

Glen S. Close*

⇒ *The Novela Negra* in a Transatlantic Literary Economy

In his opening statement at a conference at Brown University in 1999, Julio Ortega spoke of his multidisciplinary Trans-Atlantic Project as an attempt to attend more carefully to cultural processes involved in a “backward and forward triangulation” of interactions between Spain, the United States, and Latin America during the modern age (Ortega 1999). In the field of contemporary Hispanic literary studies, there would seem to be few areas of production so starkly determined by such triangulation as detective fiction, and particularly the subgenre of the *novela negra*. The contemporary, transnational Spanish-language genre descended from early twentieth-century U.S. hard-boiled writing.¹ While the prestige of U.S. hard-boiled classics writers is evident in a multitude of explicit and implicit homages contained in the *novela negra* corpus,² the dissemination of detective formulas was by no means a direct or unilinear transfer, but rather a complex process of irregular filtration through imports, translations, editions, pastiches and imitations over the course of the twentieth century. The primary poles of the triangulation that I describe here will correspond to those proposed by Ortega, but I will also follow his example by extending attention to other areas of Europe whose implication in this specific transatlantic interaction is appreciable. Indeed, the very prevalence of the term *novela negra* is testimony to the multiple deviations involved in the constitution of the genre, reflecting as it does the decision of Parisian publisher Gallimard to identify its own influential series of translations of U.S. hard-boiled novels, the *Série Noire*, by means of

* Glen Close is Assistant Professor of Hispanic Studies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. He is the author of a monograph: *La imprenta enterrada. Arlt, Baroja y el imaginario anarquista, and several other scholarly publications, including: “Translators Slain at Seaside”, in Latin American Detective Fiction: New Readings. He is the co-editor of Hispanic and Luso-Brazilian Detective Fiction: Essays on the Género Negro Tradition. He is the translator of Josefina Ludmer’s The Corpus Delicti: A Manual of Argentine Fictions. E-mail: gsclose@wisc.edu.*

¹ Demetrio Estébanez Calderón provides the following definition of *novela negra*: “Denominación que se aplica a un subgénero narrativo (relacionado con la novela policíaca), que surge en Norteamérica a comienzos de los años veinte, y en el que sus autores tratan de reflejar, desde una conciencia crítica, el mundo del gansterismo y de la criminalidad organizada, producto de la violencia y corrupción de la sociedad capitalista de esa época” (1999: 760).

² Among the most elaborate of such homages, we might recall the Catalan writer Maria Aurèlia Capmany’s 1972 novel *El jaqué de la democracia* (*El chaqué de la democracia* in Castilian translation) with its coded but prominent invocation of Dashiell Hammett, as well as appropriations of Raymond Chandler’s Philip Marlowe character by Argentine Oswaldo Soriano in *Triste, solitario y final* (1973) and Uruguayan Hiber Conteris in *El diez por ciento de vida: el test Chandler* (1985).

black covers beginning in 1945. What follows, then, is neither a reading of the international corpus of the *novela negra* nor a historical explanation of its definitive emergence during the 1970s, but rather a mapping of a series of transatlantic transfers, motifs and crossings that reflect broad shifts in cultural hegemony and that bring detective fiction and, ultimately, the *novela negra* into currency in Hispanic literature.³

Preliminary triangulation

According to conventional literary history, which I see no reason to dispute, the detective genre emerges in its definitive form in April of 1841 with Edgar Allan Poe's publication of "The Murders in the Rue Morgue". In this foundational text, we may discern the initial vibration giving rise to a complex transatlantic dynamic that continues to define the development and propagation of the genre. The Boston born, British educated and then Philadelphia resident Poe chose to situate his three most canonically detective or ratiocinative tales not in any of the American cities known to him, but rather in Paris, the metropolis characterized by Walter Benjamin as the capital of the nineteenth century and by David Harvey as the capital of modernity itself. Among the transatlantic articulations sustained by Poe's texts, we might distinguish two of particular interest: first, Poe's explicitly acknowledged debt to the published memoirs of the Parisian detective pioneer Eugène François Vidocq⁴ and second, in the opposite direction, the enthusiastic reception and even plagiarism of Poe's stories by Parisian writers of the 1840s and 1850s (Colmeiro 1994: 90). While Poe's narrative was disseminated in French translations, foremost among them being those by Charles Baudelaire collected in the 1856 volume *Histoires extraordinaires*, Poe's compatriots were not swift in adopting the detective model, and the earliest recognized manifestations of the serial detective novel occur in Europe in the works of Émile Gaboriau, beginning in 1863, and Arthur Conan Doyle, beginning in 1887.

The exact moment of Spain's entry into the emerging transatlantic exchange of detective fiction continues to be debated by scholars, but most published studies of the genre agree on the persistent difficulty of distinguishing an autochthonous tradition of Spanish

³ Readers interested in detailed critical commentary on the Spanish detective canon should consult the excellent studies by José F. Colmeiro (1994) and Joan Ramon Resina (1997), the latter of which focuses extensively on the novels of Manuel Vázquez Montalbán. In this paper, I am indebted to Colmeiro and Resina as well as to historical surveys by José R. Valles Calatrava (1991) and Salvador Vázquez de Parga (1993). In English, the pioneering study of Spanish detective fiction is by Patricia Hart (1987). While scholarship on Spanish American detective fiction is less plentiful, Jorge Lafforgue and Jorge B. Rivera (1996) and Hubert Pöppel (2001) provide useful overviews of the genre in Argentina and Colombia, respectively, while Ilán Stavans (1993/1997 in English) and Vicente Francisco Torres (2003) provide the most complete coverage of Mexico.

⁴ Julian Symons judges that: "He had read Vidocq, and it is right to say that if the *Mémoires* had never been published Poe would not have created his amateur detective" (1985: 34). In 'The Murders in the Rue Morgue' Auguste Dupin passes judgment on his Parisian predecessor: "Vidocq, for example, was a good guesser, and a persevering man. But, without educated thought, he erred continually by the very intensity of his investigations" (Poe 1979: 204).

detective fiction conceptually distinct from foreign narrative models.⁵ Although Ricardo Landeira (2001) has argued for the existence of a corpus of Spanish detective writing in the nineteenth century, the heterogeneous nature of the texts he includes (a *romance* by the Duque de Rivas and newspaper chronicles by Benito Pérez Galdós, for example) requires a rather looser definition of the detective genre than those posited by other critics. A more restrictive view would acknowledge texts such as Pedro Antonio de Alarcón's *El clavo* (1853) as direct but isolated precursors to the genre-conscious detective fiction appearing in Spain only early in the twentieth century. In explaining the derivation of Alarcón's short novel, Landeira recognizes its apparent debt to a similar 1843 story by French writer Hyppolyte Lucas, a connection observed by previous readers such as Emilia Pardo Bazán, yet he also affirms Alarcón's familiarity with Poe's prototype at the time of *El clavo*'s composition. In contrast, José F. Colmeiro, author of one of the finest studies of Spanish detective fiction yet published, is skeptical with regard to Poe's relevance to *El clavo* since, by Colmeiro's account, Poe was scarcely known in Spain before the circulation of Baudelaire's 1856 volume and Poe's first publication in Spanish translation in 1858. Despite the enthusiastic reception of Poe's stories subsequently, with eighteen editions of his stories published in Spain between 1858 and 1900, Colmeiro maintains that Poe's specific model of the detective story was not exploited by Spanish writers until after this period (Colmeiro 1994: 96). Joan Ramon Resina, author of the other most substantial study of the Spanish detective novel, likewise rejects the classification of *El clavo* as detective fiction, assigning it instead to the nineteenth-century 'true crime' genre of the *causa célebre* (Resina 1997: 24).

In a transatlantic history of detective fiction, the broadest movement defining the early classical period is undoubtedly the assimilation of Poe's innovation by French and British writers and the elaboration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century of an internationally integrated literary market for specialized detective fiction, one in which Spain and Spanish America initially occupy a decidedly marginal position. Julian Symons plots the vertices of this earliest triangular interaction when he states that, after Poe, it was above all Wilkie Collins and Émile Gaboriau, writing in the 1860s, who "set the pattern in which detectives were made" during the genre's classical period extending

⁵ Valles Calatrava writes that "la literatura criminal española participa de los mismos rasgos básicos [del género; no hay, pues, diferencias constructivas especiales con respecto a la novela de este tipo cultivada en otras naciones" (1991: 86); "no puede hablarse con rigor de la existencia de una 'escuela española' de cultivadores de novela negra" (1991: 114). Vázquez de Parga's general assessment in the introduction to his 1993 study is as follows: "en este terreno, como en muchos otros, España se ha comportado hasta el presente como una colonial cultural de los países anglosajones y, en menor medida, de Francia, mostrando una amplia receptividad de los modos y de las modas extranjeras. [...] en España, si bien existe una larga tradición de lectores y aficionados a la novela policiaca, no hay una práctica de escritura generalizada. Existen, sí, muestras aisladas y concretas del género de muy variadas intenciones, muestras de todo tipo y a todos los niveles diseminadas a lo largo del siglo xx, sin que en ningún momento haya llegado a constituirse un núcleo de novela policiaca española" (1993: 10). Novelist Vázquez Montalbán, for his part, was insistent and emphatic in denying the existence of any such autonomy in interviews and in essays such as 'Sobre la inexistencia de la novela policiaca en España'. Colmeiro, however, disagrees, asserting that: "A pesar de la falta de una tradición sólida y continua, de la diversidad de modelos narrativos, de acercamientos y de resultados, es posible distinguir ciertas características comunes a las diferentes series policiacas españolas" (1994: 264-265).

approximately through the Second World War (Symons 1985: 55). In these decades the Frenchman Gaboriau read the American Poe; the American Anna Katharine Green read Poe and Gaboriau; the Englishman Collins read Poe, Gaboriau and Green; the Scotsman Doyle read Poe, Gaboriau, Collins and Green; and so on. And while Victorian London and the English countryside may provide the most stereotypical settings for the Golden Age detective novel, it should be remembered that a number of the most internationally successful English-language detective writers in this period, such as Green, Mary Roberts Rinehart, S.S. Van Dine (Willard Huntington Wright), Ellery Queen (Frederic Dannay and Manfred B. Lee), John Dickson Carr and Rex Stout, were American. Fairly or not, however, the impression remains that these writers deferred in their writing to a hegemonic British cultural model, as Symons attests:

Almost from the beginning the American crime story was deeply in debt to its British counterpart. (Poe was an exception.) Writers like Van Dine, and Queen in the first stage of his career, put an American gloss on what was essentially a British central figure, and there was nothing peculiarly native about the Rinehart formula. [...] A truly American crime story, making full use of the manners, habits and language of the United States, and breaking completely with European tradition, appeared in the twenties (1985: 123).

Genre history also provides at least one very early case of transpacific as well as transatlantic circulation of narrative models and products: a year before the first appearance of Sherlock Holmes, New Zealander Fergus Hume adapted Gaboriau's model in his calculatedly formulaic and commercial *Mystery of a Hansom Cab*, and the novel, set and initially published in Melbourne, went on to sell hundreds of thousands of copies in British and American editions (Herbert 1999: 313).

The acceleration of communications, commerce and cultural exchange during the later nineteenth century thus allowed a Parisian narrative product to be re-elaborated in Melbourne and to be republished the following year in London and the year after that in New York and Chicago. The integration of this emerging transatlantic market also allowed for the publication in London and New York of the English translation of an innovative French novel such as Gaston Leroux's *Le Mystère de la chambre jaune* (1907) the year after its initial publication in Paris. While transmission of foreign detective fiction to Spain was not immediate in the nineteenth century, Salvador Vázquez de Parga characterizes Spain in general as highly receptive to the translation of foreign works: "no es extraño que desde el primer momento apareciera aquí puntualmente la versión castellana de las nuevas novelas criminales que se iban produciendo en Francia, en Gran Bretaña e incluso en los Estados Unidos" (1993: 23). Spanish translations of Gaboriau's Lecoq novels were published serially soon after their appearance in French before becoming available in book form beginning in 1890 (Vázquez de Parga 1993: 24). After Doyle began to enjoy unprecedented success with the 1891 publication of six Holmes stories in London's *The Strand Magazine*, a decade passed before the detective's first appearance in Spain in another magazine, *La Patria de Cervantes*, in 1901 (Vázquez de Parga 1993: 24). The appearance of translations of the Holmes stories in book form beginning in 1906 marks the beginning of what Colmeiro terms a "fervor holmesiano" among Spanish readers, and despite the sporadic availability of some foreign detective texts before this, it seems fair to take the import boom of these years as

marking the initial phase of Spain's definitive integration into the international market in detective fiction.

Spanish intervention

In the years immediately preceding the First World War, as translations of English- and French-language detective fiction came into broad circulation, Spanish writers began to experiment with the genre in works such as Joaquín Belda's *¿Quién disparó...? Husmeos y pesquisas de Gapy Bermúdez* (1909) and Emilia Pardo Bazán's *La gota de sangre* (1911). Whether broadly farcical, like Belda's, or subtly ironic, like Pardo Bazán's, these inaugural works acknowledge the exotic nature of the detective formula they exploit. Acutely attentive to foreign literary trends, Pardo Bazán was one of the very first critical commentators on detective literature in Spain, but she was not entirely alone in her engagement with the genre in these years. In the same year in which the Countess published her only complete detective novel, José Francés began serial publication of the novel that would later appear in book form as *El misterio de Kursaal* in 1916. As one of the earliest Spanish translators of the Holmes stories (*Policía fina* 1909), Francés represents a convergence of practices of translation and writing that would determine the reproduction of the genre in Spain, lending credence to Vázquez de Parga's assertion that "la primera novela policiaca escrita en España no es sino una traslación de las novelas detectivescas inglesas" (1993: 39).⁶

Especially in its most popular variants, the formulaic and serial nature of detective fiction lends itself to slippage between authentic translation, pseudotranslation and imitation, as illustrated by the arrival in Spain, also in 1911, of the American "Nick Carter" detective-adventure series. Published principally in New York between 1886 and 1936, the more than 700 installments of the original Nick Carter series were the work of perhaps 40 syndicate authors employed anonymously under the industrial principles of literary commodity manufacture (Herbert 1999: 57 and 442). Barcelona publisher Sopena issued translations of 63 Nick Carter stories in 1911 alone, and within five years Manuel A. Bedoya, a Peruvian-born author working in Madrid, could be found imitating the American detective-adventure formula in a series of novels centered on a cosmopolitan U.S. detective, Mack-Bull, whose arch-adversary is the German detective Nik-Arter. In 1933 Editorial Molino, the predominant Barcelona publisher of popular material in the following period, began a new series of translations of U.S. pulp material featuring Buffalo Bill and Nick Carter without crediting original authors, but rather only their transla-

⁶ Patricia Hart largely echoes Vázquez Parga in her dismissive characterization of the imitative production of the early twentieth century: "To find a genuine detective work of the time, one must look to the serials, the dime novels and theatrical productions [...] the vast majority of the works of detection written in Spain in the early part of the twentieth century were set in places outside of Spain that the reading public found exotic, and the writers themselves frequently used English-sounding pseudonyms" (1987: 22-23); "During the forties, the few Spaniards who wrote detective novels, again usually under English-sounding names, set their tales outside Spain almost exclusively, finding that readers still preferred foreign locales for detectives. These books were aimed at the popular taste, were frequently little more than reworking of American or English plots, and contributed little to the development of a truly Spanish detective novel" (1987: 25).

tors, on the covers. The following year Molino went even further, abandoning translations altogether and promoting their translators to novelists, charging them with producing original installments employing established American characters and formulas (Martínez de la Hidalga 2000: 33; Vázquez de Parga 1993: 76). By 1942, when Ediciones Clíper launched a series of mystery adventure tales named for pulp king Edgar Wallace, it consisted entirely of pseudotranslations set in foreign locales and written by Spanish writers employing Anglo pseudonyms (Colmeiro 1994: 138).

Such initiatives of what might elegantly be termed literary import substitution had been attempted previously in response to apparently infinite demand for Holmes stories. Well known is the case of the Holmes pastiche initially titled *Detective Sherlock Holmes und seine weltberühmten Abenteuer* [Sherlock Holmes' Most Famous Cases], published in Berlin by the Verlagshaus für Volkliteratur und Kunst in 230 installments between 1907 and 1911, and initially attributed to the unwitting Doyle. This apocryphal series received almost immediate translation into French and soon into Spanish, appearing in Barcelona as the *Memorias íntimas de Sherlock Holmes*, and a number of other Spanish writers joined Belda and Francés in their gleeful appropriation of the English model during the second and third decades of the century. At least one, Enrique Jardiel Poncela, went so far as to deploy the character of Holmes directly in his 1928 parody *Las siete novísimas aventuras de Sherlock Holmes*. As publishers in Madrid and Barcelona introduced specialized series of detective fiction in translation during the 1920s and 30s, the genre gained considerable visibility in the pre-Civil War literary market, though local production remained relatively tentative. Imported characters also prospered on the stage, as a number of Spanish writers introduced successful detective dramas featuring such borrowed characters as Holmes and E.W. Hornung's Raffles beginning in the first decade of the century (Colmeiro 1994: 102-103).

Abundance, professionalization and U.S. ascendancy

The extent to which detective fiction continued to be perceived in Spain as exotic throughout the 1930s and 1940s is evident not only in the continuing predominance of translations, pseudotranslations and parodies, and also in the insistence on foreign characters and settings by a significant number of those Spanish novelists who did embrace the genre. British settings and protagonists, particularly those associated with Scotland Yard, were favored in the works of writers such as Cèsar August Jordana, Wenceslao Fernández Flóres, Mercedes Ballesteros and Luis Conde Vélez (a translator for Bruguera), while American settings and investigators predominated in works by Bedoya, Felipe Pérez Capo, Ángel Marsá Becal, Fidel Prado Duque, José Mallorquí Figuerola, Luis y Guillermo Gossé Cleymán, Agustín Elías, Enrique Cuenca Granch and Juan José Mira. Drawing on his vast professional experience as an editor and writer for Bruguera, Francesc González Ledesma, now one of Spain's most prominent *novela negra* writers, has explained this tendency with reference to Franquist censorship and the mindset of Spanish readers during the heyday of the popular novel in the 1940s and 50s.

La gente de la calle no hubiera admitido inspectores Gómez ni criminales Rodríguez, ni calles conocidas que no excitaran sus sueños y sus ansias de viajar. Todo lo bueno sucedía

entonces fuera de España, y las únicas policías con garantía de origen eran Scotland Yard y el FBI, sobre todo este último. [...] De modo que por esas razones tan importantes nadie escribía novelas policiacas ambientadas en las ciudades españolas y encima con sentido crítico, es decir lo que hoy llamaríamos ya “novela negra”. Los argumentos se desarrollaban en Inglaterra, Estados Unidos y excepcionalmente en Francia. En lugares oficialmente tan corruptos era posible situar grandes “gangs”, policías que cobraban bajo mano, gobernantes venales y hasta alguna señorita que enseñaba el portaligas, si bien esa prenda íntima nunca pudo mencionarse de una forma expresa (González Ledesma 1987: 12).

Abundant, narrowly formulaic, truculent and *extranjerizante*, the popular Spanish detective novel of the mid-twentieth century was as vital a commercial and cultural phenomenon as it was devoid of conventional literary merit.⁷

If the erudite aristocrat Pardo Bazán made the first substantial literary contribution to the genre in the first half of the twentieth century, a writer who might better exemplify the praxis of the Spanish detective novel during the period of its broad popular assimilation is the professional pulp writer Guillermo López Hopkiss (1902-1957). While the volume of López Hopkiss's production reflects the industrial economics of popular literature at the time, its breadth reflects above all the transatlantic interaction alluded to above. After beginning a prolific career as a translator for Barcelona publishers in the late 1920s, the English-educated López Hopkiss was promoted by the leading popular publisher Editorial Molino in the 1930s to writing dozens of novels featuring established U.S. characters, including twenty in the Nick Carter series alone (1933-1936). In the mid-1940s, after a number of years away from the publishing business due to the disruption of the Civil War, López Hopkiss returned to the popular novel and created series marketed by Editorial Bruguera and based on English and Irish detective characters named Perry Baxton, Edward Cromwell (both of Scotland Yard), Ronald Patton and Patrick O'Hara. Ultimately, however, López Hopkiss found his greatest success with a character called El Encapuchado, whose adventures he narrated in 80 installments published by Editorial Clíper between 1946 and 1953.

This series, characterized by Vázquez de Parga as the most important fixed-character detective series in this period (1993: 133) differed from López Hopkiss's previous ventures in at least one important respect: its base scenario was not London but rather Baltimore (perhaps coincidentally, the city most identified with Poe), and its protagonist was an American millionaire who employed his abundant leisure time in investigation. Possibly inspired, as Francisco Tadeo Juan suggests (2001: 99), by another hooded crime-fighting character appearing in the popular American movie serial *The Mysterious Dr. Satan* (Republic Studios, 1940), López Hopkiss's lucrative series attests not only to the dawning hegemony of American popular culture in the post-World War II period, but also to the

⁷ Vázquez Montalbán is one of many who unequivocally denied the literary value of this production: “La novela policiaca española no tiene tradición culta. Hay un pasado de literatura de consumo: las famosas novelas de quiosco, paralelas a otras colecciones de tipo folletinesco. [...] La tradición de escritores que se acercan dignamente al relato policial y que asimilan la novela enigma de cierta calidad anglosajona a lo Holmes, o la novela del hampa que han cultivado los franceses, no se da en España. No hay escritores españoles dedicados a esta literatura, y la cultura literaria española ha permanecido impermeable a esas influencias, considerándolas una literatura de género, una literatura menor” (1989: 50).

increasing fluidity of the transference of ideas between popular media at this time, as the hooded hero migrated from Hollywood film to Spanish popular novel and then again into a comic book series derived from López Hipkiss's character the year after his novelistic debut (Tadeo Juan 2001: 99). López Hipkiss's work as a manufacturer of a transatlantic detective imaginary may be seen, again, as directly continuous with his work in literary translation and, later, in the dubbing of Hollywood films for the Spanish market.

With the shift in dominant cultural models, and perhaps primarily due to the diffusion of the American cinema of gangsters and *film noir*, the American metropolis loomed ever larger in the literary imagination during these years. "Los Estados Unidos estaban muy lejos," explains Vázquez Parga, "y pocos españoles habían tenido el privilegio de visitarlos, y allí desde luego cualquier cosa podía suceder" (1993: 58). American detective characters were present in the Spanish tradition at least since the debut of Bedoya's Mack-Bull in 1914, but the relative waning of the British model is evident in López Hipkiss's turn from British scenarios to create first his Baltimore playboy protagonist, then, in 1950, a hard-boiled New York investigative journalist named Bob Lester (1950), and finally, in the same year and in a gesture emblematic of broader shifts in the history of the genre, a sixteen-novel series centered on an eccentric English detective residing in Los Angeles (Vázquez de Parga 1993: 134). During the 1940s, the American dramas introduced by writers such as those mentioned above featured not only private detectives, but also a secret agent of the New York police force (Graesman), a Harvard physics professor (Granch) and a Spanish newspaper correspondent (Mira), all dedicated to combating the fabled criminal underworld of New York.

The allure of all things American was also evident in the publications of José Mallorquí Figuerola (1913-1972), perhaps the only pulp writer more influential than López Hipkiss during this period and likewise employed as a translator and serial novelist by the large Barcelona publishers. Although Mallorquí contributed far fewer detective novels than Westerns, he is the first Spanish author published in Editorial Molino's longevous detective and adventure collection *Biblioteca Oro* (1940-1956), often cited as the most influential in the international reception of the detective genre in Spanish. Under two pseudonyms, Mallorquí contributed four novels to *Biblioteca Oro* between 1942 and 1944, one pair centered on a private detective from Barcelona (1942 and 1943) and another (1943 and 1944) which featured a New York detective couple evidently modeled on the Nick and Nora Charles characters introduced by Dashiell Hammett in *The Thin Man* (1934) and widely popularized by a series of Hollywood adaptations began the same year (Colmeiro 1994: 137; Valles Calatrava 1991: 100). During this same period, Mallorquí and Molino launched a separate series of ten novels (1943-1946) centering on the investigative adventures of New York millionaire Duke Straley. These contributions, along with the launching of prolific series titled *Aventuras del F.B.I.* (Editorial Rollán, Madrid), *C.I.A.* (Editorial Dólar, Madrid), and *Servicio Secreto* (Editorial Bruguera, Barcelona) at mid-century, attest to the growing fascination with American popular myths of crime and law enforcement.

As illustrated above, the development of the detective genre in Spain and internationally has been profoundly determined by an ongoing transatlantic exchange of narrative topics, styles and conventions, with London, Paris and New York constituting perhaps the dominant poles in an international detective imaginary during the heyday of the classical problem-novel. Although translations of foreign and especially English and French detec-

tive fiction were popular in Spain from the first decade of the twentieth century, domestic production in the genre had remained very scarce in proportion to translations during the pre-Civil War period. In his detailed census of Spanish detective fiction published through 1990, José R. Valles Calatrava unearthed no more than one detective novel published in Spain in any given year before 1939, and it is not until the 1943-1945 period that domestic production increased significantly, peaking at 28 novels in 1944 (Valles Calatrava 1991: 226-227). The popular mystery novel originated in Spain as a direct derivation of U.S. pulp series, and it proliferated in the 1940s when the Second World War created difficulties for publishers who had previously depended on imported narrative material. These publishers then turned to writers such as López Hitchkiss and Mallorquí, former translators, as we have seen, who often published under Anglo-sounding pseudonyms and who favored foreign settings and non-Spanish characters in their fiction. In his periodization of the history of the genre in Spain, Vázquez de Parga labels this “la época de la abundancia” (1993: 89). Fernando Martínez de la Hidalga identifies the same decade as the golden age of the Spanish popular novel and the detective genre as one of its staples. Of the various specialists who have assessed this production, however, none have disagreed as to its derivative nature and scant literary interest (Colmeiro 1994: 136; Hart 1987: 25; Vázquez Montalbán 1989: 50; Vázquez de Parga 1993: 57), and we might well borrow a phrase from Resina (1997: 45) and designate this the period of translation and simulation of translation.

The Buenos Aires Connection

While British and American mythologies may be said to have competed in the Spanish detective imaginary at mid-century, as exemplified by a title such as Alf Manz’s *F.B.I. contra Scotland Yard (Aventuras del F.B.I. #6, 1950)*, a decisive transatlantic hegemony would eventually be established by the innovation that Julian Symons terms “The American Revolution”: the advent of a hard-boiled narrative model gestated during the 1920s in the pulp magazine *Black Mask* and achieving maturity in the novels of Dashiell Hammett, beginning with *Red Harvest*. Although perhaps no more indirect than the importation of Sherlock Holmes by way of Germany, the reception and propagation of the hard-boiled model in Spain involves an additional transatlantic dimension hitherto unacknowledged: the interaction between Spanish and Spanish American publishers and producers. During the first half of the twentieth century Spanish America generally occupied a remote margin in the Spanish detective imaginary, one only fleetingly insinuated in the occasional exoticism of titles such as José Mallorquí Figuerola’s *El ídolo azteca* (1942), Vicente Arias Archidona’s *El caso del criado guaraní* (1943) and Adolfo Ober’s *La cadena del inca* (1945). A more concrete economic link is constituted, however, by the exportation of popular novels by Spanish publishers to Spanish American markets and by certain reverse flows of Spanish American publications to Spain, especially following the Civil War.⁸ Particularly interesting in this regard are the exile of publisher

⁸ González Ledesma vindicates the largely forgotten producers of the Spanish popular novel as having contributed untold millions of dollars to the national economy through the exportation of books to America (1987: 14).

Pablo Molino during the Civil War and the transfer of his operations to Buenos Aires. Editorial Molino was, again, along with Clíper and Bruguera, one of the foremost producers of popular literature in Spain during this period, and Molino took into exile with him collections such as *Hombres audaces* and *Biblioteca Oro*, two primary sources of British and U.S. detective fiction in Spain and Spanish America. Molino continued to produce the collections in Buenos Aires before returning to Barcelona in 1940 and reinstalling them there, retaining the Editorial Molino Argentina as a parallel enterprise. Thereafter, some titles were issued in both Barcelona and Buenos Aires while others were issued in Argentina and sold in Spain (Martínez de la Hidalga 2000: 29-31).

Until this period, the general contour of the development of the detective genre in Argentina was not unlike that already seen in Spain, with a limited number of Argentine writers producing isolated pieces of detective fiction in the final decades of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth, the period in which foreign genre classics were arriving in translation.⁹ Throughout the 1930s, Argentine publishers led by Editorial Tor popularized the mystery-adventure pulp narrative of British and American writers such as Edgar Wallace, and the arrival of *Biblioteca Oro* and *Hombres Audaces* reinforced an already active trade in genre translations. An important difference with regard to Spain emerges during the 1940s, however, when a compact group of distinguished writers associated with the journal *Sur* took a lively interest in the classical detective formula and produced a number of works unrivalled by any of the contemporary Spanish productions. 1942 marks perhaps the apex of this period, with the publication by Jorge Luis Borges of 'La muerte y la brújula' in *Sur* and, under the pseudonym H. Bustos Domecq, of *Seis problemas para don Isidro Parodi*, a collection of stories written in collaboration with Adolfo Bioy Casares. Borges and Bioy also collaborated on *El Séptimo Círculo*, a series of translations of principally British detective novels published by Emecé beginning in 1945, and this was one of several Argentine series which would circulate in the Spanish market during the coming decades. This success led to an agreement with Madrid's Alianza Editorial to republish highlights from the series under the title *Selecciones del Séptimo Círculo* beginning in 1973. The original Argentine series endured until 1983, publishing a total of 366 titles.

In opposition to the mass-market tendency represented by *Colección Misterio*, Borges and Bioy Casares promoted a conservative and literarily refined vision of the detective novel in their essays, reviews, stories and anthologies of the 1940s, and their early selections for the Emecé series likewise prioritized the restrained elegance of the English 'Golden Age' style of the interwar period. As Jorge Lafforgue and Jorge B. Rivera recall,

⁹ The research of Lafforgue and Rivera suggests that Sherlock Holmes may have arrived in translation earlier in Argentina than in Spain. They cite the publication of three of Doyle's Holmes tales by *La Nación* in 1898 and 1899 (1996: 119). An anecdote told by Donald Yates in an early article on Spanish American detective fiction suggests a relationship between the fervent Anglophilia of the Argentine cultural elite and the unusual prestige of the detective genre in Argentina. According to Yates, when a Midwestern visitor to Victoria Ocampo's house in the mid-1930s expressed surprise at finding an entire wall of English detective novels in her library, Ocampo responded: "Of course [...] The only language in which detective stories *should* be read is English!" (1956: 228). Translated volumes of the Holmes novels, for the benefit of somewhat less cultured readers, also began to appear in Santiago de Chile as early as 1902.

El Séptimo Círculo –que ya se diferencia de las anteriores colecciones por esta sola denominación, de origen obviamente culto– rastreará las novedades de las editoriales londinenses y neoyorquinas más conspicuas y las recomendaciones de *The Times Literary Supplement* y se moverá dentro de las pautas de la novela-problema, de lo detectivesco considerado como remate de una ingeniosa –inclusive sutilísima– literatura de evasión (1996: 17).

Whereas Borges and Bioy barely acknowledged U.S. hard-boiled writers during their tenure as editors of this long-running series, their successors were less squeamish, and *El Séptimo Círculo* subsequently became one of a number of Argentine series instrumental in the international diffusion of the hard-boiled corpus. Editorial Molino Argentina was apparently the first anywhere to publish a Chandler novel in Spanish translation, issuing *Farewell, My Lovely* as *Detective por correspondencia* in 1943, but other Buenos Aires publishing houses were not far behind.

In Spanish America, the dissemination of the classical and hard-boiled canons in translation was necessarily intercontinental and transatlantic, and in the 1940s and 50s, weaker national literary markets depended heavily on imported editions from metropolitan publishers such as those already mentioned. In the first monographic study of the Mexican detective novel, Ilán Stavans identified two primary channels for the transmission of the detective formula to Mexico: first, foreign cinematic adaptations of detective literature and, second, “various pocket collections, which, in the forties and fifties, were wretched translations from Buenos Aires” (1997: 65). Stavans cites Argentine series published by Molino, Malinca, Hachette, Emecé and Acme as the first distributed in Mexico, prompting local publishers to provide their own approximations. In his very enthusiastic appraisal of the ultimate impact of U.S. hard-boiled narrative on contemporary Spanish American writers, Argentine novelist Mempo Giardinelli (1996: 228) identifies four publishers as particularly influential in this regional process: from Buenos Aires, Editorial Malinca (with the collections *Cobalto*, *Débora*, *Pandora* and *Linterna*) and Editorial Acme (*Rastros* and *Teseo*), and, from Mexico City, Editorial Novaro (*Policíaca y de misterio*) and Editorial Diana (*Jaguar* and *Caimán*).

The case of a country such as Colombia, finally, illustrates how the dominance of Spanish, Argentine and Mexican publishers during this period gave rise to another instance of triangulation. In his pioneering study of detective fiction in Colombia, Hubert Pöppel establishes that a local edition of Doyle’s *A Study in Scarlet* appeared in Bogotá as early as 1901, the same year as Holmes’s first appearance in Spain, but that in the following decades Colombian publishers did not sustain the initiative. Pöppel describes the contents of one prominent private library of detective fiction accumulated in Medellín during the 1930s and 40s as follows: “tanto traducciones del inglés y francés al español (ediciones de México y de Buenos Aires, especialmente el ‘Séptimo Círculo’, serie fundada por Borges), como traducciones del inglés al francés u obras en francés” (2001: 52). In summarizing the process of transmission and reception in Colombia, Pöppel again emphasizes the central role of imported editions.

Antes de los años treinta no hubo una recepción amplia del género en Colombia. La excepción son las aventuras de Sherlock Holmes, pues además de la edición de 1901, llegaron las traducciones de Arthur Conan Doyle desde Chicago y España, a partir del comienzo del siglo xx. La obra de Edgar Wallace [...] llegó en versiones españolas a partir de los años veinte y treinta desde Madrid, Barcelona y Buenos Aires. Chesterton y su Pater Brown, inven-

tado en 1911, se hizo conocer en castellano a partir de los años veinte y treinta desde Madrid y Buenos Aires. Agatha Christie (novelas policíacas a partir de 1920) y Simenon (aparición de Maigret en 1929) tuvieron que esperar hasta los años treinta y cuarenta hasta que llegaron de Barcelona y Buenos Aires versiones de sus novelas. La recepción de Dashiell Hammett (*Red Harvest*, 1929) y Raymond Chandler (*The Big Sleep*, 1939) comenzó a partir de los años cuarenta, con traducciones provenientes de Buenos Aires y España (2001: 52-53).

The specific sources Pöppel cites as the most influential in the dissemination of detective fiction in Colombia at mid-century are, not surprisingly, *El Séptimo Círculo* (Buenos Aires) and *Biblioteca Oro* (Barcelona-Buenos Aires), as well as *Caimán* (Mexico City) and *Selecciones policíacas FBI* (Madrid). It is through these flows that a common matrix of detective discourse was constituted in the Hispanic literary imagination.

The integration of the *novela negra*

Particularly during the period of the international ascendancy of the hard-boiled novel during the 1950s and 60s, Mexican and Argentine publishers provided the initiative for its introduction not only throughout Spanish America, but also, to a significant extent, in Spain as well. Spanish American translations and editions of Chandler, for example, arrived in Spain years before the first Spanish editions appeared, and Vázquez de Parga suggests that this indirect reception implied concrete benefits for Spanish readers during the Franco era:

No es que, como se ha dicho ahora, las traducciones de Chandler presentaran mutilaciones censoras. Si esto pudo haber sido cierto en algún caso concreto y no en los demás, no puede olvidarse que la mayor parte de las versiones castellanas de Chandler, de MacDonald, de Cain, de Goodis, de Fredric Brown y de los restantes autores americanos del género se hacían en Argentina o en Méjico, donde no llegaba la censura franquista (1993: 201).

In a 1983 interview, Jaume Fuster, a prominent proponent of the hard-boiled novel in Catalan during the 1970s, gives one personal account of the impact of these imports.

En esta época [the 1940s] leí bastante, hasta descubrir una colección que me gustó mucho, que es la colección argentina que dirigían Bioy Casares y Borges. ¡Era maravillosa! Me costaba mucho leerla porque estaba escrita en argentino dialectal, y no lo entendía muchas veces. En los textos argentinos encontré a los grandes novelistas de novela negra –Hammett, Chandler, etcétera (1979: 80).

In reality, as already indicated, Chandler did not appear in *El Séptimo Círculo* until 1961, six years after Borges and Bioy had begun to relinquish editorship (Lafforgue and Rivera 1996: 130), but Fuster is substantially correct in recalling the precedence of the Argentine editions. In conjunction with the appearance of hard-boiled translations in Spanish series during the 1950s, the importation of collections such as the Argentine *Rastros* and the Mexican *Caimán* seeded the gestation of the *novela negra*.

An understanding of the historical trajectory of Hispanic hard-boiled detective fiction is thus incomplete without an account of the international and transatlantic circula-

tion of texts, translations, writers and even publishing houses not only between the United States and Europe, but also specifically between Spanish America and Spain. Initially denigrated as violent and pornographic by authorities such as Borges, the U.S. hard-boiled precedent languished for decades in the realm of sub-literature before giving rise to an internationally integrated *novela negra* movement in Spain and Spanish America. In Argentina during the 1950s, certain left-leaning writers and critics associated with the journal *Contorno* began to vindicate the hard-boiled classics, but throughout the 1960s, actual hard-boiled writing there remained largely the province of pulp writers such as Eduardo Goligorsky, who toiled to produce dozens of knock-offs of the Hammett-Chandler-Spillane formula for popular publishers such as Editorial Malinca and Acme Agency (Lafforgue/Rivera 1996: 23-24). Much in the manner of López Hipkiss and Mallorquí in Barcelona, Goligorsky began his career as a translator of syndicated foreign series and produced abundant translations of English-language detective fiction alongside original works published under Anglo pseudonyms and designed to be indistinguishable from imports.

A final phase in the transatlantic constitution of a Hispanic hard-boiled literature, however, is marked by the appearance of a new series of translations and original works appearing primarily in Buenos Aires and Barcelona during the 1960s and early 70s. Translations of U.S. hard-boiled classics were increasingly available in Argentina during these years, and in 1969 the advent of the distinguished *Serie Negra* collection edited by Ricardo Piglia and published by Editorial Tiempo Contemporáneo marked a high point in its visibility and prestige. Several years later, the imitative popular hard-boiled fiction of writers such as Goligorsky would be decisively superceded by a new, more nationally grounded and literarily ambitious variant introduced by Oswaldo Soriano, Juan Carlos Martelli and Juan Carlos Martini. In Spain, the chronology is only slightly different: the full flourishing of the *novela negra* dates from the late 1970s, but we also find isolated and unusually early incursions into the subgenre by prolific Catalan novelist Manuel de Pedrolo beginning in 1952.¹⁰ In novels such as *Es vessa una sang fàcil* (*Sangre a bajo precio*, published in 1958 but composed the previous year), *L'inspector fa tard* (*El inspector llega tarde*, 1960), *Joc Brut* (*Juego sucio*, 1965) and *Mossegar-se la cua* (*Morderse la cola*, 1968), Pedrolo established Barcelona as a scenario for hard-boiled narratives of criminal intrigue, but he was perhaps equally influential as a translator for and director of *La Cua de Palla*, a series published by Edicions 62 between 1963 and 1970 and featuring excellent Catalan renditions of U.S. hard-boiled classics. It is this collection, for example, that Andreu Martín, currently perhaps the most prolific Spanish contributor to the *novela negra* boom, credits as a primary factor in his literary formation.¹¹

¹⁰ Joan Ramon Resina considers *Es vessa una sang fàcil* the first Spanish novel written in the U.S. hard-boiled style (1997: 48), but Pedrolo himself had this to say about the novel's classification: "Hi ha el fet delictiu i totes les amenitats del gènere, sí, però no és pas una novella policíaca en el sentit corrent. Em va atreure la possibilitat d'introduir en un teixit policíac tot d'elements, en aparença marginals, però que expliquen els personatges en termes al capdavant psicològics" (quoted by Fuster 1979). In a 2003 interview, Colmeiro cites Fuster's *De mica en mica s'omple la pica* (*El procedimiento*, 1972) and Vázquez Montalbán's *Tatuaje* (1974) as the first true *novelas negras* written in Spain (Colmeiro 2003).

¹¹ Andreu Martín: "Me gusta decir que yo aprendí a leer (a leer catalán y a leer descubriendo el sentimiento que se esconde tras las páginas de un libro) con una formidable colección de novela policíaca que se

The ongoing introduction of translations of hard-boiled classics during the 1970s in series published by firms such as Enlace and Bruguera coincided with the definitive emergence of a local *novela negra* in both Catalan and Castilian. The aforementioned Fuster, the first Catalan writer to take up Pedrolo's initiative, published *De mica en mica s'omple la pica (El procedimiento)* in 1972, while Manuel Vázquez Montalbán commenced Spain's longest and best known *novela negra* series with *Tatuaje*, in 1974, after having introduced the character who would become his detective protagonist in a non-genre novel two years earlier. To begin to explain the nearly synchronous assertion of the *novela negra* genre in Spain and Argentina and shortly thereafter in Mexico, we should consider not only the accelerating transatlantic filtration of popular mystery-adventure novels and hard-boiled translations in previous decades, but also the increasing cultural hegemony of U.S. cinema and the recirculation of the American detective myth through television. In this respect, it is illustrative to juxtapose novels such as Soriano's *Triste, solitario y final* (1973), with its fantastic pilgrimage to Hollywood and resurrection of Philip Marlowe, Fuster's *Tarda, sessió continua, 3,45 (Tarde, sesión continua, 1976)*, with its explicit homage to the hard-boiled Humphrey Bogart, and Paco Ignacio Taibo II's *Días de combate* (1976), in which the protagonist who would become Mexico's most durable hard-boiled hero mimics Bogart's mannerisms as he attempts to reinvent himself as a private detective, a role assumed after watching the 1971 quasi-detective comedy *They Might Be Giants*.¹²

According to the previously cited bibliographic survey by Valles Calatrava, the publication of detective novels in Spain spiked sharply in 1979, inaugurating the so called boom of the *novela negra*. As many critics have by now observed, this new Spanish *novela negra* was deeply conditioned by the cultural and sociopolitical disruption of the country's democratic transition, yet it also coincided with the expansion of the genre in Mexico and Argentina, and a number of important personal and institutional links facilitated a transatlantic articulation of this production. The Argentine Martini, resident in Barcelona between 1975 and 1984, served as director of Bruguera's prominent *Serie Novela negra* beginning in 1977, while the self-described "asturmexicano" Taibo

publicaba en catalán en los años 60, *La Cua de Palla*, dirigida por un escritor magnífico llamado Manuel de Pedrolo". Andreu Martín, Interview by Luis García, in: *Literatura.com. Revista Literaria Independiente de los Nuevos Tiempos*, <<http://www.literaturas.com/ENTREVISTASdefinitivo.htm#Andreu%20Martin>> (18.09.2005).

¹² Colmeiro's account of the role of film noir in the history of the *novela negra* is as follows: "Curiosamente la penetración de este subgénero [negro] entre el público español parece haber ocurrido más a través del cine que de la propia literatura. Muchas películas de 'film noir' dirigidas por John Huston, Orson Welles o Howard Hawkes, pudieron llegar a donde no habían llegado las novelas de Dashiell Hammett o Raymond Chandler sobre las que frecuentemente estaban basadas. Sin embargo, también este medio se vio expuesto a los mismos obstáculos por parte de la censura y/o de las distribuidoras, ya en forma de prohibiciones, ausencias o burdos recortes, ya en la más sofisticada forma de tergiversación en el doblaje" (Colmeiro 1994: 131). Valles Calatrava cites the reception of these films as one of three primary phenomena defining consumption and production in the detective genre in Spain between 1939 and 1975: "primeramente, la aparición de una literatura popular con aceptable nivel técnico y estético; en segunda instancia la tirada y lectura de ingentes traducciones de relatos criminales extranjeros; por último, la enorme influencia ejercida en nuestros actuales escritores por una visión del cine negro americano" (Valles Calatrava 1991: 106).

presided over *Etiqueta negra*, published by Madrid's Ediciones Júcar, beginning in 1986. The proliferation and international consolidation of the *novela negra* during the 1980s is evident not only in such transnational editorial collaborations, but also in the establishment of professional institutions such as the Asociación Internacional de Escritores Policiales, co-founded by Taibo in Havana in 1986, and the ongoing Semana Negra festival held under his tutelage annually in Gijón, Asturias since 1988.

A final exchange

As a literary phenomenon, the contemporary *novela negra* is ultimately a transatlantic one in a number of fundamental respects. As I have indicated here, detective fiction itself may be said to depend to a significant extent on European reception and development of Poe's innovation, and the *novela negra* derives initially from the narrative practices of the U.S. hard-boiled school founded in *Black Mask*. Though complex, the transmission of the detective genre and particularly the hard-boiled variant to Spain has been filtered through multiple and often indirect channels of translations, editions and adaptations. While the volume of exportation by the Spanish publishing industry to Spanish America, both during the heyday of the Spanish popular novel and in the present era of multinational consolidation, has certainly outweighed reverse flows, Spanish American publishers, translators and novelists have contributed appreciably to the introduction and consolidation of the hard-boiled narrative in Spain.

Another transatlantic dimension inherent in the genre is suggested by Poe's preference for Parisian scenarios and Doyle's narrative excursion among the Mormons of Utah in *A Study in Scarlet*. Though the detective genre seems, at a certain remove, a genre strongly grounded in the inspection of a bounded local environment, examples of foreign and transatlantic settings are not scarce and even predominate during certain periods. For most of the twentieth century, following the initial popularization of the genre in Spain and at least parts of Spanish America, Britain and the U.S. were default settings for much of the detective literature published in Spanish. Aside from the abundance of popular Spanish and Argentine novels set in the likes of London and New York, we find in all periods narratives of crimes and investigations taking place at great fictional distance. In this respect, a figure such as Manuel A. Bedoya may seem less an obscure footnote than an early representative of the genre's inveterate mobility: a Peruvian expatriate finds success with a series published in Madrid, exported to the Americas, and featuring a U.S. detective who operates as freely in London as in Paraguay.

In *Adiós, Madrid* (1993), Taibo sent his Mexican private investigator, the most durable in the Spanish American *novela negra*, to the Spanish capital to recover a stolen breastplate that belonged to Montezuma. This is the first transatlantic excursion by the detective Belascoarán Shayne, whose name marks him as the son of a Basque Civil War exile and an Irish mother, but also as a literary descendant of Brett Halliday's classic Miami-based private eye Mike Shayne. In *Quinteto de Buenos Aires* (1997), Vázquez Montalbán sent his own delegate Pepe Carvalho, son of Galician immigrants to Barcelona and the most durable private detective in Spanish fiction, to the Argentine capital to investigate the disappearance of the son of a Spanish immigrant returned to Spain in the wake of the dictatorship. In the backstory of these inverse crossings, Taibo

and Vázquez Montalbán thus inscribe several of the major historical links binding Spain to its former colonies in the twentieth century: the exile of Republicans and other political refugees of the Spanish Civil War, the economic displacement of the post-war period, and the reversal of transatlantic immigrant flows as the result of dictatorships, civil wars and economic crises in Spanish America.

Beyond their narrative content, furthermore, both of these texts also exemplify the characteristic mobility of the hard-boiled formula across national boundaries and between media. Taibo initially produced *Adiós, Madrid* as a script for Televisión Española, while Vázquez Montalbán's novel results from the reworking of stories conceived for an abandoned pilot project for Argentine television.¹³ A final and more profound transatlantic articulation results from the transnational consolidation of the publishing industry during the neoliberal era: although the first edition of *Adiós, Madrid* appeared in Mexico under the Promexa imprint of the proudly named Editorial Patria, the most current editions of both Taibo's and Vázquez Montalbán's novels appear under the Booket imprint of Planeta, the Barcelona-based publishing conglomerate that is now the largest in the Spanish-speaking world, boasting subsidiaries, much like the *novela negra* itself, in Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Santiago, Quito, Bogotá, Caracas, Mexico City and New York. But while the imaginary province of the *novela negra* has expanded in recent years to include cities such as La Paz, Lima and Monterrey, neoliberal economic policies have reaffirmed the industrial hegemony of the metropolis, so that the fast track to international distribution and recognition for the genre's Spanish American practitioners still runs through Barcelona. In its geographical distribution, in its communities of producers, and in its intertextual imaginary, the contemporary *novela negra* thus remains a fundamentally transatlantic and increasingly multinational enterprise, but one whose industrial configuration reflects the renewed subordination of Spanish America in the current global economic order.

References

- Colmeiro, José F. (1994): *La novela policiaca española: teoría e historia crítica*. Barcelona: Anthropos.
- (2003): "Diálogo con José Colmeiro. La sencilla erudición". In: *La Gangsterera*. Available at <<http://www.gangsterera.free.fr/EntreJColmeiro.htm>> (28.12.2005).
- Estébanez Calderón, Demetrio (1999): *Diccionario de términos literarios*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial.

¹³ The "Nota del autor" that precedes Taibo's novel alludes to the frequent travels in which he has distinguished himself as the primary international promoter of the *novela negra*: "En el origen, *Adiós, Madrid* nació como un programa para Televisión Española, y luego se convirtió en la novena novela de la saga de Héctor Belascoarán; fue escrita entre 1990 y 1992, empezada en Gijón, España, seguida en el DF, continuada en Madrid, avanzada en Acapulco, proseguida entre La Habana, Madrid y el aeropuerto de Ranón, repensada en ruta de autobús a Toluca, con notas que se hicieron en un Delta a NY, y rematada en falso en Saltillo, Coahuila, y por dos veces más en la ciudad de México. Quizá esto sirva para explicar por qué no quería acabar de salir y por qué está tan llena de *nostalgias* y de *distancias*" (Taibo 1993: 11, italics in original).

- Fuster, Jaume (1979): "Manuel de Pedrolo i la novel·la policíaca en llengua catalana". In: *Taula de canvi* 16, <http://www.xtec.es/recursos/curricul/llengua/ped_tre/pedneg.htm> (28.12.2005).
- Giardinelli, Mempo (1996): *El género negro. Ensayos sobre literatura policial*. México, D.F.: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana.
- González Ledesma, Francesc (1987): "La prehistoria de la novela negra". In: *Los Cuadernos del Norte*, 8, 41 (marzo-abril), pp. 10-14.
- Hart, Patricia (1987): *The Spanish Sleuth. The Detective in Spanish Fiction*. Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press.
- Herbert, Rosemary (ed) (1999): *Oxford Companion to Crime and Mystery Writing*. New York: Oxford UP.
- Lafforgue, Jorge/Rivera, Jorge B. (1996): *Asesinos de papel. Ensayos sobre narrativa policial*. Buenos Aires: Ediciones Colihue.
- Ladeira, Ricardo (2001): *El género policiaco en la literatura española del siglo XIX*. Alicante: Universidad de Alicante.
- Martínez de la Hidalga, Fernando (2000): "La novela popular en España". In: *La novela popular en España*. Madrid: Ediciones Robel, pp. 15-52.
- Ortega, Julio (1999): "Introducción". In: *Memory, Communication, Future (the Politics of Hispanic Web Navigation)* <http://www.brown.edu/Departments/Hispanic_Studies/Juliortega/Ponencias.htm> (28.12.2005).
- Poe, Edgar Allan (1979): *Selected Writings of Edgar Allan Poe. Poems, Tales, Essays, and Reviews*, ed. with an introd. by David Galloway. New York: Penguin Books.
- Pöppel, Hubert (2001): *La novela policíaca en Colombia*. Medellín: Editorial Universidad de Antioquia.
- Resina, Joan Ramon (1997): *El cadáver en la cocina. La novela criminal en la cultura del desencanto*. Barcelona: Anthropos.
- Stavans, Ilán (1997): *Antiheroes. Mexico and Its Detective Novel*. Trans. Jesse H. Lyte and Jennifer A. Mattson. Madison, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson.
- Symons, Julian (1985): *Bloody Murder. From the Detective Story to the Crime Novel: A History*. New York: Penguin.
- Tadeo Juan, Francisco (2001): "Guillermo López Hipkiss". In: Martínez de la Hidalga Fernando, et al. (eds.): *La novela popular en España 2*. Madrid: Ediciones Robel, pp. 89-103.
- Taibo, Paco Ignacio II (1993): *Adiós, Madrid*. México, D.F.: Promexa.
- Torres, Vicente Francisco (2003): *Muertos de papel: un paseo por la narrativa policial mexicana*. México, D.F.: CONACULTA.
- Valles Calatrava, José R. (1991): *La novela criminal española*. Granada: Universidad de Granada.
- Vázquez de Parga, Salvador (1993): *La novela policíaca en España*. Barcelona: Ronsel.
- Vázquez Montalbán, Manuel (1989): "Sobre la inexistencia de la novela policíaca en España". In: Paredes Núñez, Juan (ed.): *La novela policíaca española*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, pp. 49-62.
- Yates, Donald (1956): "The Spanish American Detective Story". In: *The Modern Language Journal*, 40, 5 (May), pp. 228-232.