

*The*  
Literary Universe  
*of*  
Jorge Luis Borges

---

*An Index to References and Allusions  
to Persons, Titles, and Places in His Writings*

---

*Compiled by*  
Daniel Balderston

Bibliographies and Indexes in World Literature, Number 9



GREENWOOD PRESS  
New York • Westport, Connecticut • London

to the memory of Borges

"esa esfera intelectual, cuyo  
centro está en todas partes  
y la circunferencia en ninguna"



## Acknowledgments

I am particularly grateful to Les Perelman, for the extended loan of an Eleventh Edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; to Daniel Heiple, for help with preparing the copy; and to Marco Plumari, for help with the cross-checking of some of the references to the *Obras completas*. Thanks are also due to Susan Jordan, Mario Ullivarri, and Richard Matzinger for assistance in getting started with the data processing; to Sylvia Molloy, Marina Kaplan, and Magdalena García Pinto for their help with some of the Argentine references; and to Gwen Kirkpatrick and my parents for encouragement along the way. Special thanks also to those who initiated me in the study of Borges: L. A. Murillo, James Irby, and Sylvia Molloy.



## Abbreviations

OC	<i>Obras completas</i> . Buenos Aires: Emecé, 1974
OCC	<i>Obras completas en colaboración</i> . Buenos Aires: Emecé, 1979
A	<i>Atlas</i> . Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 1984
BC	<i>Borges y el cine</i> . Edgardo Cozarinsky, ed. Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 1974
BO	<i>Borges, oral</i> . Buenos Aires: Emecé/Universidad de Belgrano, 1979
C	<i>La Cifra</i> . Buenos Aires: Emecé, 1981
CONJ	<i>Los conjurados</i> . Madrid: Alianza, 1985
HE	<i>La hermana de Eloísa</i> . Buenos Aires: Ene Editorial, 1955
I	<i>Inquisiciones</i> . Buenos Aires: Editorial Proa, 1925
IA	<i>El idioma de los argentinos</i> . Buenos Aires: M. Gleizer, 1928
ILN	<i>Introducción a la literatura norteamericana</i> . Buenos Aires: Editorial Columba, 1967
LA	<i>El libro de arena</i> . Buenos Aires: Emecé, 1975
NED	<i>Nueve ensayos dantescos</i> . Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1982
OP	<i>Obra poética, 1923-1977</i> . Madrid: Alianza, 1981
P	<i>Prólogos</i> . Buenos Aires: Torres Agüero, 1975
PB	<i>Páginas de Jorge Luis Borges</i> . Buenos Aires: Celtia, 1982

Abbreviations

xii

- PJ        *Poesía juvenil de Jorge Luis Borges*. Carlos Meneses,  
ed. Barcelona: Olañeta, 1923
- SN        *Siete noches*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1982
- TE        *El tamaño de mi esperanza*. Buenos Aires: Editorial  
Proa, 1926
- VA        *Veinticinco Agosto 1983 y otros cuentos*. Madrid:  
Ediciones Siruela, 1983



# Introduction

## A FRAME OF REFERENCE

And in such indexes, although small pricks  
To their subsequent volumes, there is seen  
The baby figure of the giant mass.

*Troilus and Cressida* I.3

Borges opens his famous story "La biblioteca de Babel" with the words: "El Universo (que otros llaman la Biblioteca) . . ." (OC, 465). The Universe as Library: the equivalence is central to Borges's work. He reminds us on numerous occasions that for the Kabbalists and other medieval thinkers the Creation was dual: the invention *ex nihilo* of our universe, the "Book of the World," and of the Bible, the "Book of the Book" (OC, 715-716, 775). And he quotes with evident approval Mallarmé's dictum that everything exists so that it can become a book (OC, 716).

Borges, perhaps the most bookish of modern writers, fashioned what Robert Burton would have called centos or anatomies. Quotations, allusions, and references of every kind are everpresent in his writing. In a 1977 lecture he asserted that his reliance on quotation was due to an incapacity to think abstractly (SN, 108), that is, on a need to base his thought on some authority. His use of these authorities is, however, deeply subversive, as Sylvia Molloy has observed in *Las Letras de Borges* (183, 187). Borges's lists tend to jumble together famous names, the authors of the so-called Great Books, with others who seem to have purely local importance, or are utterly imaginary, and these juxtapositions serve to turn the "Great Tradition" upside down.

Borges insistently presented himself to his readers as a librarian, though he spent relatively few years of his long life in that profession. As a librarian, he was of course concerned with taxonomies and classification systems--not only that of the apocryphal Chinese encyclopedia which so fascinated Foucault, but also the Brussels system in which God is number 162. He also had a reference librarian's knack for consulting manuals and encyclopedias as a way to avoid getting lost in the stacks.

The profession of librarian is one that he assumed in his slightly disguised portrayals of himself--notably in the blind librarian in "El milagro secreto"--and one in which other writers have cast him, as for instance the librarian Burgos in Umberto Eco's *The Name of the Rose*. Borges even claimed that there is a likeness of sorts between the task of the critic and that of the librarian:

Ordenar bibliotecas es ejercer,  
de un modo silencioso y modesto,  
el arte de la crítica. (OC, 998)

The density of references in Borges's central works--those from *Discusión* to *Otras inquisiciones*--is overwhelming, with many thousands of allusions recorded from each book of essays and stories. The earlier and later works are less dense, and references in them are frequently to the same authors and titles mentioned in the central works. (The notable exceptions, however, are the manuals of Buddhism and North American literature, which are full of names Borges does not mention elsewhere.) Even in his second book of essays, Borges aspired to a book wholly made of quotations (TE, 154), and extensive and recondite quotation is one of the marks of his writings. Already in his early essays Borges proposed that reality is verbal, and that all is allusion.

#### ENCYCLOPEDIAIC LEARNING

In the preparation of this index I have been able to confirm that many of the seemingly fanciful references are nothing of the kind, and that most of the fictional characters have names that also belong to the philosophers and theologians and scholars who figure in Borges's wide and eccentric readings. One well-known example of this is Ireneo Funes, whose first name is that of an early Christian theologian, and whose last name is that of an Argentine religious and political figure from the period of the wars of independence. Others include Nils Runeberg in "Tres versiones de Judas," who has the last name of the major patriotic poet of nineteenth-century Finland, and Erik Lonnrot in "La muerte y la brújula," who must be kin to the nineteenth-century Finnish scholar Elias Lonnrot, modern editor of the *Kalevala*. Jaromir Hladik takes his surname (including what is an anomalous accent in the Spanish text) from the Czech writer Václav Hladik. Borges refers just once to Conrad's *Victory*, to the hotelkeeper Schomberg, but other names that figure in that novel include Zangiaco and Ricardo, used by Borges and Bioy in one of the outrageous detective stories that they published under the name of Honorio Bustos Domecq. Yu Tsun, the Chinese spy-narrator of "Jardín de los senderos que se bifurcan," is, as Murillo observes in his study *The Cyclical Night* (160), a character in the *Hung Lu*

*Meng*, the Chinese novel known in English as *Dream of the Red Chamber*. One of the most alarming and curious of these intrusions of extratextual realities into the world of Borges's fiction is that although Pierre Menard may not have rewritten *Don Quixote*, he (or some namesake) did write a number of books on French history in the middle of this century. An earlier Pierre Menard, a seventeenth-century polymath, has been discovered by Dante Medina ("Diez años de Terra Nostra," 65).

Indeed, it could be argued that Borges did not invent anything. He worked with the detritus of a culture, shuffling and picking through the shards. The ruined culture is that of Europe: the fragments of the cultures of Islam, India and the Orient are those brought back by the plundering imperial missionaries, governors and merchants. Borges was, as he would say himself, unsurprisingly ignorant of Arabic, Hebrew, Farsi, Sanskrit, and Chinese, and only slightly conversant in his later years in Japanese; his knowledge of these cultures is to a large extent drawn from the infinite pages of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and the manuals of Buddhism, Persian and Chinese literatures and the like that he cited so often. His learning was indeed encyclopedic, but often at several removes from its subject.

This kind of encyclopedic learning was, in fact, one of his main subjects. When the universe is conceived of as a library, knowledge deals with ideas, not things. Thus, Persian literature exists as it manifests itself in Edward G. Browne's *Literary History of Persia*, and a knowledge of Stuart Gilbert's summary of Joyce's *Ulysses* is better than so-called direct knowledge of the Joyce novel. The perversity of this idea is immeasurable, yet it is recognizable throughout Borges's work: in the chaos of the library of Babel, in the infinite rubbish-heap of the memory of Ireneo Funes, in the reviews of non-existent works, even in the insistence that, had Argentina consecrated Sarmiento's *Facundo* as its canonical work instead of Hernández's *Martín Fierro*, the country would be better (P, 139). Borges's universe, like the universe of the thinkers of Tlon, was radically idealist. Curiously, though, Borges undermined the idealist conception with a contrary insistence on the reality of the physical world. One of the characteristic gestures of his paradoxical idealist realism was his bibliophilia. In his later years, he lovingly acquired Brockhaus's encyclopedia and numerous other works, which he mentioned in his recent poetry, and reflected (as he had previously in "Poema de los dones" on his appointment as director of the National Library at the very time he was going blind) on the paradox that only now did he "have" these books, now when they could only exist for him as ideas.

Similarly, he dwelled in loving memory on quotations from his favorite poets and philosophers, and even on the sounds of words. Thus, books as physical objects and words in their concreteness became icons of a reality that to Borges as thinker seemed an entirely dubious proposition. The evidence of this "unreal reality," presented in such abundance in Borges's writings, was names. By naming--and Borges frequently recalled the example of

Adam here--human beings give a shape or form to a nebulous reality, above all a mental shape or form. Cratylus, in one of Plato's dialogues, dreamed of a world where the name would be the thing itself, and Borges is persuaded of the importance of that desire, as well as of the impossibility of realizing it in human language.

As a result, names are invested with a magical power in Borges's writing. At one extreme, words can give a power over reality to certain characters. For example, Tzinacán in "La escritura del dios" searches for the magical word that will release him from his Spanish prison and restore the Mayan way of life, and the rabbi in the poem "El Golem" would conjure up a malignant and powerful being, the Golem, by his combinations of the secret letters of the Holy Name. Conversely, though, the idolatrous love of names and ideas reduces the obsessed idolator to the mere status of a name or an idea. Erik Lonrot is the key example of this revenge of an intractable reality that cannot be reduced to one's idea of it: the detective in "La muerte y la brújula" is destroyed when he loses sight of the fact that, in the world in which we live, ideas correspond only inexactly to the things that they represent.

#### ATLAS

Most of the references to places recorded here are to real places, as Borges insisted on the importance of particular places in all their concreteness since his earliest writing. The double movement discussed earlier--the notion that the world exists only as idea or representation, and the paradoxical acknowledgment that it exists despite our ideas of it--is apparent here too.

Buenos Aires, for example, existed for Borges at least in part as an idea--the city of his famous poem "Fundación mítica de Buenos Aires" exists entire and solid from the moment of its foundation, that is, from the moment when it was named. But Buenos Aires exists also in the fact that it is a collective fiction, an idea which millions of people have conspired to make up together, over and over again. Ideal objects have a weight and a density all their own, as the startled character named Borges discovers near the end of "Tlon, Uqbar, Orbis Tertius," when oddly heavy coins, a compass and a cone, figments of somebody's imagination, weigh on his hand.

One quirk displayed by Borges is his practice of the classical usage of associating people with their places of origin (Zeno of Elea, Augustine of Hippo). So he often referred not to David Hume but to Hume of Edinburgh. Similarly, he frequently noted the nationality of the people he mentioned (references that I have indexed under the countries in question).



It would be interesting to plot the places that Borges mentions on a globe. Argentina and Uruguay, most of Europe, the United States, the Mediterranean and the Middle East, Persia, India and a few places in China and Japan would be highlighted, but the Antilles, Brazil, Central America and the northern part of South America, sub-Saharan Africa, the Soviet Union, and the populous mainland and islands of southeast Asia would hardly appear.

Curiously, one of Borges's last books is called *Atlas*. These travel writings of a blind man are frequently reflections on the tension caused by the discrepancy between the experience of a place and the cultural idea one has of it. In one of the brief sections of this book, for instance, Borges asserted that at a bakery called *Aux Brioches de la Lune* he encountered the perfect brioche: the brioche which is all brioches, or rather the Platonic idea of a brioche. He conceived of travel to a place as a pilgrimage in search of the idea of that place, as much as (indeed, more than) for the experience itself. It was fitting that he chose to return to Geneva to die, the place where he went to school, learned several languages and began to write.

#### NAMING NAMES

Those mentioned most frequently in Borges's pages are: Borges himself, God, Jesus Christ, and then, in descending order, Shakespeare, Schopenhauer, Cervantes, Plato, Virgil, Quevedo, Whitman, Homer, Milton, Poe, Lugones, Dante, Stevenson, and then a multitude of others, including Goethe, Rosas, Chesterton, De Quincey, Hernández and Góngora.

I have counted as a reference to Borges not only the explicit references, that is, the various characters named Borges who appear in several of the stories, the signed prefaces, and so on, but also references to his blindness, his works, his unsurpassable ignorance of Hebrew, and so on. Borges held that all literature is autobiographical (TE, 146), and his own example seems to support that idea.

The frequent references to God and Jesus Christ would seem odd for an unbeliever, were it not for Borges's assertion that religion and philosophy can be taken as a kind of fantastic literature. Among the writers, the one mentioned most often is Shakespeare, who is for Borges paradoxically the most impersonal and most un-English of English writers. Borges refers to several of the tragedies, most notably *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, and *Julius Caesar*, and to *The Tempest* and the sonnets. Of the great late plays, he refers rarely to *Lear* and not at all to *The Winter's Tale*. Among the philosophers, Plato is mentioned most frequently, followed by

Schopenhauer, Aristotle, Berkeley and Nietzsche. Some Victorian and Edwardian writers are alluded to often--Stevenson, Kipling and Chesterton most notably--but of course references to others (Morris, Wells, Shaw, Wilde, Rossetti and so forth) are very common, making this the period of English literature to which Borges refers the most. The Argentine writers mentioned most frequently are Lugones, Carriego, and Hernández, with Sarmiento, Almfuerte and Macedonio Fernández not far behind. One also notes the preponderance of references to epic poets--Homer, Virgil, Dante, Camoes, Tasso, Milton--as this genre has obviously engaged Borges's sensibility very deeply, although it could not be more different from his own work. Indeed, the only time he set himself the task of writing a few lines of epic verse, the intention was to mock the poem and the entire enterprise, as he did in his description of Carlos Argentino Daneri's poem *La tierra* in the story "El Aleph."

Though this affirmation may seem odd, Borges's encyclopedic allusions are not all-encompassing. A simple example of this occurs in the essay "La esfera de Pascal," in which he refers to a wide variety of philosophers and writers who, over the centuries, have used the metaphor of an infinite sphere, the center of which was everywhere. At least one illustrious name is not in this list: the great poet of colonial Mexico, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, who uses this image in her autobiographical letter (4:450).

#### QUOTATION MARKS

Many of Borges's references are not explicit but implicit. Some of them were easy to identify and have been included (a white whale, an immortal poem about a gaucho outlaw, a time traveler), while some of them of course escape me. In addition to quotations, various kinds of textual reference are embedded in Borges's writing. He calls attention to this process in the final note to the story "El inmortal," where the narrator takes stock of the "intrusiones, o hurtos" from Pliny, Shaw, Descartes, and others that are present in the tale. Several critics have called attention to the ironically incomplete nature of this information: Ronald Christ and James Irby have discussed other borrowings in that story.

The story ends with the words: "Palabras, palabras desplazadas y mutiladas, palabras de otros, fue la pobre limosna que le dejaron las horas y los siglos," words that, as I have shown elsewhere (*El precursor velado: R. L. Stevenson en la obra de Borges*, 171), have been borrowed from Conrad's preface to the *Nigger of the "Narcissus"*:

it is only through an unremitting, never-discouraged care for the shape and ring of sentences that an approach can be made to plasticity, to colour; and the light of magic suggestiveness may be brought to play for an evanescent instant over the commonplace surface of words; of the old, old words, worn thin, defaced by ages of careless usage. (146)

Thus, Borges plagiarized the justification for plagiarism; the "old words" can be made to live again in a changed context, if only for a moment.

This index, then, bears witness to one of the fundamental features of Borges's art: fiction as patchwork, or as what Nahum Cordovero in "El inmortal" termed the "coat of many colors." At best, an index of this kind can only point to the more obvious of these borrowings; the others must wait for a critical edition with full critical apparatus.

#### AN INDEX OF FORBIDDING BOOKS

Le fantastique est un monde sans indices.  
Compagnon, 376

This book is the fruit of an individual effort, and has evident strengths and weaknesses for that reason. Because of previous research I am well-acquainted with most of Borges's British sources, but must confess to a less than adequate grasp of the cultural ephemera recorded so profusely in the Bustos Domecq stories. The annotations are complete for those items that can be researched through normal sources--encyclopedias, atlases, etc.--but weak in the area of personal reference ("nuestro amigo Cuttini," for instance, is not of my acquaintance) and sometimes in the realm of local Argentine allusions. I have made every effort to include in this index not only explicit references but also implicit ones, but it was impossible to catch them all. Some references necessarily escape me or are obvious to all; these have been left without annotation.

I have indexed all of Borges's books, and a number of collections by other people of his uncollected articles (on cinema, on Dante, etc.). There are significant omissions: of the uncollected articles, the interviews, and most of the anthologies Borges compiled. The uncollected articles number in the hundreds, and the sheer task of devising a code that would differentiate between them in an index such as this was sufficient reason for their omission. No doubt Emecé will come out fairly soon with a volume of Borges's suppressed writings, the first three books of

essays most notably, and with a volume of the dispersed articles. (One hopes these volumes will be more carefully edited and proof-read than the two existing volumes of collected works.) Some of the most important of the dispersed articles have been collected recently by Alicia Jurado in *Páginas de Jorge Luis Borges*, but many others are still waiting to be compiled in a careful scholarly edition. (Another very extensive body of articles, Borges's contributions to the magazine *El Hogar* from 1936 to 1939, has been the subject of a dissertation by Enrique Sacerio Garí; he has published an index of sorts to those articles in the *Revista Interamericana de Bibliografía*.)

I have included two volumes of Borges's talks--*Borges, oral* and *Siete noches*--but have excluded the several dozen volumes of interviews. The interviews are very uneven in quality, and Borges has not been involved in the editing of them (with perhaps a few exceptions), with the inevitable result that the items that are of interest here--names, titles, places--have often been hopelessly mangled. For a thorough study of any of the points of contact between Borges and the literary universe, the interviews are, however, indispensable: approximately one quarter of the references to Stevenson, for example, are found in them. I leave the thankless task of indexing the interviews--the several dozen books of interviews and numerous others published as parts of books and in periodicals--to some other harmless drudge. Finally, I have omitted the anthologies (with the exception of those included in the *Obras completas en colaboración*): anthologies of writings about the *gaucho matrero* and the *compadrito*, the two volumes of detective stories, the book of dreams, anthologies of Argentine and Latin American poetry, a book of writings about heaven and hell, and last but not least the famous anthology of fantastic literature. For the most part these anthologies have few notes by the editors that would be worth indexing, and the most important of the Borges prefaces to these anthologies are included in *Prólogos* and in *Páginas de Jorge Luis Borges*. Again, however, I would urge readers, scholarly and otherwise, not to ignore the anthologies. They give vital information about the particular writings by Léon Bloy and Max Beerbohm and so many others that were of most interest to Borges.

We urgently need a critical edition of Borges showing the variants between different editions of his works. Borges was obsessive in his revisions, with scarcely a sentence left untouched. Even such reeditions of earlier essays as those included in *Prólogos* and *Nueve ensayos dantescos* show extensive revision, some in matters that affect this index. Were it not for our writer's prodigious memory, it would be difficult to imagine that a man who was blind for the last thirty years of his life would bother to rewrite essays published forty or even sixty years ago, sometimes inserting new references to secondary material that he had read years ago, and yet still remembered.

Borges often referred to very obscure scholars and writers as if it were obvious to whom he was referring. Indeed, his readers (myself included) have often imagined that his frame of reference is fairly manageable or predictable. However, in the course of

trying to trace several thousand of these references, I can assure others that this is anything but the case. The references could only be truly obvious to someone whose reading overlapped precisely with that of Borges himself. In trying to identify many of the figures mentioned here, I often had very little to work with. Many times the only indications would be a fairly common last name and the assertion that the person in question had said something about Buddhism, the fourth dimension, or the Icelandic sagas. Similarly, many of the titles were translated into Spanish or were incomplete, with little or erroneous information about publication dates or authors' names. I have spent six months on the annotations, brief as they are, and fear I could easily have spent another ten years without ever achieving a sense of finality.

In *Through the Looking Glass*, Lewis Carroll writes of running as fast as one can only to stay in the same place. The compiler of this index must confess to feeling that same way, considering that Borges published several books during the time in which I have been working on this index. I have paused--like the runners over the golden apples dropped by Atalanta--to include them also.

This work complements David William Foster's recent annotated bibliography on Borges, and completes the task, initiated years ago by Emile Berveiller in *Le Cosmopolitisme de Jorge Luis Borges*, of cataloguing his allusions in a fairly thorough manner.

#### A MODEST PROPOSAL

Durante muchos años, yo creí que la casi infinita literatura estaba en un hombre. Ese hombre fue Carlyle, fue Johannes Becher, fue Whitman, fue Rafael Cansinos-Assens, fue De Quincey. (OC, 641)

It is devoutly to be wished that this index will be but the first of such efforts: within a few years, when a more adequate edition of Borges's works should be available, it is to be hoped that there will be an annotated index that takes stock more completely of Borges's references. One may envision some decades hence a Borges encyclopedia, with brief articles resuming the critical books and articles--which by then will fill the libraries--on Shakespeare, Heine and Pliny in Borges, on Borges and Balvanera Street, on Borges and *The Mind of Man*, works provoked, alas, at least in part by the existence of the present index. This encyclopedia will of necessity be a collective project: the work of a group of people devoted to the annihilation of the external universe and its replacement with a universe made by a human being, with its own inevitable logic and order. That human being will in time recede as a physical being and achieve the status of an idea. Then those future generations of scholars will forget the existence of English or Argentine or Latin literatures. The world will be Borges.



## A Guide to This Index

The index is divided into three parts: indexes to persons, to titles and to places. The index to persons includes gods and monsters, real people and fictional characters. The index to titles similarly includes a mixture of real works and of apocrypha of every variety. The index to places consists to a large extent of actual places. Initially I sought to distinguish between reality and fiction, but that enterprise contradicted Borges's endeavor as a writer, and consequently had to be abandoned. I have characterized many of the fictitious references as such, but *caveat lector*--may the reader beware: many of the apparently fictitious references are based on some element of fact, as witness the examples given in the introduction to Pierre Menard, Yu Tsun, and Erik Lonrot among others.

The index to persons includes information about the principal works of many of the writers. Many of these works are found listed in the title index.

The title index lists titles, when possible, in the original language for the major Western European languages. Spanish, Portuguese, French, English, German, Latin and Italian. When Borges has translated the title into Spanish a cross-reference is provided to the original title. Titles in Russian, Chinese, Arabic, Greek, and other languages (which Borges, by the way, could not read) have been translated into Spanish, following his usage, except in cases where a transliteration of the original title has become more familiar, as for example with the *Rig-Veda* or the *Zohar*. I have generally followed Borges's transliterations in the main entry, providing a corrected version in some cases where necessary to confirm the identification. Information concerning the author and the date of publication is provided for the purposes of identification, and has been cross-checked with other sources as much as possible.

The index to places includes a large number of references to streets and landmarks of Buenos Aires, the identification of which is doubtless unnecessary for Argentine readers but may prove useful to others.

References to the *Obras completas* and *Obras completas en colaboración* are listed first, followed by references to the other books in alphabetical order. A chronological ordering of the references, though highly desirable, was impossible because the collected works are not themselves organized by any rigorous chronology.

The *Obras completas* and *Obras completas en colaboración* contain a large number of works that were first published separately. It was not practical to include these works under their separate titles, but some users of this index may find it useful to have the two collected volumes broken down here by title and date of first publication. The *Obras completas* consists of the following works:

<i>Fervor de Buenos Aires</i> (1923)	13-52
<i>Luna de enfrente</i> (1925)	55-73
<i>Cuaderno San Martín</i> (1929)	79-96
<i>Evaristo Carriego</i> (1930)	101-172
<i>Discusión</i> (1932)	177-286
<i>Historia universal de la infamia</i> (1935)	289-345
<i>Historia de la eternidad</i> (1936)	351-423
<i>Ficciones</i> (1944)	429-530
<i>El Aleph</i> (1949)	533-630
<i>Otras inquisiciones</i> (1952)	633-775
<i>El hacedor</i> (1960)	779-854
<i>El otro, el mismo</i> (1964)	857-954
<i>Para las seis cuerdas</i> (1965)	953-972
<i>Elogio de la sombra</i> (1969)	975-1018
<i>El informe de Brodie</i> (1970)	1021-1078
<i>El oro de los tigres</i> (1972)	1081-1140

The *Obras completas en colaboración* consists of the following works:

<i>Seis problemas para don Isidro Parodi</i> (1942)	3-121
<i>Dos fantasías memorables</i> (1946)	125-142
<i>Un modelo para la muerte</i> (1946)	145-195
<i>Los orilleros--El paraíso de los creyentes</i> (1955)	199-296
<i>Crónicas de Bustos Domecq</i> (1967)	299-371
<i>Nuevos cuentos de Bustos Domecq</i> (1977)	375-451
<i>Leopoldo Lugones</i> (1965)	457-508
<i>El "Martín Fierro"</i> (1953)	513-565
<i>El libro de los seres imaginarios</i> (1967)	569-714
<i>Qué es el budismo</i> (1976)	719-781
<i>Breve antología anglosajona</i> (1978)	787-801
<i>Introducción a la literatura inglesa</i> (1965)	807-857
<i>Literaturas germánicas medievales</i> (1966)	861-975

Dates cited above are for the book publication only. The first publication of the individual texts can be ascertained in most cases by consulting the bibliographies to Ana María Barrenechea's *La expresión de la irrealidad*, and the bibliography included in the volume of *L'Herne* devoted to Borges.

This is not an index to translations of Borges, though that would be a worthwhile project in itself. Information on translations in English and numerous other languages is available in David William Foster's bibliography on Borges. The English translations are widely scattered, uneven in quality, and by no means complete. Users of this index who do not read Spanish should be able to locate some of the references by consulting the Spanish works indexed here and comparing them with the myriad translations.

Information in the annotations has been derived from a large variety of sources. Most frequent use was made of: the Eleventh Edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, the *Columbia Encyclopedia*, the *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, the French and Spanish *Larousse*, the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, the *Oxford Companions to English, American, French, Spanish and German literatures*, the



five volume *Historia de la literatura argentina*, published by the Centro Editor de América Latina in 1982, the *Enciclopedia de la literatura argentina*, edited by Roberto Yahni and Pedro Orgambide, and OCLC, the computerized data base system for library holdings in the United States. Information on film was drawn from Leslie Halliwell's *Filmgoer's Companion*. References to the world of the tango were checked against several sources, notably José Gobello's *Crónica general del tango*, Horacio Ferrer's *El libro del tango* and the many volumes of *La historia del tango* published by Corregidor. Many recondite titles were searched in the *Union Catalog* and the *Cumulative Title Index to the Library of Congress Shelflist*. Some personal references were checked against Emir Rodríguez Monegal's biography of Borges. The reference work used for street names in Buenos Aires was *Guía Bregna de Buenos Aires* (1983 edition). Extensive use was also made of Scholem's *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, Donadoni's *History of Italian Literature*, Rose's *History of German Literature*, Turville-Petre's *Origins of Icelandic Literature*, Gibb's *Arabic Literature*, Browne's *Literary History of Persia*, Moses Hadas's histories of Greek and Roman literatures, MacDonnell's *History of Sanskrit Literature*, Giles's *History of Chinese Literature*, Díez-Echarri and Roca Franquesa's *Historia de la literatura española e hispanoamericana*, the historical dictionary of Argentina by Wright and Nekhom and that of Uruguay by Willis, *Quien es quien en la Argentina* and numerous other sources, including many of the works to which Borges alludes.

Because the reference works consulted do not all follow the same practice, and because Borges's mode of reference is not always consistent, I have standardized references as much as possible, with variants listed under the main reference and with abundant cross-references. Thus, for example, all references to the Koran or Q'uran are found in the title index under *Alcorán*, that being the most frequent form of the name in Borges's work (and in Spanish), but cross-references have been provided as necessary. Alphabetization was based on the first word of each entry, discounting initial articles, and applied the custom of placing whole words first (as is standard library practice in the United States); thus, *De fato* and *De sobremesa* precede *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Titles, when long, are frequently alphabetized using the most familiar words: thus, *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha* is found under *Don Quijote*, and so on. When an author's pseudonym is more familiar than his or her real name, the main reference is under the pseudonym (Lewis Carroll, Almafuerite, Mark Twain) with cross-references under the real name.

Some books were indexed merely in part. Only those portions of *Borges y el cine Veinticinco de agosto*, *La poesía juvenil de Jorge Luis Borges* and *Nueve ensayos dantescos* which are by Borges are treated in this index. In *La hermana de Eloísa*, only the title story is indexed, as the others are not by Borges or are included elsewhere. The Alianza edition of the *Obra poética* is indexed exclusively for books subsequent to publication of the *Obras completas*. The anthology *Páginas de Jorge Luis Borges* is indexed for the uncollected articles only (117-248).

Because some works appear more than once in the books listed below, a few of the references are duplicated. For instance, two of the essays on Dante included in the *Nueve ensayos dantescos* also appear in *Páginas de Jorge Luis Borges*; oddly enough, and consistent with Borges's practice of constant rewriting, the texts are not exactly the same. Regretfully, some of the texts are corrupt: Meneses purports to give the original texts of the Ultraist poems in his *Poesía juvenil*, but an examination of the texts reveals that in some cases he has included later revisions rather than the original versions published in Ultraist magazines in Spain. Also, unfortunately, some of the poems in *Fervor de Buenos Aires*, *Luna de enfrente* and *Cuaderno San Martín* have been left out of the *Obras completas* or so radically altered as to merit inclusion here in both forms. This is, however, neither the time nor the place to undertake a full study of the variants; the careful reader is urged to check the texts of the early poems against their first published versions.

The two large volumes of *Obras completas* and *Obras completas en colaboración* are full of egregious errors, in many cases compounded from the earlier editions of the works of Borges also published by Emecé. An example of this is the acknowledged source of the story of the Tichborne Claimant, "El impostor inverosímil Tom Castro": according to earlier editions of *Historia universal de la infamia*, the source is Thomas Seccombe's article on the Claimant in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. As I have shown in detail in my book *El precursor velado* (72-90), the Seccombe article serves Borges as a point of departure, and the many additions and variations on the Tichborne story derive not from history but from Borges's reading of the adventure fiction of Robert Louis Stevenson. In the Emecé single volume edition of the *Obras completas*, however, the reference to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* has vanished, replaced by printer's oversight with Philip Gosse's *History of Piracy*, a work that has little to do even with the story of the widow Ching, and nothing at all to do with Tichborne and Orton.

In the numerous cases where different appellations were used for the same thing--e. g., Constantinopla, Bizancio, Estambul and Miklegard--I have consolidated all the entries under the most frequently used name, in this case *Constantinopla*, even though the different names are not strictly synonymous. (The same is done in the case of Jesus Christ, called *Jesús*, *Cristo*, *Jesucristo*, *el Redentor*, *el Hijo* and so on, and found here under *Jesucristo*.)

I would beg my readers' pardon for the lack of written accent marks with the exception of the accent mark most frequently used in Spanish. The dieresis or umlaut, grave accent, cedilla, and circumflex, as well as the tilde marking the nasal sound in Portuguese, though present in the printer fonts, could not be printed in the right places in some of the printer modes. The runic letter *eth* in Icelandic and Old English words has usually been rendered here as a *d*, though a *th* would have been strictly speaking more accurate, but the *d*, much closer to it in appearance, is the letter Borges has most frequently used himself in

transliterating old Icelandic names. Similarly, in Icelandic and other languages where *oe* and *ae* occur as single letters, the two letters have been separated here.

Annotations have been kept fairly brief, for the obvious reason that the total number of references is overwhelmingly large. (I have calculated that the total number of allusions catalogued here numbers upwards of 100,000.) The most this index can do in this regard is point the reader toward the reference works that are most appropriate in the given case. The one reference work which clearly is a necessity to the careful reader of Borges--and I speak as a sadder but wiser man, having spent some eighteen months tracking down the many thousands of references in Borges's works--is the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

In the preface to one of the *Oxford Companions* the editor explains that to his dismay the errors that were corrected during the day crept back during the night. I regret that some more or less fantastic explanation of this kind is necessary in a work of this kind. Like the *hronir* in "Tlon, Uqbar, Orbis Tertius," Error, that demon out of Spenser and Thomas Browne, intrudes into the universe of books to which this index aspires to provide access.



## Works Cited

- Balderston, Daniel. *El precursor velado: R. L. Stevenson en la obra de Borges*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1985.
- Barrenechea, Ana María. *La expresión de la irrealidad en la obra de Borges*. Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 1957.
- Berveiller, Emile. *Le Cosmopolitisme de Jorge Luis Borges*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1973.
- Browne, Edward G. *Literary History of Persia*. 2 vols. New York: Scribner's, 1902.
- Christ, Ronald. *The Narrow Act: Borges' Art of Allusion*. New York: New York University Press, 1969.
- Compagnon, Antoine. *La Seconde main ou le travail de la citation*. Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1979.
- Conrad, Joseph. *The Nigger of the "Narcissus."* New York: Norton, 1979.
- Díez-Echarri, Emiliano, and José María Roca Franquesa. *Historia de la literatura española e hispanoamericana*. 2nd ed. Madrid: Aguilar, 1972.
- Donadoni, Eugenio. *A History of Italian Literature*. Richard Monges, trans. 2 vols. New York: New York University Press, 1969.
- Edwards, Paul, ed. *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. New York: Macmillan, 1967.
- Encyclopaedia Britannica*. 11th ed. New York: The Encyclopaedia Britannica Company, 1910-1911.
- Ferrer, Horacio. *El libro del tango. Crónica y diccionario 1850-1977*. Buenos Aires: Galerna, 1977.
- Ferrer, Manuel. *Borges y la nada*. London: Tamesis, 1971.

- Foster, David William. *Jorge Luis Borges: An Annotated Primary and Secondary Bibliography*. New York: Garland, 1984.
- Foucault, Michel. *Les Mots et les choses*. Paris: Gallimard, 1966.
- García-Pelayo y Gross, Ramón. *Pequeño Larousse Ilustrado*. Mexico City: Ediciones Larousse, 1982.
- Garland, Henry Burnand. *Oxford Companion to German Literature*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976.
- Genette, Gérard. "L'Utopie littéraire." *Figures*. Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1966.
- Gibb, H. A. R. *Arabic Literature: An Introduction*. 2nd ed. London: Oxford University Press, 1963.
- Giles, Herbert A. *History of Chinese Literature*. New York: Appleton-Century, 1937.
- Gobello, José. *Crónica general del tango*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Fraterna, 1980.
- Guía Bregna de Buenos Aires*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Bregna, 1983.
- Halliwell, Leslie. *Filmgoer's Companion*. 8th ed. New York: Scribner's, 1985.
- Hadas, Moses. *A History of Greek Literature*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1950.
- . *A History of Latin Literature*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1952.
- Hammond, N. G. L., and H. H. Scullard. *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970.
- Harris, William H. and Judith S. Levey, eds. *New Columbia Encyclopedia, The*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1975.
- Hart, James D. *The Oxford Companion to American Literature*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1965.
- Harvey, Paul and Dorothy Eagle. *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*. 4th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967.
- Harvey, Paul and Janet E. Haseltine. *The Oxford Companion to French Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984.
- Historia de la literatura argentina*. 5 vols. Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina, 1980-1982.
- Irby, James East. "The Structure of the Stories of Jorge Luis Borges." Ph.D. dissertation. University of Michigan, 1962.

- Jorge Luis Borges. Dominique Le Roux, ed. Paris: Cahiers de L'Herne, 1964.
- MacDonnell, Arthur A. *A History of Sanskrit Literature*. 1st pub. 1900. Rpt. ed. New York: Haskell House, 1968.
- Martini Real, Juan Carlos and Manuel Pampin, eds. *Historia del tango*, La. 17 vols. Buenos Aires: Corregidor, 1976-1981.
- Medina, Dante. "Diez años de Terra Nostra." *Vuelta* 109 (December 1985): 64-66.
- Molloy, Sylvia. *Las letras de Borges*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1979.
- Murillo, L. A. *The Cyclical Night: Irony in James Joyce and Jorge Luis Borges*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968.
- Orgambide, Pedro and Roberto Yahni. *Enciclopedia de la literatura argentina*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1970.
- Petit Larousse*. 25th ed. Paris: Librairie Larousse, 1966.
- Quien es quien en la Argentina*. 9th ed. Buenos Aires: Editorial Kraft, 1968.
- Rodríguez Monegal, Emir. *Jorge Luis Borges: A Literary Biography*. New York: Dutton, 1978.
- Rose, Ernst. *A History of German Literature*. New York: New York University Press, 1960.
- Sacerio Garl, Enrique. "La crítica de Borges en *El Hogar*." *Revista interamericana de bibliografía*, 33.2 (1983): 171-190.
- Scholem, Gershom G. *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*. New York: Schocken, 1961.
- Times Atlas of the World*. 7th ed. New York: Times Books, 1985.
- Turville-Petre, G. *Origins of Icelandic Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953.
- Ward, Philip. *The Oxford Companion to Spanish Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978.
- Willis, Jean L. *Historical Dictionary of Uruguay*. Latin American Historical Dictionaries, 11. Metuchen, N. J.: Scarecrow Press, 1974.
- Wright, Ione S. and Lisa M. Nekhom. *Historical Dictionary of Argentina*. Latin American Historical Dictionaries, 17. Metuchen, N. J.: Scarecrow Press, 1978.