poe's stories via Baudelaire and he may have been attracted by the image of Poe that the French poet described in his essays. In 1914 Sempere y Compañía merged with Editorial Iberoamericana under the name Prometeo.

In terms of publishing houses, then, Poe attracted the interest of family-run and larger, more professional presses, mainly because his anthologies sold well. The commercial aspect of literature was instrumental in the spread of his writing throughout Spain, and consequently in the interest that writers had in Poe's fiction. His short fiction became widely available and appealed to authors who realized that his fantastic stories were different to the ones they had previously read, such as those by Hoffmann. By publishing Poe, both small and large houses made his work very familiar to readers, but also to practitioners of literature, who noted the great popularity of the American writer's works and began to realize how many possibilities his brand of fantasy opened up for the future of storytelling.

3.4 *Literary Series*

An analysis of the series in which Poe's anthologies were published illustrates the importance that he achieved after quickly finding a readership in Spain, and it allows us to appreciate the extent to which this represents a clear example of literary hospitality.

Anthologies of Poe's short fiction were not restricted to collections of short stories, a genre that in terms of the critical community was barely taken into account in Spain during the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. Most nineteenth-century Spanish novelists published short fiction, but they considered long-form fiction to be their principal endeavor. Readers tended to have similar ideas. Indeed, although evidently interested in short fiction, the reading public would not favor series devoted exclusively to short fiction, with the exception of Saturnino Calleja's popular collections

of tales. Strangely enough, Poe was not a writer who was described or seen as primarily a writer of short fiction. The titles of some of his works add the word novel (“novela”), this revealing a lack of critical distinction between the notions of a novel, a novella, and a short story. As a consequence, the short fiction of Poe and Hoffmann was often presented as pertaining to the “novel” form in nineteenth-century Spain (Morillas 31). That publishers preferred the term “novel” in the nineteenth century for their series indicates that the term helped sell the books. Besides the preference of readers for longer narratives, the commercial strategy of publishing stories independently in journals and magazines also had an important role in the use of the term “novel.” Indeed, a significant number of series in which Poe was included contain this term, for example in *La guirnalda*’s “Biblioteca de buenas novelas” [Library of good novels], and Ramón Sopena’s “Biblioteca de grandes novelas” [Library of great novels]. The objectives of other series were to publish a selection of the best works of world literature. Examples include Luis García’s “Biblioteca Literaria o colección de obras selectas, así instructivas como recreativas” [Literary Library or Collection of Selected Works, both Instructive and Amusing,] Juan Pons’s “Biblioteca del siglo XIX. Tesoro de autores ilustres de todas las épocas y naciones” [Library of the Nineteenth Century. A Treasure of Illustrious Authors from all Times and Nations], the popular “Biblioteca Calleja. Obras literarias de autores célebres” [Calleja Library. Literary Works by Celebrated Authors,] Juan Pueyo’s “Biblioteca de autores célebres” [Library of Celebrated Authors,] and Querol and Domenech’s (later Pascual Aguilar’s) “Biblioteca Selecta” [Select Library]. All of these included Poe’s stories, either in anthologies or, in a few cases, comprising the whole work.

The names of these series show that Poe was not a marginal author for Spanish publishers. Rather, they regarded him as one of the contemporary writers who merited a place in the modern canon of world literature, a degree of acceptance that contrasts with Poe’s reception in his native America; we might recall, for example, Rufus W. Griswold’s infamous obituary in *The New York Tribune* or T.S. Eliot’s critical appreciation in “From Poe to Valéry” (1949).⁴

4 In an obituary published in *The New York Tribune* on October 9, 1849, Rufus W. Griswold, Poe’s literary executor – under the pseudonym Ludwig – affirmed “Edgar Allan Poe is dead. He died in Baltimore the day before yesterday. This announcement will startle many, but few will be grieved by it” (Griswold 1). Almost a century later, T.S. Eliot openly criticized Poe and declared that anyone who would examine his work would find nothing but “slipshod writing” and “puerile thinking” (327). Eliot was just one among a few who wondered why the French had been so enthused by the oeuvre of an author whose works should only appeal to readers who were just “emerging from childhood” (335).

4 Conclusion

The anthologies of Poe's short stories in Spain in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries well illustrate the interest that both publishers and readers had in the American author. Our analysis of the anthologies in which he figured has shown how Poe's image as the master of the macabre was firmly secured following the publication of the first collections of his tales in the second half of the nineteenth century. These volumes sought to meet the demands of readers who might have previously read Poe's works in newspapers, magazines or literary journals. Such an interest in Poe can be explained in terms of the sheer popularity he enjoyed among readers, and this in turn accounts for the large number of copies sold and the influence that the anthologies had on the development of Spanish fantasy fiction. The wide circulation of translations and essays, Baudelaire's included, provided Poe with a literary capital that separated him from other American authors who were not deemed so innovative in Spain.

The concern in Spain that already existed for the topics explored by Poe in some of his stories helps us to understand why he was published so often and explains as well why he was such a popular author among Spanish literati. The stories that were most frequently anthologized, such as "Hans Pfaall," "Four Beasts in One," "Some Words with a Mummy," and "The System of Dr. Tarr and Professor Fether," are not those which are today regarded as the core of his production, something that serves to illuminate the hesitant and indirect way in which Spanish fantasy fiction itself matured. Yet Poe was a profitable proposition for publishing houses. Publishers needed foreign authors to satisfy the great demands of a readership eager for new stories, a demand that Spanish writers simply could not fulfill, since their production was not sufficiently abundant at the time. Poe was accepted in the Spanish cultural milieu of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as an author who, despite his origins, was granted a genuinely hospitable literary reception in Spain, as attested by the fact that his storytelling was included in series in which canonical authors such as Cervantes, Shakespeare, Scott and Schiller were also published.

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