

ECHOES OF WALTER STARKIE'S VOICE FROM *THE ROAD TO SANTIAGO* IN LUIS BUÑUEL'S *THE MILKY WAY**

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The Irish hispanist Walter Starkie defined himself as a 'wanderer' and proof of that are his multiple travels around Rumania, Hungary, Italy and Spain following the gypsies. Considering the nomadism of his character, one can understand why he felt attracted by St. James' Road or 'the road that never changes' to the extent of dedicating his book *The Road to Santiago*, published in 1957, to the adventures of his fourth pilgrimage. Ian Gibson claims that Starkie's travel book could have served as inspiration to the surrealist film maker Luis Buñuel when he composed the script for *The Milky Way* in 1969. Both personalities could have certainly coincided in the Residencia de Estudiantes in Madrid and they both had a solid opinion on religious issues. What is more, both the book and the film show the extent to which Starkie and Buñuel make a journey around time and space following similar discursive strategies in their division concerning past and present. The aim of this paper is to shed light on the possible interdiscursive relationships between Buñuel's film *The Milky Way* and Starkie's travel book *The Road to Santiago* in a time of political turmoil in Ireland and Spain.

Keywords: *Walter Starkie, Luis Buñuel, travel writing, The Milky Way, The Road to Santiago.*

El hispanista irlandés Walter Starkie define a sí mismo como un "vagabundo" y prueba de ello son sus múltiples viajes por Rumania, Hungría, Italia y España siguiendo a los gitanos. Teniendo en cuenta el nomadismo de su carácter, se puede entender por qué

se sentía atraído por el Camino de Santiago o “el camino que nunca cambia“, hasta el punto de dedicar su libro *El Camino de Santiago*, publicado en 1957. Ian Gibson afirma que la obra de Starkie podría haber servido de inspiración al cineasta surrealista Luis Buñuel cuando compuso el guión de *La Vía Láctea* en 1969. Ambos artistas podrían haber coincidido en la Residencia de Estudiantes de Madrid y los dos tenían una sólida opinión acerca de la religión Católica. Es más, tanto el libro como la película muestran el grado en que Starkie y Buñuel hacen un viaje por el tiempo y el espacio siguiendo estrategias discursivas similares en su división sobre el pasado y el presente. El objetivo de este trabajo es mostrar las posibles relaciones interdiscursivas entre *La Vía Láctea* de Buñuel y el libro de Starkie *El Camino de Santiago* en una época de agitación política en Irlanda y España.

Palabras Clave: *Walter Starkie, Luis Buñuel, literatura de viajes, La Vía Láctea, El Camino de Santiago.*

Pilgrimage has been a central element of major religions and Saint James' Way has always been a place of veneration for Catholics since the discovery of the Saint's sepulchre in the year 813. From Aymerie Picaud, the monk who wrote *The Codex Calixtinus* in the 12th century which offers useful details to forthcoming pilgrims, to Dante Alighieri, the tradition of visiting “the milky way” of many fervent Catholics, kings, spiritual individuals or even sports people, have suffered a remarkable increase, especially in recent centuries. Throughout history, several accounts have captured the pilgrimage experience towards the city of Santiago de Compostela in literature and cinema and, according to the Centro de Estudios y Documentación del Camino de Santiago, there are almost 5000 works focused on St. James' way held in its library. Included in this collection is the Anglo-Irish Dublin-born hispanist Walter Starkie (1894-1976) who published in 1957 a travel book on the pilgrimage titled *The Road to Santiago: Pilgrims of St. James*, one of his last books (a book about Spanish history of music followed in 1958 titled *Spain: A Musician's Journey Through Time and Space* and his autobiography in 1963 titled

Scholars and Gypsies: An Autobiography). Starkie recalls his enjoyable and humorous last adventure as a pilgrim before retiring from public life. Another important figure that captured the essence of the road was one of the most representative figures of Surrealism, the Spanish filmmaker Luis Buñuel (1900-1983), who developed this style as an aristocratic response to the madness of capitalism (Santander 2002). In his controversial film *The Milky Way* released in 1969 (in 1977 in Spain due to Franco's censorship policy), he captures two men's atypical journey to Santiago which also unveils a journey through the history of religious dogmas and mysteries¹.

Although Ian Gibson is confident that Walter Starkie and Luis Buñuel did not meet during the filmmaker's years at the Residencia de Estudiantes in Madridⁱⁱ, it could have been possible for them to have coincided during Starkie's lectures on Spanish drama that the Hispanist gave on the 22nd and 23rd of December 1924, as the presence of renowned guest lecturers and political and cultural figures was a common practice at the Residenciaⁱⁱⁱ. Buñuel left the Residencia after obtaining his Degree in History in January 1925 and established his residence in Paris. Walter Starkie was a common visitor to the prestigious institution in which he also stayed for a brief time after finishing his trip around the North of Spain and whose experiences were captured in his travel book *Spanish Raggle-Taggle: Adventures with a Fiddle in Northern Spain* published in 1934. The Irish Hispanist met many important Spanish cultural personalities such as Miguel de Unamuno, Federico García Lorca, or Salvador Dalí, with whom he established a good relationship. His forthcoming nomination as first Director of the British Council in Spain, a position held for fourteen years (1940-1954), would bring close and lasting cultural bonds between England and Spain.

In spite of Gibson's uncertainty of Buñuel and Starkie's acquaintance, he conversely claims that Starkie's travel book, published more than one decade before Buñuel's film was released, could have served as inspiration to the Surrealist filmmaker Luis Buñuel when he was writing the script of *The Milky Way* in 1969 (Gibson 2010:7), during a new phase of maturity in his career in which religion became one of his obsessions. Gibson's hints at the probable parallelisms between the Marian apparitions that take place in both

works: in the presence of two hunters in Buñuel's film, and St. Godric and his mother in Starkie's book. Buñuel's awareness and reading of travel books on Spain seems to be reinforced by the filmmaker's statement: "Adoro los relatos de viajes por España escritos por viajeros ingleses y franceses en los siglos XVIII y XIX" (Buñuel 1982: 189). In the same way, Starkie had a wide knowledge of British and French authors who wrote guides to Spain and were responsible for providing and perpetuating a Romantic and stereotyped vision of the country, namely Richard Ford who published *A Handbook for Travellers in Spain and Readers at Home* in 1844, Théophile Gauthier with *Un Voyage en Espagne* (1843), or George Borrow, who wrote the famous *The Bible in Spain* in 1843. What is more, Starkie was sometimes referred to as "the Irish Borrow" for showing a similar style and wit in his travel books. Thus, although it cannot be asserted that Buñuel could have used Starkie's *The Road to Santiago: Pilgrims of St. James* as one source for his movie, this possibility can be strongly inferred. Certainly, small details can be appreciated, such as the physical similarities between one of Buñuel's character named Pierre and Walter Starkie, or the pain they both undergo in their feet during the pilgrimage and the presence of a map showing the different roads which lead to the Saint's sepulchre at the beginning of both works. Starkie also reflects on the miracle of Calanda at the beginning of the second part of the book in the words of a commercial traveller he meets in France (1969: 125) who was born in that city. Buñuel was very influenced by this miracle as he was also born there and echoes the miracle in *Tristana* (Gibson 2013b: 60). However, the aim of this paper is to explore further parallelisms and shed light on the possible interdiscursive relationships between Buñuel's film *The Milky Way* and Starkie's travel book *The Road to Santiago*.

Buñuel and Starkie shared the habit of a subversive management of classic literary works. The influence of literature in Buñuel's scriptwriting process is evident due to the array of adaptations from literary works he made throughout his career, his scripts developing into a style that might confirm them as subject of literary analysis^{iv}. A relevant semiological element in Buñuel's film and Starkie's travel book is the employment of the picaresque as a common narrative technique in both works to articulate their stories. Buñuel declared in his autobiography that he was enthusiastic about the

picaresque novel, especially *El Lazarillo de Tormes*, *El Buscón*, de Quevedo and *Gil Blas* (Buñuel 1982: 189), and it can be asserted that most of Buñuel's movies are overwhelmed with picaresque elements. Carlos Rebolledo dedicated a book chapter to the influences of the picaresque novel in Buñuel's works in 1954 and, although the chapter includes some mistakes in dates and some confusions with Quevedo's *El Buscón* and *El Lazarillo*^v, Rebolledo provides a significant account of Buñuel's gradual assimilation and integration of roguish features in his movies, such as the presence of a greedy blind character(s), or the eradication of the classic hero. *The Milky Way* might be regarded as the culmination of Buñuel's picaresque exhibition. Rebolledo points out that Buñuel based the main part of his characters upon the formula of contradiction (142), a contrast between the traditional epic ideal and the vagabond antihero. In *The Milky Way*, the main characters Jean and Pierre are well-defined examples of the antihero, as they avoid behaving as the classical pilgrims who look for expiation at the end of the road and acquire a diametrically divergent conduct as they do not follow the path accordingly. In the same way, Starkie proved to be an atypical traveller, very different from the classical British traveller of the 19th century who visited Spain displaying snobbery as their main feature and portraying a vision of the country tinged with arrogance and condescension. In his pilgrimage to Santiago, Starkie mixes with people from all social classes and prefers travelling as a vagabond instead of as a renowned scholar.

According to Ernesto Acevedo Muanoz, Buñuel already gave a glimpse of this narrative technique in one of his so-called "películas alimenticias"^{vi} *Ascent to Heaven* (1952) (2003: 112), in which the main character is travelling to a Mexican city to meet a lawyer who would give validity to his mother's last will and testament and, in his "pilgrimage", he encounters a mixture of characters used as the vehicle to present the past and present of the country in the decade of the 1950s. In the same way, in *Nazarín* (1959) the filmmaker had already showed Quixotic nuances in a priest's travel after leaving his home^{vii}. In *The Milky Way*, Buñuel sets two pilgrims on the road named Jean and Pierre (in fact they could be better defined as beggars since they seem to be going to Santiago in order to make some money), who begin their pilgrimage in Fontainebleau and encounter different people from all social classes and tackle unlikely situations during their tour. They

could represent Buñuel's subjective contemporary versions of Don Quijote and his squire Sancho Panza. Throughout the film, it can be observed that the characters have opposite personalities, one (Pierre) is older and wiser and the other one (Jean) younger and more impulsive. Duality is present in Luis Buñuel's filmography (García-Abrines 1992:155) as a strategy to cause ambiguity, a concept that is very much related to Walter Starkie.

Buñuel might have been interested in *The Road to Santiago* due to Starkie's enthusiasm for Cervantes and the character of Don Quijote, to whom the Hispanist makes continuous reference in all his travel books around Spain (he even published a translation of the masterpiece in 1964). The references are notably symbolic in all his texts because every time Starkie took the decision of undertaking a new journey, he relinquished his scholarly disguise and his hidden personality of beggar arose, what he called "a vagabond second self" (Starkie 1934: 3). This aspect might be related to identity issues Starkie faced during his life. He was Anglo-Irish, two identities linked by a hyphen, and this condition used to lead him to a perpetual state of ambiguity and limbo (Starkie 1963: 85). In the same way, as David Gordon mentions, 'the dominant theme of Don Quixote, in Starkie's opinion, is that the initially idealistic Quixote becomes more realistic as the novel unfolds, while the realistic Sancho Panza moves in the direction of idealism. Eventually, the two figures converge and indeed can be considered as aspects of a single character' (2008). It could be claimed that this duality in the Knight of the Sad Countenance appeals to Starkie who, unconsciously feels that he is also experiencing this contradiction of living in a constant "pattern of binary structures" (2005: 55), a concept coined by Jacqueline Hurtley in her paper focused on the causes and effects of the "di/visions" experienced by the author. Starkie escapes from his scholarly personality and escapes from his monotonous life, as if he was wearing a mask which is discarded whenever he undertakes a new trip. This was not something unusual for Starkie, since he spoke, metaphorically, of "adopting a mask while he was at Shrewsbury" (Hurtley 2013: 74), the English school he was sent while still a boy. Although Starkie felt a deep attachment to his native country, Ireland, he constantly mentions the restlessness he feels when thinking of going back due to his reluctance to follow the ordered life his father had thought for him many years ago when he was still a young boy, what he defines as having an "evasive

personality” (Starkie 1940: 157) and Jacqueline Hurtley would refer to as “the tension between his Don Quixote and Sancho Panza personalities” (2013: 85). In his travel books, all of them written in a picaresque style, many surreal imagery with quixotic elements crop up, for example, the identification of his violin (and in other occasions his walking stick) with Rocinante (Starkie 1963: 275), or when at the beginning of his pilgrimage to Santiago he claims to share his intentions with *Don Quijotes*’s quest of healing solitude (83). Buñuel’s issues of identity are also relevant in *The Milky Way*, as the whole film questions the dogmas and mysteries of the Catholic religion as they tormented Buñuel’s life and were reflected in his works. Buñuel presents two opposed characters to show both sides of the same coin: Jean might be the representation of the pious religious believer who does not seem to have any breach with his Catholic beliefs and Pierre, the younger pilgrim, might represent the younger generations that had started to question the established beliefs in the country as Buñuel himself did during his lifetime.

Another aspect to consider is Walter Starkie’s narrative, which emphasizes his particular use of the double dimension of time and space to present his stories. Explicit references appear in most of his books, especially in his autobiography *Scholars and Gypsies: An Autobiography* (1963), *Spain: A Musician's Journey through Time and Space* (1958), and also in *The Road to Santiago: Pilgrims of St. James* (1957). Starkie divides this travel book on the pilgrimage into two separated parts: the first part (“Early Pilgrims”) goes back in time and deals with the history of the Saint and his sepulchre throughout the centuries, whereas the second part (“A Modern Pilgrim”) moves forward in space and it is devoted to his final out of a total of four pilgrimages he made when he had followed the road as a “wanderer”, which was how he liked being defined. Starkie’s second section of his travel book shows a linear structure by recalling the pilgrimage at a specific period of time in a given space (in 1954, from Arles, France to Santiago de Compostela, Spain), although there are some deviations from the road experienced by the Hispanist during his picaresque adventure (e.g. he stops in Lourdes to find the miracle which could heal his aching feet, or in Oviedo to appreciate the changes in the city from the last time he visited it in 1937 when it was devastated by the Spanish Civil War). Deviations are presumably used as the pretext to portray the

collective reality of Spain during the 1950s, a country immersed in a social and political turmoil. Through *The Road to Santiago*, Starkie presents his encounters and conversations with the different characters of the “camino”, encompassing people from all social strata, from vagabonds, fishermen and students, to priests and intellectuals. The approach the author seems to follow is an apparently one-dimensional gathering and a presentation of anecdotes, testimonies and ideologies of the Spanish people from those years to the reader. While the Irish Hispanist is part of these discussions, he lacks an open ideological alignment in the book (also lacking in his travel books), and he only displays the picture without making any judgements. This allows the reader to gather his own suppositions.

Buñuel seems to match this approach of staying on the periphery, as he claimed in 1953 during a conference in a Mexican university:

El cineasta habrá cumplido su tarea cuando, a través de una pintura fiel de las relaciones sociales auténticas, destruya la representación convencional de la naturaleza de tales relaciones y quebrante el optimismo del mundo burgués; obligando al espectador a dudar de la perennidad del orden existente, aunque él mismo no nos proponga directamente una conclusión e incluso si no toma partido de forma manifiesta (Alcalá 1973: 111).

As Starkie does in his travel book, Buñuel makes indirect references to the complex Spanish society of the sixties in the movie –for example, when we see that the French part of the Road is more advanced than the Spanish one, in which an obvious backwardness is present at the inns along the way and the condition of the roads–, as well as the incongruences of the history of religion because the Camino “provides Buñuel with a handy allusion to both religious and political intolerance” (Jones 2009:19). As with Starkie, Buñuel had previously shown his skill in exposing the Spanish social reality taking as example *Las Hurdes. Tierra sin Pan* (1933) or the corrosive *Viridiana* (1961) with his praised “picture” of paupers at the Last Supper.

Buñuel revealed as well a particular focus in the twofold aspect of time and space. In the film, a brief historical overview of the Saint's relics and the different roads to follow is well explained by a voice-over at the beginning of the film. As a paradigm of the surrealist trend –his initial affiliation to the surrealist movement was well-known (Buñuel 1984: 89), it is not unusual to see how he manipulates the Bakhtian chronotope^{viii}, even almost erasing the linearity of the story and moving forward and backward in time and space, together with the alterations in the point of view, the shifting from the two pilgrims to the two hunters and the conclusion of the film with the two blind men healed by Jesus Christ. As happens in *Don Quijote*, “there are several discontinuities in narrative markers and subsequent ruptures in the diegesis” (Donnell 1999:277). This technique was commonly explored throughout Buñuel's cinematographic production –being his well-known short-film *Un Chien Andalou* (1929) being its maximum expression, lacking a logical order of events, and consisting of a display of automatism on the screen. Even though he does not go that far in *The Milky Way*, the film is tinged with a lack of spatial limits and a plethora of time leaps, with the result of constant breakdowns in continuity. Starkie's strategy could have served as inspiration to Buñuel's narration of his particular vision of the social effects of Catholicism and his exploration of its dogmas and heresies presenting them as the two pilgrims' deviations from the road. When referring to the movie in his autobiography, he claims that “el camino recorrido por los dos peregrinos podía aplicarse a toda ideología política o, incluso, artística” (Buñuel 1982: 211). In *The Milky Way*, Jean and Pierre's peculiar pilgrimage towards Santiago move in time and space without any apparent organized succession and they are also interrupted by many incidents or deviations; however, these are shown with the same naturalness and spontaneity and deprived of any sense of oddness as occurs to Starkie in his merry tour along the road to Santiago. Buñuel is able to achieve this process of dissociation^{ix} of time and space because the movie is structured on a surrealist style that contains an oneiric basis.

It was not unexpected that Buñuel chose St. James' way to talk about the Catholic dogmas and heresies and to articulate his story since the road “evokes the place of Christian devotion” (Hurtley 2005:157). In spite of the deviations from the road experienced by

Starkie on the one hand, and Jean and Pierre on the other hand during the pilgrimage, they always came back to the road in order to accomplish their initial purpose, hunger always being the main encouraging force. According to Hurlley, in Starkie's book "the road constitutes a metaphor for the route to be pursued in order to contain revolution, a plea from the Establishment in the present for the past and into the future" (2005: 163). Considering this theory, it might be significant to mention that Starkie embraced the Catholic religion when he was a child and that he supported the Fascist movement both before Franco's rise to power and after –he even published an article for the International Centre of Fascist Studies and its Yearbook- Survey of Fascism in 1928. Nonetheless, he wrote his books to be published in English speaking countries (England and Ireland) by the John Murray publishing house, so this might be one of the reasons that led him to avoid unfolding his beliefs explicitly. It could be argued that Buñuel could have based his movie's main storyline on Starkie's novel and have used the pilgrims "as a critical element in Buñuel's effort to undermine the pretensions of authority" (Jones 2009:23).

The Spanish film-maker seems to build upon Starkie's strategy but he twists and deconstructs this approach of dealing with the road as the established path to be pursued in a sardonic way. An example would be the absence of the expiatory objective in Jean and Pierre's pilgrimage that a "virtuous Catholic" would have. Starkie states at the beginning that his "1954 pilgrimage bore for [him] a deep significance, for it marked the time of [his] retirement from official life, and [he] wished to perform religiously all the rituals, in order to prepare [himself] for making [his] examination of conscience" (1957:83). On the contrary, at the beginning of the movie, Jean and Pierre state that they are heading for Santiago in order to make money from the tourists and at the end, they are seduced by a prostitute who informs them that things have changed and there are no more tourists in Santiago de Compostela due to a recent finding that claims that the relics do not belong to St. James, but Priscillian. Curiously, at the end of his travel book, Starkie criticized this change in the attitude of modern pilgrims, calling their experience a "pilgrimage without tears" (1957: 323). Summing up, although it could seem that Time and Space have been disintegrated in the movie and the "Milky Way" to Santiago is present in the road itself, [...] rendered only vaguely in the title" (Acevedo-

Muñoz 2003: 112), its relevance in the film could be observed since linearity is loosely retained by the road which is the element that preserves the narrative thread of the movie. Thus, although these humoristic deviations are present in both works, the consistency of the main story is kept by the road, representing “a source of serenity in a whirlwind world” (Hurtley 2008: xi).

Buñuel was a declared atheist (Buñuel, 2008: 149), and he always specified not being an agnostic, to a great extent influenced by his strong Catholic education as a child and the circumstance that Catholics and non-Catholics shared the Residencia de Estudiantes. Max Aub defines Buñuel as “ese extraño ateo que habla continuamente de la iglesia católica” (2013:225) and Víctor Fuentes (2005) even divided Buñuel’s production into three lines, including a theological one. His struggles with the intricacies of religion are continually shown in his filmography, as in *Viridiana*, which won the Golden Palm at the Cannes Film Festival in 1961 and that caused a scandal in Franco’s Spain. In *The Milky Way* (considered by Fuentes as “la summa del cine teológico de Buñuel” (329)), he explores the six central mysteries of Catholicism together with their heresies from a particularly abstract viewpoint. The film oozes intertextual interactions with old and modern religious authors and texts, to the point that at the end of the film Buñuel gives a bibliography of sorts in French informing the public about the accuracy of his sources. Jean and Pierre have recurrent discussions in a humoristic tone on religious topics, such as the existence of God during a thunderstorm or the issue of freedom of choice and freewill, acting as if they were “comic ghosts” (Conrad 1976: 18) who materialize and disappear constantly.

Starkie has many encounters with young and old priests and they are all described in positive terms without showing an open alignment to any political or religious trend but showing discretion; seeming to represent the “shepherds” that will guide the unsettled and devastated country. An example can be given by Don Victoriano and his belief that “there is no hope for the world until a spiritual alliance is made among the different people everywhere and weakened the moral law” (Starkie 1957: 302). In contrast, Buñuel shows in the movie a debate between science and religion in a countryside inn between a policeman and a priest. The policeman believes that science

can explain almost everything today. However, the priest asserts that “las palabras de Cristo hay que tomarlas al pie de la letra”. At the end the priest was a lunatic who had escaped from a psychiatric hospital and changes his opinion just when he hears the ambulance’s siren, with which the filmmaker cynically makes a sharp reference to the inconsistencies and absurdities that have taken place throughout the history of religion. By the same token, these famously controversial words by Jesus that appear at the end of the movie: “Do not think that I came to bring peace on Earth; I did not come to bring peace, but a sword” (*Mt* 10, 34-11, 1), if applied to Buñuel’s ideology, can be interpreted as his rejection of the extremes of religious behaviour inspired by Christianity through the history of humanity. His presentation of events, as in Starkie’s book, is disconcerting not only due to the “time travelling slippage of epochs [...] but for the absence of either reverence or mockery in the portrayal of the Gospel characters” (Christie 2004:139). These scenes taken from the movie are consistent with Buñuel’s assertion that “la ambigüedad del filme es la ambigüedad de nuestra época, sin proponérmelo” (Aub 2013: 262).

Both authors had a sardonic attitude towards the topics presented in their works, as it was the main characteristic of the picaresque narrative. Manuel Alcalá points out that Buñuel’s treatment of humour can be understood as a “salida de emergencia ante determinadas situaciones de conflicto” (1975: 122). His problematic obsession with religious affairs could explain his approach to the topic because, as Aub’s claims: “Buñuel se ha pasado la vida reprochándole a Dios el haber permitido que la sociedad se organizara tal y como lo está. Toda su obra es protesta y cuando se protesta es evidente que se alza contra algo” (2013: 281). In the same way, plenty of comic anecdotes are described in *The Road to Santiago* using humour as a tool to vent the distress provoked by political and social problems in the country, as had been a recurrent approach of many Irish authors. Starkie made use of humour as the way to confront the convulsion that was taking place in Spain as he had already done in his satirical accounts of the Easter Rising in Ireland (1963). In his books on Spain, Starkie never talked openly about his political affiliations, he mainly acted as an observer of the different people from all social classes he encountered in his trips. Accordingly, although Buñuel was said to have a penchant for the communist ideals of the first half of the twentieth

century (Aub 2013: 301), he did not pursue this path in his movies, he just limited himself to, as Aub claims, “acusar a la sociedad de sus absurdos, recurriendo a las imágenes” (2013: 300). Jean and Pierre observe the scenes they encounter in their pilgrimage, but they never offer an opinion on the topic.

After considering the potential similarities between these two authors, it can be said that Starkie’s book could have been one of the sources of Buñuel’s influence when scripting his film in terms of the narrative technique and the peculiar use of the chronotope. Walter Starkie used the “Camino” as a way to confirm himself as a person who worked all his life to uphold the institutions of family, nation and religion (Hurtley 2013:159) due precisely to his problems of identity which made him have an ambiguous attitude towards these pillars. On the contrary, Buñuel took this same road to deconstruct Starkie’s institutions and use it as the perfect scenario in which to show the incongruities that these complex concepts –especially religion– conceal in Spain.

NOTES

- ¹ Original title: *La Voie Lactée*. Release year: 1969. Producer: Serge Siberman. Script: Luis Buñuel, Jean-Claude Carrière. Starring: Paul Frankeur, Laurent Terzieff, Alain Cuny, Edith Scob, Michel Piccoli, Jean-Claude Carrière. Country: France, Italy. Length: 95 minutes. Production companies: Greenwich Films Production (France) y Fraisa (Italy).
- ² According to emails exchanged with Ian Gibson in March 2013.
- ³ Notable personalities such as Ortega y Gasset, Keynes, Marañón, Le Corbusier, Esplá, Falla, Stravinski, Marinetti or Manuel Machado visited the Residencia.
- ⁴ Robert M. Hammond’s interesting article on ‘The Literary Style of Luis Buñuel’ reflects how Buñuel worked with the script as his literary genre by analyzing the script of a series of key films adaptations such as *Robinson Crusoe*, *Cumbres Borrascosas* or *Nazarín*. Max Aub approved this argument when he affirms that “en general, el arte de Buñuel está mucho más cerca de la literatura” (2013: 222).

- ⁵ Gwynne Edwards in 1982 and Miguel Báez Durán in 2000 make reference to Rebolledo's multiple mistakes.
- ⁶ It refers to the first part of Buñuel's Mexican cinematographic phase and to those Buñuel's movies made at the Mexican industry's request in order to be able to subsist (Muñoz-Basols 2007:67).
- ⁷ Sydney Donnell (1999) also makes a very interesting analysis of Quixotic elements in Buñuel's *The Criminal Life of Archibaldo de la Cruz*.
- ⁸ The chronotope is defined as the essential connection of temporal and spatial relationships assimilated by literature.
- ⁹ In her article "Luis Buñuel: The Process of Dissociation in Three Films" (1973), Elisabeth H. Lyon analyses how Buñuel manipulates time, space and movement by employing dissociative principles in *Un Chien Andalou*, *L'Age D'Or* and *Land Without Bread*.

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